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No Day of Triumph—An *Editorial*

THE *Nation*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Rolling Back Time

Wilmington, N. C.

ARMED with high-powered charts, maps, and legal counsel, and marching under the shop-worn "road to socialism" banner, a group of real-estate men have delayed the construction of a public-housing project in Wilmington for a year now and may hold it up for another year. So far they have lost every skirmish: state commissions, city councils, and the Superior Court have denied their claims. Now they are seeking a decision by the state Supreme Court.

A year ago, when the Housing Authority of the City of Wilmington was looking for a site for a 150-unit project, its eye chanced to light on some fallow fields lying beyond an outlying industrial district, and that, it decided, was the place. It did not know, or if it knew felt safe in ignoring, that a number of real-estate dealers, headed by Richard A. Shew, planned a residential development in the neighborhood and had spent money laying out streets, blocks, and utility systems on nice-looking charts.

At first the project went forward smoothly. After clearing things with Washington, the city asked the state Utilities Commission for authority to condemn the so-called Willard Street area for a public-housing site. Willard Street, by the way, existed only on paper, although it had been dedicated at formal ceremonies some time before. Last August 3 the Utilities Commission notified the city that condemnation could proceed.

The real-estate men, who had been fuming none too quietly up till then, promptly came out into the open with full-page newspaper advertisements and with protests to the county commissioners and the City Council. They notified the Utilities Commission of their intention to appeal its ruling and obtained a court injunction prohibiting the city from beginning to build. On October 15 they appeared in the New Hanover County Superior Court to defend the injunction, having engaged Ozmer Henry, a crack Lumberton lawyer, as their chief counsel at a reputed \$500 a day in court. Their case rested on two

points: first, they contended the project would break the Housing Authority's own rule of thumb by increasing public housing to more than 20 per cent of local substandard units; and, second, that without state legislation the city could not take over a street that had been dedicated.

They also had an imposing sheaf of signed affidavits protesting against the housing project, including some, they said, from public officials. The only one by an official they produced was a statement from a worker in the juvenile court who observed that she thought it would be better to have the project on the other side of town. The rest of the affidavits were from the dealers who had planned the new development and who foresaw a decline in the value of their property if the project were built.

On October 23 Judge Walter J. Bone dissolved the injunction prohibiting the city from proceeding. One might have thought the question was settled. But it was not. On November 9 the real-estate men appeared before the City Council, armed again with Ozmer Henry. Their chief claim now was that the project would prevent access to their property. In the manner of most governing boards, the council decided to settle the matter temporarily by dodging it, and voted to have the city Planning Board look into it. But the Planning Board sent it right back to the council, saying that it had no jurisdiction over the case. The council disliked to make a decision that could not be popular but finally, on November 22, upheld the Housing Authority.

Early this month, however, the real-estate men were at it again, this time in Superior Court, appealing from the Utilities Commission's first ruling. Judge John J. Burney added another rebuff to those they had already met when he turned their appeal down. But even that was not enough. Noting that two new justices had recently been named to the state Supreme Court and apparently hoping for a new era in state law, the real-estate men immediately appealed Judge Burney's decision to the higher court. There the case rests at present.

The opponents of the housing project have hoped to make it a test case, pos-

sibly even to roll back time with it. In their oratory before court and council the road-to-socialism theme has been emphasized too frequently, too hotly and even obsessively, to be wholly insincere. Of all economic groups the real-estate dealers seem to have been most disgruntled by the public-housing laws, the slum-clearance projects, the home loans, the rent controls. Their motives are plain. Some of the affidavits are so frankly selfish as to be almost disarming. These men had property, they planned to make money on it; then the city came along and tried to spoil it for them. They are not going to let the city ruin their plans if they can stop it.

Of course hardly anybody goes to court without a clear selfish reason for it. But a look at the sagging porches in the poorer districts of Wilmington, at the windows stuffed with newspapers, at the toilet bowls standing in the open in the middle of the back yards is enough to show why in this case selfishness should not prevail.

JOHN POWELL

AN AMBASSADOR TO THE VATICAN?

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has announced that as soon as Congress reconvenes he will again submit to the Senate the name of General Mark Clark as ambassador to the Holy See. Would sending an ambassador to the principle of separation of church and state? What would it have on American prestige abroad and on internal Italian politics? In an early issue *The Nation* will analyze the constitutionality and political implications of the proposed move. Among other contributors Mark de Wolfe Howe of Harvard Law School will discuss the constitutional issue, Joseph Blau of the Department of Philosophy of Columbia University will review the interesting relations of United States-Vatican diplomatic relations. An editorial will sum up the issues and state *The Nation's* position.

THE *Nation*

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NUMBER 1

The Shape of Things

NOWADAYS MANY CALIFORNIANS REFER TO Senator William Knowland as "the Senator from Formosa." Scarcely a week passes without some new Knowland intervention on behalf of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. The Senator's carefully timed charges against the Chinese Communists—that they are unlawfully detaining Americans in China, that they seek to extort funds from Chinese Americans with relatives in China—keep the spotlight on Peking and envelop Formosa in a charitable obscurity. In the meantime one hears very little about Senator Wayne Morse's resolution calling for an investigation of the China lobby, the need for which has been emphasized by Robert S. Allen's account of the mysterious purchasing agencies, commissions, and offices maintained in New York and Washington by Chiang Kai-shek. The list includes, among many others: Allied Syndicate, Inc., headed by Dr. R. H. Kung, brother-in-law of Chiang; Yangtze Trading Corporation, headed by Dr. H. H. Kung, son of R. H. Kung; Fu Chung Corporation, headed by T. V. Soong, another of Chiang's brothers-in-law; Ho Chong Company, headed by Dr. P. W. Taou; Wah Chang Corporation; Chinese Petroleum Corporation; and Central Trust Company of China. In fact, the Chinese Nationalists are said to maintain more agencies and purchasing commissions in this country than either Britain or France. It is time that this far-flung network of agencies was thoroughly investigated. An investigation might even explain why Senator Knowland continues to defend the Formosa regime with the passion of an advocate. *

AN EXPLOSION OF METHANE GAS IN A COAL mine at West Frankfort, Illinois, on December 21, cost 119 lives, the heaviest toll in any mine disaster since 1928. Only after detailed investigation will it be possible to learn exactly what happened and whose was the responsibility, but there is reason to believe that once again tragedy has struck at a mining community because profits were placed above safety. According to James Westfield, Regional Accident Prevention and Health Director of the Bureau of Mines, this was an "absolutely preventable disaster" due to "somebody's carelessness." The gassy condition of the pit appears to have been known for some time. Last July two federal inspectors

recommended that abandoned workings, where gas tends to collect, should be sealed or, alternatively, that air used to ventilate them should not be circulated through other parts of the mine. These recommendations were ignored by Mine Superintendent John R. Foster who has declared that they were "controversial" and that anyway he was under no legal obligation to follow them. This recalls the terrible explosion at the Centralia Number 5 mine, also in southern Illinois, in March, 1947. In that case repeated warnings of the dangerously dusty condition of the pit were given by both state and federal inspectors and by United Mine Workers local officers. But the Centralia management was unwilling to interrupt profitable coal-getting to clean up the pit and adopt safeguards against dust explosions, and the State Department of Mines, which had the power to crack down, failed through carelessness or connivance to do so. In view of the inadequacy of state mining codes and their frequently lax enforcement, John L. Lewis is thoroughly justified in pressing for a federal inspection law with teeth in it. We hope that the West Frankfort tragedy will move Congress to action before more blood is smeared on our coal. *

BROADCASTING TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE ON December 22, Prime Minister Churchill warned against attaching "any exaggerated hopes or importance to my visit to Washington." Nevertheless, the composition of the large party accompanying him indicates that he himself attaches the greatest possible importance to his talks with President Truman and that he expects to cover the whole range of Anglo-American relations. In addition to Foreign Secretary Eden, he will have at his side Lord Ismay, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Lord Cherwell, his chief adviser on scientific matters and supervisor of Britain's atomic research, Field Marshal Sir William Slim, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and a number of high-ranking military and civilian experts. Doubts have been expressed that Mr. Churchill will request further specific economic aid, despite Britain's mounting economic difficulties, but there can hardly be any realistic discussion of rearmament problems and military policy without reference to these difficulties. And if he intends to talk frankly, Mr. Churchill can hardly refrain from pointing out to the President and his colleagues the dangers of overstraining the economies of

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by Frank W. Lewis

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the European members of NATO. Moreover, his recent statements suggest that he is less fearful of Russian aggression than most Washington officials and still clings to the belief that relations with Moscow can be improved by top-level negotiations. With this in view he may urge greater efforts to bring the Korean truce talks to a speedy and successful conclusion—a necessary preliminary to a new approach to Russia. Will he also urge reconsideration of the American belief that the German problem is non-negotiable? It is difficult to see how he can avoid doing so since it is clear that German rearmament is the most formidable obstacle blocking the road to mitigation of the cold war.

✱

AS AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION approaches its fifth birthday, a salute is due this liberal organization for the way in which it has developed an increasingly affirmative program. As an avowedly anti-Communist group, A. D. A. faced the danger that its leaders might fritter away their energies in sterile declarations of antagonism to the Soviet system. But A. D. A. has not allowed its dislike of communism to blind it to serious threats to liberty at home. Last year Congressmen close to A. D. A. were among the few who opposed the McCarran "anti-subversive" act when dozens of "liberals" voted for a measure they privately despised. Now A. D. A. has issued a timely pamphlet demanding repeal of the Smith act. Emphasizing "action" as it does, A. D. A. can be relied upon to follow up this verbal broadside by filing *amicus curiae* briefs in pending prosecutions and by organizing a movement for repeal of the act. A. D. A. has reason for pride in the stand it has taken, and we wish it a continuing useful future.

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IN HIS ANNUAL CHRISTMAS MESSAGE THE Pope indirectly answered those who would send an American ambassador to the Vatican in order to establish close links between the two major anti-Communist forces in the West. He emphasized again the church's neutrality in the conflict between East and West and its unwillingness to enter into an alliance with any temporal power. This position has of course been repeatedly stressed in the Vatican, especially by Count Della Torre, editor of *L'Osservatore Romano*. But never so far as we remember has the Pope himself given it such explicit approval. Echoing previous Christmas messages which attacked communism and denounced the governments of Eastern Europe, the speech also indicated the Vatican's lack of confidence in American world policy as well as its disapproval of the "widespread weakness of a world which loves emphatically to call itself 'the free world'." The Holy See believes that communism cannot be destroyed by war; as a doctrine with a super-national appeal it can

be defeated only by another super-national doctrine, that is, Catholicism. It follows that the Catholic church rather than the United States is equipped to lead the fight against communism and that Washington should recognize this fact. All of which has—or should have—an important bearing on Mr. Truman's announced intention to force the issue of Vatican recognition in the reconvened Congress.

No Day of Triumph

ON Christmas night Harry T. Moore, who had led a long and brave fight for Negro rights, was bombed to death in Mims, Florida. He died as he was being rushed to the hospital by his brother-in-law, Master Sergeant George Simms, just returned from fourteen months in Korea. It was Simms who, in the middle of the night, found the bleeding and dying Moore in the shambles of his home after it had been bombed, not with dynamite but with nitro-glycerine, or TNT. Even the "white folks" of Brevard County concede that Harry Moore was "a good law-abiding citizen." The day he died was, indeed, no day of triumph for American democracy.

The Nation does not need to indulge in any post facto expressions of outrage over this latest act of Florida violence. Two fine pieces by Stetson Kennedy (November 24, December 22), and two editorial comments (December 15) called the attention of *Nation* readers to the increase of violence in Florida and the meaning of this violence. When on November 6, Samuel Shepard, one of the Groveland defendants, was murdered by a Florida sheriff, we wired President Truman, then vacationing in Key West, urging him to speak out against the rule of terror in Florida and suggesting that he demand action from his Attorney General. Sending the wire required no special insight. In a sense Harry T. Moore was murdered because the rising tide of violence was ignored.

But what is truly tragic about the death of Moore is that even now those who should know better refuse to acknowledge the harsh meaning of his death. For example, the editorials in the *New York Times* and the *Herald Tribune* of December 28, with their phrases about this "creeping sickness" and "faceless menace" and about a "wave of crimes . . . arising from racial bias," were not only irritatingly irrelevant but clearly evasive.

The bombing murder of Harry T. Moore was part of a clear pattern of open force directed against the struggle of racial minorities to win full rights as citizens. Moore was a symbol of this struggle. So was John Lester Mitchell, one of three Negro plaintiffs in a suit to win voting rights in Louisiana, who was shot by a deputy sheriff on November 19. So was the Reverend J. A. Delaine, chair-

man of the parents' committee in the Clarendon, South Carolina, school case, whose home was recently burned to the ground by way of reprisal. These crimes cannot be understood as senseless acts of depraved or prejudiced individuals. On the contrary, they were essentially political crimes, crimes deliberately committed for a purpose.

The struggle for full civil rights for Negroes, as we have pointed out, entered upon a new phase with the filing of the suit which sought to end segregation in the public schools of Clarendon, South Carolina. Coming in the wake of a series of important civil-rights victories in the Supreme Court, this suit threatened the entire edifice of segregation and white supremacy, since it involved, not a few individual Negroes, but all Negroes of school age in almost every Southern state. The Dixiecrats were quick to see that if the trend of which this suit was part was not reversed, the existing social pattern in the South would be seriously undermined. It was not the crackpots but the Bourbon leaders who voiced the first threats and thereby revived the always present danger of mass violence.

Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina, remembered as a not too successful former Secretary of State, sounded the first alarm. "In Reconstruction days," he said, "a carpetbag government tried to do it [force the South to abandon segregated schools] and failed. A Democratic Administration cannot now do what a Republican Administration could not then do." In Georgia, Governor Herman Talmadge introduced a constitutional amendment that would turn the school system over to private individuals should the courts ever order integration of Negro and white schools. A major political aide, Roy Harris, threatened that if segregation should be outlawed, Negroes would be driven forcibly from fifty Georgia counties, and Talmadge himself said that integration "would create more confusion, disorder, riots, and bloodshed than anything since the War Between the States. . . . There are not enough troops or police in the United States to enforce such an order." Governor Fielding Wright announced that Mississippi would enforce segregation "regardless of the costs or consequences." The Alabama legislature warned: "We will not submit to the intermingling of races in the public schools."

No clearer declaration of defiance of law and provocation to violence could be possible than these statements. What they mean, and were intended to mean, is that the South will never voluntarily abandon the system which has kept Negroes "in their place" these many decades. Segregation is part of a strategy of dominance, the ultimate sanction of which is force. It is absurd, therefore, to condemn the unknown and perhaps demented individual who placed the bomb under Harry Moore's home without condemning the pattern of "force and violence" upon which the structure of white supremacy

rests. It is equally absurd to inveigh against "racial prejudice" or KKK hoodlums without condemning the elected public officials who incited the violence which, for special reasons, has broken out in Florida but may soon spread throughout the South. This is the same phenomena that came with the organization of the KKK in the Reconstruction period: it is political terror, instigated by Bourbons and applied by Kluxers, to prevent the real emancipation of Negroes in the South. Once before a "deal" robbed Negroes of the full fruits of the victory of the Union forces in the Civil War. Today the "coalition" between Dixiecrats and Taft Republicans being engineered by Senator Karl Mundt and others threatens to repeat in 1952 the famous bargain of 1876. If this coalition becomes a reality, it will rob Negroes of the civil-rights gains of the New Deal and the last six years as surely as the bargain of 1876 robbed them of the protection of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.

Not to recognize this is also to miss the clear meaning of contemporary events of major historical importance. For the murder of Harry T. Moore is likely to bring about an imponderable change in the political thinking of American Negroes. It was not the Negro leadership that proposed a huge meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, to protest the murder of Moore; the idea came from rank-and-file Negroes whose patience is utterly exhausted not merely with Dixiecrat provocation but with the relaxed middle-class attitudes of some of their leaders, who have been quite willing to issue further political bills of credit to Mr. Truman on the basis of his stale civil-rights speeches of 1948 and the lesser-evil premise. If these leaders show reluctance to challenge the threatened forfeiture of gains made in the last decade, the Negro people see the danger and will no longer be put off with feeble promises and slippery phrases. The bells that tolled for Harry Moore may thus have sounded the political death knell of Harry Truman. The Moore bombing was not another "incident"; it was a date in history.

Murder by Bombing

Jacksonville, December 28

THE murder by bombing of Harry T. Moore, Florida secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, brought to a new peak the wave of terrorism which has engulfed the state in recent weeks. It was, perhaps, the inevitable result of official impotence in the face of the vicious onslaughts that have been directed against Negroes, Jews, and Catholics.

Moore was killed by the blast from a bomb planted under the bedroom of his home; his wife was so seriously injured that she has but a fifty-fifty chance to live. The couple had celebrated their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary on Christmas day.

"I don't care much if I live," Mrs. Moore has said from her hospital bed in Sanford. "My home is wrecked, my children are all grown, others can carry on." Moore was apparently not unaware of danger to himself and family; talking with his mother recently, he had said, "Every advancement comes by way of sacrifice."

The forty-six-year-old Moore was a fighter for democratic progress. Eight years ago he was fired from his post as superintendent of the Brevard County Negro High School for prosecuting to the state Supreme Court a suit for the abolition of racial differentials in teachers' salaries. More recently he served as head of the Progressive Voters' League of Florida—not an affiliate of the Progressive Party—which has been instrumental in qualifying and mobilizing Florida Negroes as voters. In last year's Senatorial contest Moore unseated and replaced a leader of the league who had come out for George Smathers, campaigning on a "Southern traditions" platform against Claude Pepper. At a recent convention of the Florida N. A. A. C. P. an effort was made to unseat Moore as secretary on the ground that he was involving the organization in politics, but Moore insisted on the necessity for political action, and a majority of the delegates rallied to his support.

As in the case of the Miami bombings, attempts have been made to explain the murder of Moore as a "Communist plot," but Mrs. Moore for one puts no stock in the suggestion. William Hendrix, Grand Dragon of the Florida Ku Klux Klan and a money-spending candidate for the governorship, has issued the customary Klan disclaimer and offer to assist investigators, adding, "Moore was a good fellow who was trying to help his race, but he just found out he was going about it wrong." In an exceedingly rare move two Negroes have been included in the six-man coroner's jury—perhaps as a result of *The Nation's* pointing out the farcical aspects of the lily-white jury which whitewashed Willis McCall, "the shooting sheriff," in adjoining Lake County. As in the Lake County and Miami affairs, both Governor Fuller Warren and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath have sent in "investigators," but thus far neither state nor federal agencies have preferred charges or even summoned grand juries. Governor Warren, by the way, has gone to great pains to claim that all his actions were taken prior to, or at least without regard to, demands made upon him by the N. A. A. C. P. and other civil-rights groups. Public and private groups have offered rewards in the several cases totaling nearly \$20,000—to no avail. If local, state, and federal authorities are, indeed, doing their utmost to apprehend the Florida terrorists, it is a sad commentary on the proficiency of our law-enforcement agencies. It might help, perhaps, if J. Edgar Hoover were to send a team of non-Southern FBI investigators to Florida.

STETSON KENNEDY

The NATION

Britain's Middle Course

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, December 20 (delayed)

ON EVERY major question that has come before the present U. N. Assembly the British delegation has voted with the American. This has surprised no one who understands the dependence imposed by the Atlantic alliance. Whenever there has been any sign of a split which might be exploited by the Russians, the United States has demanded that its allies form a common front, and American-British-French solidarity has at once been reestablished.

Nevertheless, the British have made it plain, as far as they could without imperiling Anglo-American collaboration, that their views often differ, if not fundamentally at least by several shades, from those of the Americans. The unwarlike tone used by Mr. Eden in his opening speech in the general debate was maintained by Selwyn Lloyd in the Political Committee during the debate on disarmament. Mr. Lloyd's efforts to have a commission set up which would at least assure a continuation of the discussions and the exploration of all possible paths to eventual agreement clearly revealed the desire of the British government not to push the containment policy to the limit. In his speech of December 11 Mr. Lloyd proposed that this commission, "in deference to Russian wishes," be called the "atomic-energy and conventional-armaments commission," and showed in other ways that he was searching for a middle road between the American and Soviet positions.

The same moderation was displayed by the British in the debate on whether the U. N. should supervise German elections. In everything they said it was apparent that they would not agree lightly to German rearmament as long as there remained any hope of a settlement with Moscow. With their innate political realism they understand that of all the issues dividing East and West, German rearmament is perhaps the only one on which the Russians cannot logically be expected to retreat. The British know that they are dealing with an adversary who is not swayed by emotion; so they base their hope of avoiding war on the Kremlin's reluctance to start something it could not stop. At the same time they know that for Russia, German rearmament is a special case and that the Western powers would be taking a terribly risky gamble in insisting on it.

On less important questions, such as the election of a new member to the Security Council, the British did break with the Americans, voting for Byelorussia and against Greece until the last ballot. They would undoubtedly have pushed their mediation efforts more vigorously outside the Assembly if the Russians had not indicated that they felt concessions would be futile in

view of the American determination to rearm West Germany. The British delegation was also inhibited by Churchill's impending visit to the United States.

One gets the impression that the British do not consider war inevitable. They subscribe to some extent to the American theory about positions of strength, but while the United States is unwilling to enter into negotiations with the Russians until these positions have been attained, the British want to negotiate along the way. In fact, they show a disposition to seize any opportunity for serious discussion. Churchill declared openly that he would like to talk with Stalin, and the U. N. British delegation tried hard to have the sessions of the current Assembly utilized to diminish the tension. Above all, the British have been anxious to take no steps in any direction that might make the situation worse. If it had been less critical they would surely have been tougher with the Egyptians. They believe moderation more indicated than bluster, and they are even considering facilitating new arrangements in Libya if they can remain on the Suez only at the risk of war.

It is a bad sign when the work of the United Nations has less weight than international decisions taken outside; the influence of the League of Nations declined as soon as a similar development took place. Western European governments are placing much hope on the Truman-Churchill conversations. They believe public opinion in America will be affected by the personality of the British Premier, who for all his imperialist and reactionary views has more imagination and intellectual boldness than most of the Labor Party leaders. And people here remember his speech in the Mansion House, when he said that "Great Britain has every need and every right to seek and receive the fullest consideration from the Americans for our point of view." Both he and Mr. Eden, moreover, have shown that they agree with Aneurin Bevan that the tempo of rearmament demanded by the Americans would force the country into bankruptcy. Yesterday the talk in the corridors of the Palais de Chaillot was less about what happened in this committee or that than about the energetic stand of the Belgian government—not a "red" or Socialist government but one much admired by the Americans—against the demand of the Atlantic Council that Belgium spend more money on rearmament.

The reservations of the British in the North Atlantic Council meeting at Rome and in the European Council at Strasbourg showed that if they were free they would adopt an armament program much closer to the Bevan conception of what is possible than to the requests issuing from General Eisenhower's headquarters. As to the European army, they would prefer to have no part in it, since they view it as the first step toward the sort of European federation—with a common Parliament and common finances—they have steadfastly opposed. But

on his recent visit to Paris Mr. Churchill apparently felt he must edge toward the American position on the question of a European army.

In United Nations circles it is feared that when Mr. Churchill asks President Truman for a new loan and other dollar aid, he will find America in an unfavorable

mood—official Washington is against his proposed visit to Stalin, and the people think Europe should prepare its own defense by rearming at any cost. Yet there can be no doubt that Great Britain's acute economic difficulties are caused principally by the Atlantic coalition's rearmament demands.

Uncomfortable Prosperity

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

THE year just ended may be best described as a period of uncomfortable prosperity; that now beginning promises more of the same—a very high rate of economic activity and larger money incomes combined with strains, stresses, shortages, and fears for the future which will give prosperity a rather sour taste.

Many economic records were broken in 1951. According to Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, the total output of goods and services was 10 per cent higher than in 1950 and 5 per cent above 1944, the previous all-time peak. But this addition to the nation's gross income was absorbed by arms expenditure or by new investment mainly of a defense-supporting nature. And although personal income reached a new high in terms of dollars, the purchasing power of the average American was little greater owing to a 7 per cent rise in the cost-of-living index and a bigger tax bill.

Employment figures reached an all-time high in August, when 62,600,000 men and women had jobs and less than 3 per cent of the labor force was unemployed. Many trades in many areas have been complaining about labor shortages. Nevertheless, there is also unemployment or underemployment in some industries adversely affected by the diversion of raw materials to defense. Workers in other industries, notably textiles, clothing, and shoes, suffered from substantial layoffs when consumer demand for such goods fell sharply after inventories had been built up in anticipation of continued "panic" buying. As a result we have such paradoxical situations as that in New England, where textiles, shoes, rubber, and paper plants are providing 18,000 fewer jobs than a year ago, while employment in metal-working industries is up by 101,000.

The impetus of the boom which began with the outbreak of the Korean war has been provided by government expenditure and private investment, with the second of these factors of major importance. Up to last June the federal government was not contributing directly to inflationary pressures since revenue exceeded expenditure. Since then it has been accumulating a deficit, but because of surplus social-security and other non-budgetary receipts actual cash income has been only

slightly smaller than cash outlay. On the other hand, private investment in houses, plant, equipment, and inventories, financed to a considerable extent on credit, has been expanding more rapidly than at any other time in our history. Such investment has an inflationary force, since it adds to the stream of income but not immediately to the available supply of consumable goods.

The chief unknown quantity in the 1952 economic equation is the total of private investment. Government expenditure is bound to increase, and assuming no further changes in taxes, a cash deficit for the year of some \$7,000,000,000 seems probable. However, some observers believe that the effects of this deficit will be largely offset by a contraction in private investment. House-building, they point out, is being curtailed by credit restrictions, so that total "starts" in 1952 may be no more than 800,000 compared with the 1950 record of 1,400,000. Industrial and commercial construction and public works also seem likely to decline. All forms of commercial building are now subject to government licensing and control, and the National Production Authority has indicated that all applications made during the next six months will be turned down unless "defense necessity" can be proved. This means that few new stores, theaters, office buildings, or hotels will be started; lack of structural steel and other materials is expected to cut construction of schools, highways, and hospitals.

Expenditure on producers' equipment may also decline moderately in the next twelve months. The defense industries have already undertaken much of their "tooling-up," and purchases of new equipment by civilian industries seem likely to lag in view of the fact that material shortages and increased taxes are dimming profit prospects. But the form of private investment most likely to be curtailed during 1952 is that in inventories. In the twelve months after the beginning of the Korean war the threat of shortages—although not the immediate reality—persuaded consumers to buy everything in sight. Anticipation of continuance of this demand encouraged a reckless scramble to build up inventories.

In the second quarter of last year this movement reached a climax with inventory accumulation at a rate

of \$15,900,000,000 per annum, according to Department of Commerce estimates, which compares with an actual increase of \$4,300,000,000 in 1950. Then there was a sudden change in the public mood, sparked by the New York "price war," which indicated that the fear of shortages had been much exaggerated, followed by a noticeable decline in consumer demand for automobiles, household appliances, furnishings, and clothes. Weekly department-store sales figures began to compare unfavorably with those of a year earlier. As a result many business men sought to cut back their swollen inventories, and in the third quarter of 1951 the annual rate of increase fell back to \$6,100,000,000.

However, overstocking and consumer resistance have not yet led to serious price-cutting. The retail-price index has, in fact, continued to creep up to a new high and has not reflected the moderate fall in wholesale prices from their peak last March. Since Christmas sales failed to fulfil the hopes of most retailers, a good many bargains may appear in the stores during the next few weeks. The midwinter catalogues of the big mail-order houses list impressive mark-downs on hundreds of items, including clothes, furniture, tires, television sets, refrigerators, and shoes. Price reductions in these and other consumer goods, if they prove general and stick, may offset the still rising tendency of rents and food and serve to stabilize the cost-of-living index.

On the other hand, we have to remember that production of all kinds of consumer goods containing metals is likely to be sharply reduced in the coming months. For instance, allotments of aluminum for civilian industries have been set at only 20 per cent of their pre-Korean consumption, and the use of steel, copper, zinc, and other metals by non-essential industries is also to be greatly restricted. Thus while supplies of soft

goods may remain fairly plentiful, stocks of "durables" will tend to decline.

Looking at the whole economic picture, my own view is that, more by luck than cunning, we have reached a stage of rather precarious equilibrium. If the cold war is intensified, or if the military are permitted by the Administration and Congress to plan for a still greater expansion of armaments, or if our long record of good harvests is broken, then we may expect the forces making for inflation to regather their strength. On the other hand, if the government listens to the economists and business men who are urging a moderate check to the pace of rearmament, and if wage increases are restricted to amounts that can be paid without increases in prices, we may be able to keep our economy in balance during the next twelve months.

That would make prosperity a little easier to live with, although it is bound to remain an uncomfortable roommate as long as it is based fundamentally on the production of weapons which we must pray are ultimately destined for the junk pile. While we devote ourselves to making guns we worry about what will happen if they go off and also about what will happen if they don't. Two or three years hence the defense blueprints will have been fulfilled, and we shall find ourselves with an immense stock of weapons and an industrial capacity expanded out of proportion to the normal growth of civilian demand. Shall we then suddenly discover that instead of a plethora of money and a shortage of goods we have to cope with a plethora of goods and a shortage of money? Are we destined once again to fall from the frying pan of inflation into the fire of deflation? These are questions that farsighted economists are beginning to ask, and we ought at least to begin thinking about the answers.

Anaconda's Big Steal

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, December 28

BY DECISION of Manly Fleischmann, administrator of defense production, and Mobilization Director Charles E. Wilson the powerful Anaconda Copper Mining Company has been given a lift into the aluminum business. The Department of the Interior doesn't like it, the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Department doesn't like it, but Anaconda gets what it wants—a sure supply of cheap public power from the Hungry Horse Dam, now being built. Thus the one important Mon-

tana interest that consistently opposed construction of this \$120,000,000 project will, it now appears, fall heir to a substantial part of Montana's share of the power to be generated.

How Anaconda became Wilson's and Fleischmann's favored corporation is a complicated story. Last summer Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman thought it would be a good idea to stimulate competition in aluminum by putting relatively small independents into the business. Chapman wrote to Wilson on July 12 urging that special financial arrangements be worked out, if necessary, to aid companies which might compete with the existing Big Three—Alcoa, Reynolds, and Kai-

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ser. Chapman also awarded a contract for power from Hungry Horse to an aluminum subsidiary organized by the Harvey Machine Company of California. Harvey's aluminum plant was to be located at Kalispell, Montana, and Chapman recommended a \$45,000,000 RFC loan for construction purposes.

At this point the columnist Drew Pearson called public attention to the fact that the Harvey Company had been accused of using improper testing gauges on some of its World War II military production, and Chapman asked Fleischmann to hold up completion of the contract pending an investigation. Anaconda now suddenly entered the picture as a company anxious to produce aluminum and ready to take over Harvey's power contract. Pearson then examined Anaconda's war performance. The Harvey Company was never indicted or prosecuted; in fact, it was exonerated, whereas the Anaconda Wire and Cable Company, a subsidiary of Anaconda Copper, paid \$1,626,000 in damages to the government for shipping untested wire to the British and American armed forces. But by the time Pearson got around to discussing this, things had happened.

Harvey had offered to put up \$7,000,000 of its own money, but the \$45,000,000 RFC loan recommended by Chapman was not approved, the recommendation having been stopped dead in Fleischmann's office. Harvey was unable to arrange private financing as a substitute for the RFC loan, and there are dark suggestions—none of them provable—that promising deals were blocked. Finally, without advance notice to Chapman, a new company in which Anaconda held 95 per cent of the stock was organized to take over Harvey's power contract. In addition to 5 per cent of the stock of the new company, Harvey will be given a contract which is supposed to assure it a supply of aluminum—up to 25 per cent of the total output—for its Los Angeles factories. Despite sharp protests from Chapman and the Justice Department, Fleischmann gave his approval and directed Chapman to confirm the assignment of Hungry Horse power.

Anaconda already uses about 30 per cent of all the electric power consumed in Montana. The power itself is almost all produced by the Anaconda-controlled Montana Power Company. Now, by order of Fleischmann, Anaconda is to become dominant in a new field, aluminum, with the benefit of the cheap public power produced at Hungry Horse with public money.

THE propriety of putting a copper company into the aluminum business is one dubious aspect of the deal. Aluminum is rapidly becoming a competitor in fields where copper has long been supreme. It can be used in transmission lines, for example, as efficiently as copper and is much cheaper—and the Interior Department is now building 12,000 miles of transmission lines.

Anaconda, a major company in the highly integrated copper industry, is being allowed in on the ground floor in the competitive aluminum industry and will thus be in a position to monopolize bidding on construction work as well as to protect its traditional interests.

An Administration interested in obtaining the maximum social benefits from Hungry Horse power would have awarded the contract for this power to an independent concern, with guaranties that once the present emergency was over aluminum would be fairly allocated to all small-plant fabricators. But as things now stand, it is a foregone conclusion that Anaconda will use the output of the new plant for its own operations and that the plant will be of little benefit to other fabricators, small or large. That the contract ended up with Anaconda rather than with Harvey would be a blow to small businesses under any circumstances; it appears even more significant in the light of the post-emergency implications for small businesses dependent on aluminum.

Fleischmann issued a statement justifying his Anaconda decision on two grounds: that Anaconda could produce aluminum at Kalispell more quickly than any other company, and that it could build its plants without use of public money. He brushed aside the argument that copper and aluminum are competitive metals by saying that copper has a sure market for at least ten years.

It was not necessary for Fleischmann to wait until Anaconda had swallowed Harvey before taking some action on Harvey's application for a loan. During World War II the government stimulated competition in the aluminum industry by huge loans to the Kaiser and Reynolds interests. Government funds financed a substantial part of our industrial expansion during the war, and their use to spread competition was considered healthy. It was one of the few ways of counteracting the tendency of existing large corporations to attract most of the prime war contracts.

In 1950 and 1951 Congress refused to authorize government construction of new industrial facilities, but it approved RFC loans and price incentives. Chapman and the Department of Justice called Fleischmann's attention to a Congressional declaration on the disposition of public power and an executive order covering mobilization contracts both of which aim to decentralize economic strength. To help Anaconda into the aluminum business and allot it a big part of Hungry Horse power merely because it is already big enough to devour a competitor and can do so without borrowing government money is a grotesque contradiction of the spirit if not the letter of the law and the executive order.

In a final effort to block Fleischmann's directive, Brigadier General Telford Taylor, as head of the Small Defense Plants Administration, urged President Truman to intervene. But the President, doubtless influenced by the embarrassing position in which Representative Mike

Mansfield and Senator James Murray find themselves on this matter, decided to uphold Fleischmann and Wilson. It is no secret that Murray and Mansfield would rather see Hungry Horse power go to almost any company other than Anaconda, but unfortunately their constituents fear that unless the power goes to Anaconda, it may be allocated to the West Coast plants of Reynolds and Kaiser. Should Secretary Chapman decide not to approve a long-term contract for the power—it is understood that Anaconda is insisting on a twenty-year contract—the deal might still be upset. But Mr. Chapman is not likely to take this action in view of the fact that the President has already upheld Fleischmann and Wilson. However, if General Taylor and Secretary Chapman, with Senator Murray and Representative Mansfield, were to go to the President and insist on a reversal of the decision, the deal might still be blocked.

In all conscience this final effort should be made. Anaconda is reaping huge profits from the production and fabrication of copper. By being able to state that it owns 95 per cent of the stock of the new aluminum subsidiary, Anaconda will be able to plow back its copper profits into the new plant and then write off almost the entire cost under the extravagantly generous provisions of the accelerated tax-amortization program, which allows concerns holding "certificates of necessity" to amortize most of the cost of new defense plants over a five-year period. To put it plainly, Anaconda now stands a chance to end up with a new aluminum plant presented by the government along with a twenty-year contract for 60 per cent of the power from a public project which the company strenuously opposed. A succession of Republican Administrations were never this generous with Anaconda.

Spanish Journey: Land in Decay

BY ROBERT FROMM

Madrid, December 21

YOU drive southward from Bilbao, cross the verdant slopes of the Pyrenees, and descend on to the great Castile plateau. This is the old heart of Spain, the home of proud grandee families, the site of ancient cathedrals, and the fountainhead of Spanish culture and nationalism. You soon discover that it is also a dreary and exhausted country, a land in decay.

Starved for fertilizer, parched by a dry spell, worn out by primitive tillage, the land looks like an aged hag. If trees ever grew here, they were long ago chopped down for fuel. The rivers are dry. The villages, built of yellow mud bricks, merge with the barren countryside. Their narrow streets are covered with a carpet of dry manure and filled with ragged children, who rush to the car to beg for food. The shops are few and have little to sell.

At the entrance to each village there is a large Falange sign of five crossed arrows. These freshly painted emblems of the ruling party are as out of key with the sordid background as is the one big building, which is never the school but the barracks of the Civil Guard, bearing its motto, *Todo por la Patria*. The Civil Guard is the rural arm of the Secret Police, and its two-man patrols stand at each end of every Castilian village, peering intently into vehicles and questioning the passers-by. They look tough and competent in their green uniforms, black-lacquer hats, and business-like arms—one man with a rifle, the other with a tommy gun.

ROBERT FROMM is an American newspaperman who has been living in Europe for several years. A second article from Spain will appear in an early issue.

You break your journey at Burgos, the old capital of Castile. Here are dust, clatter, and bustle, crowded streets, ten-story office buildings going up, and stores beyond whose grimy fronts fancy goods are for sale. Ten minutes out of Burgos you are again in rural Spain—where too many people produce far too little food, where a village is lucky to have a public fountain in which the women can wash clothes.

Suddenly the narrow, pitted road widens into a four-lane highway. At its end, like a technicolored panorama, spreads Madrid, with its villas, palaces, parks, and skyscrapers (the newest is twenty-eight stories high, and one wonders how many joint stock companies will have to be added to Madrid's 2,100 to fill its offices). In fifteen minutes you are on the Gran Via, Europe's closest approximation to Fifth Avenue. The shops here sell luxury goods the match of any in Paris or London; the traffic, despite an army of policemen in English Bobby uniforms, keeps jamming up; the women are handsomely dressed and bejeweled; and in the sidewalk cafes every seat is taken by seven in the evening.

Standing on the Alcala one day, I counted sixteen banks. On the shady streets off Prado Boulevard are scores of handsome apartment buildings. Of the estimated 150,000 housing units which Spain will need each year in the next decade, it is building about 17,000, and the bulk of these—by official admission—are for upper-bracket incomes. At eleven at night fleets of limousines unload their occupants at the fashionable "revue" theaters.

After a week here you begin to think of this handsome city as a leech, growing fat on the blood of the

exhausted country. The great landlords live here. So do the industrialists of Bilbao. Half the nation's trade and industry is run from here; profits, instead of enriching the localities where they are earned, are channeled to Madrid. Yet they go only into the pockets of the few, despite the Falange's constant talk of social justice. On the Gran Via the well-fed are besieged by the ragged and hungry peddling American cigarettes, offering to shine shoes, or selling lottery tickets—one of Spain's great industries. No other capital in Europe has so many beggars. The bread ration at the controlled low price is



a third of a pound a day, but you can buy a loaf of beautiful white bread at any of the luxurious delicatessen stores for what is half a day's pay for most Spaniards. A semi-skilled worker earns 50 to 60 cents a day; the constant pressure from the over-peopled countryside

keeps wages down. The white-collar class is relatively even worse off. A postal inspector makes \$30 a month after thirty years of service. A teacher can barely keep his family alive on \$20 a month. Many people hold two jobs. I know of a General Staff colonel who takes off his uniform at night and goes to work as a typist. But not everyone can find—or survive—two jobs, and there is bitter, and growing, discontent.

The distress cannot be ignored. A Western diplomat tells me that many worried employers asked for permission to raise the wages of their workers last year but were turned down by the government, fearful of more inflation. The same diplomat believes, as do many informed Spaniards, that the wave of strikes last spring was started by the Falange syndicates, which felt that some of the steam must be allowed to blow off—though they did not reckon on the explosion they got. "What could you expect," said a Spaniard to me, "when a kilo of sardines was selling in Barcelona for 27 pesetas, or just about a day's pay?" Each time I talked of the strikes, I suggested the Communists had started them. Each time the people laughed and said, "That's what the government would like us to believe, but we know better." Violent anti-Communists told me they had taken part in the strikes, if only by refusing to board a streetcar. "We had to do something. One can no longer live like a human being."

It is easy, but wrong, to blame it all on Franco, or the Falange. When the Caudillo won the war in 1939, he inherited a mess of problems. The impoverished soil, primitive agriculture, inefficient industry, oversized bureaucracy, centralized controls—all these existed in the

days of the republic, in the thirties, and during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in the late twenties. If you study the economic statistics, you see that the graph started skidding twenty years ago and more. Moreover, many of the things for which Franco is blamed today are imposed on him by harsh necessity. It is true that in this major olive-oil producing nation the worker's oil ration is tragically inadequate. But olive oil is one of the few commodities Spain can sell in the world market; it must sell oil if it is to buy flour, fertilizer, or machinery. Wages must remain low as long as the productivity of the Spanish worker is one of the lowest in Europe. At the same time, productivity must remain low as long as people do not get enough to eat. To buy fertilizer or to build hydroelectric-power projects, Spain needs foreign credits, but it received none until some American banks extended credit in 1949. Every country in Western Europe, including Germany and Italy, has been given American aid for reconstruction, but Spain has had to repair the damage of the civil war by its own effort.

THIS much must be said to avoid distortion. But when it is said, the bill of indictment against the Franco regime remains long. The smell of decay rises heavy from the entire scene—land, culture, politics, and public life. The charge against Franco is that he has done nothing to arrest this decay, and often, in fact, speeded it up behind a screen of high-sounding phrases unmatched this side of the Communist world.

The core of the Spanish problem is the village. Here the decay is at its worst. While Spain's population has been growing at the rate of 1 per cent a year, its agricultural yield has been dropping steadily. With 1929 (Primo de Rivera) taken as 100, the output in 1935 (Republic) stood at a good 97.3, skidded to 71.4 in 1947 (Franco), and in the dry year of 1949 slipped farther to 64.3. This year the crop has been fair, but the trend continues. According to the regime's own figures, the annual yield in 1940-49 was nearly a third below the level achieved before the civil war.

To arrest the decline, the land needs water, fertilizer, draft animals, and some improvement in the medieval method of agriculture. But the amount allotted to agriculture in the budget—the same budget which gives the Ministry of the Interior 14 per cent—is less than 1 per cent. Less than 6 per cent of all the cultivated land is irrigated today, and most of this predates Franco. The first fertilizer plant was completed only this year. A system of supplying low-cost mules to the farmer has proved woefully inadequate, and it is a rare farmer who has the \$1,400 with which to buy a pair of mules in the open market. As for the modernization of methods, it exists almost wholly in glossy government pamphlets. What the tired land needs is rotation of crops. What it gets at best is a bit of rest; so that a quarter of all wheatfields

lie fallow each year. No wheatfields in Europe give such a pathetic yield—well below ten metric quintals a hectare.

Spain does have small and profitable farms, mostly in the lush and narrow strip along the Mediterranean. But this is a tiny part of the broad canvas. Only in Asia can one find such extreme conditions of landlordism and peonage as here. According to one estimate, 28.7 per cent of the persons engaged in agriculture own their land, 16.3 per cent are share-croppers, 8.3 per cent are farm workers holding regular jobs, and 46.7 per cent are seasonal workers. California's Okies were rural aristocracy compared with the hungry men and women I have seen on the roads of Andalusia and the eastern provinces, carrying their belongings on their backs and their infants in their arms. They trudge over high mountain passes in search of a job that will pay them 30 to 40 cents a day for a week and then turn them off until another season.

The Falange has a land reform on its books. ("We don't like to use the words 'land reform,'" one Falangist told me. "It smacks too much of the stuff the reds used to peddle, and it alarms the landowners.") The National Land Settlement Institute has been organized to purchase the estates of the great landowners and resell them to the share-croppers. In October, the institute announced that by January 1, 1950, it had settled 23,000 people on 274 estates—"1,168 people in 1949 alone." No one obviously need be alarmed at the pace.

The figures help to explain the government's overriding interest in industrialization as the solution for Spain's ills. Western experts here disagree strongly with this view. The dropping agricultural yield, they argue, has cut into Spain's earnings, compelled it to buy food abroad, and put most Spaniards on a hunger ration. And even if Franco were right, most Western experts here still insist that he has no coherent industrial plan. ("This is not a plan," one expert told me. "It's just a lot of figures on paper, plus a few projects that can be shown to visiting firemen.")

THE industrial index today is about a quarter above the 1929 figure, but the progress is deceptive. While the land cries for tractors, factories produce one of the plushiest and most extravagant jobs displayed at the Paris Automobile Show. A much-publicized achievement this year was a penicillin plant. But, as an economist put it, "no one seems to have given serious thought about where they're going to sell this penicillin"; at the corner drugstore where I go the penicillin of course is Danish.

Spain's economy is dominated by the Big Five of its 140 private banks. This is speculative capital, with an eye on quick returns. While heavy industry lacks funds, the consumer industry booms. The whole economic structure is lopsided, with the basic industries—coal, iron, power—unable to cope with the demand and un-

able to expand. When the government proposed a great new steel works, the steelmakers of Bilbao refused to subscribe a peseta. They had other uses for their huge profits. A lot of money goes into the black market, or is invested in Madrid real estate, or is smuggled to Tangier. Only a small portion goes into the public till. When, a few years back, the government decided to introduce a new tax on incomes exceeding \$1,200 a year, only 9,000 people in all Spain confessed to earning that much.

Despite bitter complaints against government interference, this is still a paradise of free enterprise. Juan March, who financed Franco's revolt, is now making fabulous sums in ways so well concealed no Western diplomat can trace them. And a Spaniard tells me of a man named Vila who "can buy or sell anything you want." Vila had a contract to feed Spain's armed services and the prison population—his allotment per prisoner was three cents a day. Eventually, he ran afoul of the authorities, was fined \$4,000, and put in prison. He promptly installed telephones in his cell and ran his business from there: "Hello, hello, I will buy 10,000 liters of olive oil." Now he is free again and doing well. Wealth is not confined to Madrid. Andalusia's landowners and Catalonia's textile manufacturers are also prospering. A few years ago a Catalan married a woman in San Sebastian. He flew the Barcelona Philharmonic to San Sebastian to play at the wedding, brought a bishop to officiate, and gave a two-day feast to his guests. The bride wore jewelry worth \$400,000.

But nowhere else in Europe are the masses so badly off. An adult's ration permits 150 grams of bread a day, 100 grams of Spanish beans a week (for *cocido*, a stew which is the mainstay of his diet), 100 grams of lentils a week, and half a pint of olive oil every ten days. No one, of course, can survive on this diet. So everyone goes to the black market, where a 100-gram bun costs 4 cents, a quart of olive oil 70 cents to \$1, and a kilo of rice, lentils, or Spanish beans around 20 cents. These are staggering prices to a man earning 50 to 60 cents a day. "Meat?" said a mechanic to me. "What's that?"

There are just a few more strokes to add to the story of the little man. Franco's system of social welfare—which includes no unemployment insurance—applies only to incomes below \$360 a year. And Franco's own Institute of Statistics reports that in 1948 a worker earned, in real wages, only two-thirds as much as he did in 1936. The tragic inflation, brought on by the red adventure in Korea, was still ahead.

The other day a rich Spaniard I know took a lady to a restaurant run by Hitler's former chef. When I asked him the next day how much the meal cost him, he replied cheerfully, "Oh, half a month's income." It was no joke. His dinner for two cost him exactly a fortnight's pay for most Spanish workers.

Schuman's Pool of Troubles

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, December 29

ON DECEMBER 8 the French National Assembly embarked on a debate in the grand style—one which clearly revealed the various trends of thought in France. The question was the ratification of the Schuman Plan, and discussion went on for several days. Some French papers have expressed astonishment at the extraordinary lack of interest in this debate shown in Britain—as distinct from the United States, where the interest seems to have been almost excessive. At one moment the Plevin government found itself in serious difficulties, so urgent was the demand from the right to postpone a final decision and give the Schuman Plan a few more months' study, but soon all was well again, and by 377 votes to 235 the Assembly took "the plunge into the unknown"—a phrase, surprisingly enough, used by that worthy European gentleman M. Van Zeeland of Belgium.

There is no doubt that the offensive conducted against the plan by the Gaullists and Communists was joined by a large number of right-wing deputies representing the French employers, particularly the steel magnates of Lorraine, as well as by deputies whom the strongly "anti-Boche" speeches of General Aumeran and others had left with the uncomfortable feeling that conditions today were radically different from what they were in May, 1950, when the Schuman Plan was launched. As one speaker put it, "It may have sounded revolutionary then, but one has to choose the right moment for revolutions." Today, many felt, the Schuman Plan was mixed up with too many other things, and was inseparable from the problem of German rearmament. In the course of the debate 101 objections to the plan under present conditions were offered, but the Plevin government was determined to have it ratified, and when there was danger that it might not be, American influence made itself felt in all sorts of direct and indirect ways. Finally the wobblers decided it was better not to make Uncle Sam and Uncle Ike angry. As for the industrialists, they appear to have received some private assurances from the United States that their interests would be defended.

One need not dwell too much on the Communist tirades against the plan; Duclos and others went out of their way to make France's flesh creep with visions of millions of French "slaves" being deported to Germany after the supra-national authority and the United States

had developed the Ruhr into something so gigantic that the French coal and steel industries were completely ruined. The government insisted that the High Authority, the Assembly, and the Court constituted sufficient safeguards. The plan, it maintained, had three major advantages: it would supply France with badly needed coal and coke and perhaps even turn Lorraine into a "second Ruhr"; it would add to "the glory and prestige" of France; and it would make the Ruhr, instead of an arsenal of Germany imperialism, "an organ of European vitality."

A lot was said about Briand, the "pilgrim of peace"; M. Gouin, for the Socialists, became so lyrical about the prospect that he even quoted Victor Hugo, and said that the Schuman Plan was like the first rays of dawn over those United States of Europe of which Hugo had dreamed more than a hundred years ago. But this was a little too simple, and the government was rather on edge throughout the debate. After all, even if the Foreign Affairs Committee had approved of the Schuman Plan, the Defense Committee had not, and its spokesman, M. Loutanau-Lacau, declared: "Are we to put our key industries at the mercy of a High Authority in which France is in a minority? By ratifying the Schuman Plan you also automatically agree to the creation of a European army. The Defense Committee is opposed to scrapping our national army."

There were other more precise objections. One was that the Adenauer government could not be expected to last long and was therefore not qualified to commit Germany to observe a particularly inelastic fifty-year treaty. Moreover, German governments of the future, like those of the past, would observe a treaty only as long as it suited them. Grave doubts were also expressed about the High Authority. To what extent would it and could it defend France's interests? If its guiding principle was to be "the most rational distribution of production at the highest level of productivity," was it not only too likely that the Germans would always secure priority in new capital investments and France be left high and dry?

Several speakers quoted from a recent statement by High Commissioner McCloy in which, emphasizing the benefits that would accrue to Germany from the Schuman Plan, he said, "With German efficiency all uneconomic concerns in other Schuman Plan countries will be eliminated in a short time." M. Pierre André (rightist) quoted Mr. Churchill as saying in June, 1950, that without Britain taking part in the pool it would "naturally come under German domination."

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To the argument that France would at least be assured a supply of cheap coal and coke, it was replied that there was absolutely no guaranty of this in periods of shortage. And who knew how much France would get if Germany were to go on expanding its own steel production indefinitely? (Point is lent to this argument by the news that the Schuman Plan may not be ratified by the Bonn Parliament unless West Germany is authorized to increase its steel production to nineteen million tons immediately.) Other objections referred to the Saar. What if the Saar broke away from France and thus reduced the French vote in the Assembly from eighteen to fifteen and increased the German vote from eighteen to twenty-one? Could anybody say that might not happen in 2,000 A. D.?

RENE MAYER, Pleven, and Schuman himself—in order of effectiveness, if one may say so—disposed of these criticisms as best they could. They admitted there were risks, but what great new venture did not involve risks? At the same time they stressed the obvious economic benefits to France, and the psychological effect that the laying of “this cornerstone of a United Europe” would have on world opinion. But somehow it did not sound quite right. As many speakers observed, there *was* no United Europe. The Germans, unfortunately, even some people in Adenauer’s Cabinet, could think of a United Europe only in terms of “unifying all the German lands, including Austria and Alsace-Lorraine,” while the Americans looked upon the Schuman Plan as being, above all, a first step toward the formation of a more or less German-dominated European army. This point was clearly stressed by Mr. McCloy in a recent speech, which was also extensively quoted. And the European army (German version) might well mean, as speakers of different parties pointed out, that France would be dragged into a war against Russia. The government was careful to state that the ratification of the Schuman Plan did not mean the ratification of the European army—M. Schuman himself had often observed that the two were not interdependent—but many were unconvinced.

While the Gaullists also contended that “the Germans would cheat,” they attacked the plan chiefly as anti-national, saying that it handed over to a “stateless technocracy” the fate of French industry. They were in favor of federation, but putting economic federation before political federation made no sense. Political federation should be achieved in Western Europe by means of a referendum in all the prospective member countries; after a federal parliament was set up, there could be economic federation. But each member state should keep its own national army.

The concluding phase of the discussion summed up the main arguments. The government spoke in terms of

France’s prestige (“You mean your prestige; France’s prestige is not involved,” one speaker interjected). M. Chaban-Delmas (Gaullist) said he hoped the Schuman Plan would be a success but did not believe it could be. M. Duclos (Communist) said that before long Krupp and other war criminals would set up new torture chambers for French slave labor; he also revealed, rather to the embarrassment of the Socialists, that the Federal Mineworkers’ Committee of the Socialist *Force Ouvrière* trade unions had passed a resolution against the Schuman Plan. M. Pierre André (right), reflecting the views of certain industrialists, said he had still failed to receive a satisfactory reply to what was to him the chief question: “What would happen if the High Authority were to decide to concentrate its capital investments in the Ruhr?”

Finally, Paul Reynaud sharply warned the Assembly that if it did not ratify the Schuman Plan, the United States, which with the Presidential election impending was in a very tricky mood, might give up the defense of Continental Europe and adopt Taft’s strategy of peripheral defense. This really amounted to saying that the Schuman Plan *was* the prelude to the European army—and to German rearmament. Even so, the reference to Taft scared many deputies.

The sequel of the story is in Germany. As mentioned above, the Germans now wish to raise their steel output to nineteen million tons a year, and Adenauer, in his determination to get the Schuman Plan through his Parliament, is said to be willing to make far-reaching concessions to the rightist parties, who would above all like to be told, if only off the record, that the pool will in the end be their pool and the European army predominantly their army.

What, it is asked, will the German Socialists do to counteract these dangerous trends? The French Socialists are a little mystified by the behavior of their German colleagues. At the latest meeting of their National Council there was a marked movement in favor of keeping Germany disarmed and against ratifying the European army. Despite the implication of M. Reynaud’s speech, they voted for the Schuman Plan—M. Gouin had not quoted Victor Hugo in vain—but the army is different. This was made plain at Strasbourg when M. Spaak failed to “sell” it as a “lesser evil” to the French and Belgian Socialists.



Foreign Minister Schuman

BOOKS and the ARTS

Leader of the Revolution

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Volume III, Planter and Patriot. Volume IV, Leader of the Revolution. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$15.

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. By Curtis P. Nettels. Little, Brown and Company. \$5.

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON. By Francis Rufus Bellamy. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$5.

AS MR. FREEMAN is the most admired of our living biographers, and as Volumes I and II of his life of Washington were published three years ago, few readers need to be reminded at this date that in fulness, authority, and interest his work is superseding all others. There will be other biographies of Washington, of course, and they will be welcome, for it is dangerous in principle to leave any great man in the custody of a single literary guardian; but additional investigation, as far ahead as can be seen, is more likely to take the form of commentary or supplement, and the correction of minor shortcomings, than of an entirely new undertaking on a comparable scale.

Until recently a Washington biography of such breadth and solidity could not have been projected, for it has taken more than one generation of archivists and editors to assemble the materials in usable order. With all requisite sources at hand, the right biographer might not have been easy to find. Mr. Freeman was not the inevitable choice that he now seems, for his experience had all been in a later period. It is good to remember that it was that clear-sighted poetic interpreter of the American spirit, Stephen Benét, who first suggested him. Not since Monday, May 16, 1763, when a young Scotch visitor in London was drinking tea "in Mr. Davies's back-parlour" has there been any happier bringing together of subject and biographer. To be sure, the returns are not all in; but with these

volumes the biography reaches its halfway mark, and although the most difficult years are yet to come, prediction seems safe.

The present instalment resumes the story at the close of 1758, when the twenty-seven-year-old Virginian, having resigned his military commission, returned home to marry and to take up the relatively humdrum life of a planter on the Northern Neck. It ends on a note of drama that Mr. Freeman, with his delicate feeling for effect, intentionally subdues. On April 30, 1778—a year that "thus far had been a nightmare of cabal and intrigue in command, and of pallor, hunger, tatters, and foul odors at Valley Forge"—a messenger arrives at headquarters in Morristown with news from France. It is great news. Spring has come to America.

The 1,200 pages in between give the reader the twofold pleasure of hearing a great story told with classic precision and economy of language and of watching the biographer at work, in the footnotes, marshaling and examining evidence, weighing problems, determining degrees of probability, formulating his conclusions, or perhaps adding some additional information that would retard the movement of the narrative and yet is too precious to discard. There are many uses for footnotes besides the ones listed in the manuals of historical method, and Mr. Freeman knows them.

In an introductory essay the author comments at length on several matters of importance such as the growth or transformation, "beyond documentary explanation," of Washington's character and the nature of his work as Commander-in-Chief: "he was one-tenth field commander and nine-tenths administrator." On the first he might have quoted William Ernest Hocking's observation that "the important facts [of history] are never verifiable, for they take place in the mind." Actually, he is not disturbed by the absence of paper-and-ink confirmation of the fact; he is merely stating what every experienced biographer knows.

The attentive reader of a work as detailed and complex as this needs every

mechanical help that the book designer can give. It is a serious defect in the design of this work that it lacks an analytical table of contents, preferably with the additional convenience of corresponding running-heads, and a chronology. The analytical table of contents appears to have gone out of style except in technical books. It is time to bring it back. The index is admirably full and accurate, but all too many of the longer entries consist of line upon line of page references unrelieved by any word to indicate their importance, and the huge composite entry, occupying thirteen pages, under Washington's own name is so badly arranged as largely to defeat its purpose.

The other two books here under review require less notice. In "George Washington and American Independence" Professor Nettels has traversed once more the fifteen months that led from Lexington and Concord to the Declaration of Independence in order to determine Washington's part in hastening the great decision. That part, as his vividly and vigorously written book makes clear, was larger than has always been supposed. The excitements, enmities, and uncertainties of the time live again in his pages as we see Washington emerge as the leader of the Revolution. Mr. Nettels combines a highly competent technique of investigation with a partisan, patriotic, and even moralistic point of view that seems rather old-fashioned. His is not the most philosophical kind of history, but it makes lively reading, and bias so forthright and aboveboard is less objectionable than a bogus objectivity.

I wish I might say as much for Mr. Bellamy's queerly proportioned "Private Life of George Washington." He writes with so pleasant a mixture of shrewdness and sentiment, and with such winning friendliness toward both his subject and his readers, as to make criticism sound ungracious, but this latest attempt to disclose the "real Washington" beneath the trappings of war and state is seriously deficient in historical and literary craftsmanship.

GEORGE GENZMER

The Hemingway School

SCIROCCO. By Romualdo Romano. Translated from the Italian by William Jay Smith. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$2.75.

LITERARY prizes have a way of offering deceptive guaranties of merit; the latest prize novel to reach us from Italy, Romualdo's "Scirocco," which won the newly instituted Hemingway Prize in 1949, is a case in point.

The novel, plotless and moody in the best "American school" tradition of the '20's, chronicles a few days in the life of a Sicilian school teacher who has been assigned classes in a remote mountain hamlet where the conditions of poverty, apathy, ignorance, and sordid interests fill the narrator with "exasperated irritation." Irritation and a related impotence not only to act but to formulate projects of action seem the key to the author's as well as the narrator's state of mind.

Though the action takes place in the second year of the war, as little reference is made to the world beyond the village as if the young school teacher, like his illiterate charges, were bound exclusively by parochial interests. Nor does the interplay of moral forces between the Fascist satraps and the lone suspected anti-Fascist ever come sharply into focus. The narrator's comment on a night excursion headed by the local party secretary, in which he takes a reluctant and passive part, is: "I was sad and bored; and did what the others did with no enthusiasm whatever." The party secretary himself, a character who presents two contrasting facets to the reader with no attempt on Romualdo's part to integrate these complexities, is shown as "one of those who believe inevitably in their own laws." And the young, bored narrator sums up, "As such I hated him." He does not explain why the man who believed in his own laws could at the same time be the executor of a remote but despotic absolutism. Nor why, throughout, this party secretary, the only man of action in the hamlet, is given such loving, three-dimensional, albeit confusing, characterization.

If Romualdo's intent has been to present in all its moral inconclusiveness the personality of a drifting, observant but morally inert young man, he has

succeeded at least partially. Yet the narrator's very quality of drifting makes him before long uninteresting in the extreme. After he has observed seven times in three pages that the world he lives in is "filthy," the reader is bound to take his word for it: the postmaster's teeth are filthy; the fellow school teacher's socks, which he throws in the bread basket but puts on again when he goes to bed, are filthy; and of course the bedraggled children in their underfed, half-naked pullulating life are filthy too. The point is, does the drabness of the narrative and its poor, monotonous preoccupations make for realism, or a form which convincingly communicates the tenebrous view into the Sicilian rural world young Romualdo seeks to offer us? Or does it just imbue us with the boredom and indifference which so patently characterize the hero-narrator?

Except for a disproportionately detailed scene of heron hunting, the "realism" is a poor imitation, by an eager student of American literature, of the early novels of Caldwell and Faulkner (both writers have long been more familiar to the least alert civil servant in the provincial cities of Italy than to our equivalent readers, who still prefer the *Satevepost*). Romualdo does not paint in depth but only in surface grime, which can prove pretty unsatisfying even in a book of only 182 small pages.

The translation is very good indeed, except for the one slip Mr. Smith makes when he translates *continentale* as continental: here the perversity of the Sicilian nature breaks through with insular force, for anyone who comes from the Italian mainland is, of course, called in Sicily a *continentale*.

The evident derivation of the hunting scene—a genuine experience in locally unique surroundings worthy of the best Hemingway hunting scenes—and the open worship of what the author considers the American realistic school seem to me the only possible reasons, however wrong-headed, for "Scirocco's" having been awarded a prize except for sustained monotony.

FRANCES KEENE

The New Canada

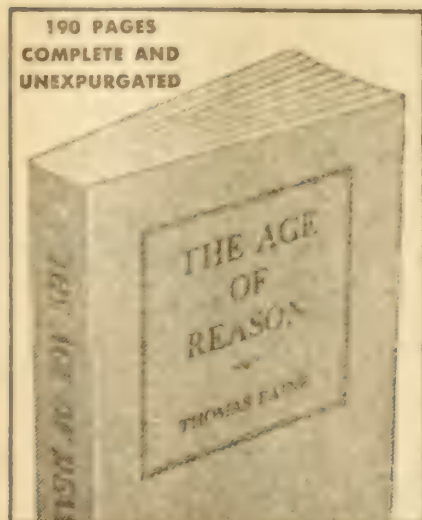
CANADA'S CENTURY. By D. M. Lebourdais. The British Book Center. \$4.

THE place names in Canada are moving north. Names like Yellowknife, Leduc, Steeprock, Knob Lake, and Hamilton River will be the familiar names of tomorrow. It was not so long ago that Canada to the average American, and to many Canadians as well, meant that ribbon of tilled and settled land, with its tourist byways, that lay just north of the border—the Maritime

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D. M. Lebourdais has done a competent reporter's job on the geography and geology of this new Canada. Fifty years ago, in a moment of exuberance, Sir Wilfrid Laurier predicted that the twentieth would be Canada's century. Now, Lebourdais thinks, there is a good chance that this prediction will come true. A railroad is under construction to the great iron-ore deposits of Labrador. A pipe line already brings Alberta oil to the Great Lakes. The St. Lawrence sea-

way will soon be constructed by Canada with or without the cooperation of the United States. The North is bursting with energy. The last great geographic and industrial frontier on the continent is under assault.

There is one disturbing note in the Lebourdais survey. Apparently in the development of Canada's newly found resources the all too familiar pattern of exploitation is being followed. It is the big companies that are in it up to the neck: the big oil companies and the big mining companies are pouring in their millions and will soon be drawing out their multi-millions. True, as the author suggests, the workers in the new wilderness will not have to rough it as their forefathers did. They will have all the modern facilities—the neat stucco houses with hot and cold running water, the recreation center, the modern company store, and the new movie twice a week, all the comforts of the well-run company town. But perhaps ordinary Canadians may want more than that. They may even advance the modest plea that if the next half-century is to be labeled Canada's, a little more of it should belong to them and not merely to some very solid and reputable names on the New York Stock Exchange. I am a little surprised that Mr. Lebourdais made no special mention of the province of Saskatchewan, where it appears that the public authorities persist in the heresy that the natural resources which are being uncovered in the North are the people's birthright and should be developed primarily in the interest of their better life.

J. KING GORDON

Paris, London, and Washington. In addition to the commanding figures, lesser masters like Savoldo, Moroni, and Lorenzo Lotto are fortunately included, but I could wish for something better than a couple of portraits to represent such original artists as Bronzino and particularly Pontormo. There are special reproductions of some of the Correggio frescoes at Parma, and some of the Raphaels in the Vatican, and a truly remarkable group of seventeen details from the Sistine ceiling. The latter,—due allowance made for translation from plaster to slick paper—are so accurate as to be unexpectedly disconcerting: Michelangelo's work has been considerably patched up through the centuries by restorers, and all previous color reproductions gave a very false impression of a homogeneous surface. The actual state of disrepair is clear in the detail of Daniel, but none the less Michelangelo's power surmounts even these obstacles. Two of the nudes, in a relatively good state, come through magnificently.

The accompanying text is rather perfunctory. Lionello Venturi's fifteen-page introduction accents the importance of judging these artists on their own merits and not from Vasari's assumption that the masters who preceded these heroes of his day were merely preparing the way. He also points to the paradox between the high condition of the arts and the disintegration that marked other aspects of Italian life in the sixteenth century. Venturi's daughter has written the many biographical summaries. While they are satisfactory enough, they contain nothing new to a reader familiar with the history of Italian painting.

I return therefore to the color plates. Modern reproduction on shiny paper works reasonably well for bright-hued pictures, especially those of the past sixty years and of the early Renaissance. But the rich echoes of Leonardo's shadow or of Giorgione's color, not to mention the subtleties of late Titian and Tintoretto, are not caught so easily. There are serious discrepancies within this volume: the bleached detail of the nude woman in Giorgione's "Tempest," as against the over-dark illustration of the whole picture. And there are worse discrepancies between reproductions of the same picture in this book and in the

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The Masters in Color

ITALIAN PAINTING: THE RENAISSANCE (from Leonardo da Vinci to Veronese). Text by Lionello Venturi and Rosabianca Skira-Venturi. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Albert Skira. \$17.50.

THE second volume of the Skira history of Italian painting covers the sixteenth century in Florence, Rome, Venice, and northern Italy. As in the Skira series on modern painting, all the illustrations are in color. The 105 plates included in the present volume give a fair idea of many of the finest possessions of the galleries of Rome, Florence, Venice, Naples, Milan, Madrid,

new Abrams volume on the Art Treasures of the Louvre. In this book the "Mona Lisa" has a red splotch on the near landscape and bright green mountains; in the other, the larger plate is almost monochromatic. Here Paul Veronese's "Calvary" is too dark; in the Louvre album it is properly blond. In both, Giorgione's "Concert" is gravely misrepresented, and the detail included in the present volume is shockingly bad. In general, however, the details of the Venetians are very successful; it is the ensembles which disappoint through an inevitable loss of texture in the small scale of the plate.

Giorgione's "Venus," so long at Dresden, now euphemistically described as "inaccessible," is reproduced from a color reproduction. The decision to do so cannot even be classed, I am afraid, as a noble experiment.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Books in Brief

ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF POETRY AND FINE ART. With a Critical Text and Translation of the Poetics by S. H. Butcher. With a Prefatory Essay on Aristotelian Literary Criticism by John Gassner. Dover Publications. \$4.50. This is a welcome and handsomely printed reissue of a standard translation made more than half a century ago. Butcher's exposition and interpretation—twice as long as the "Poetics" itself—has become something of a classic in its own right, and John Gassner contributes an intelligent discussion of the relation of Aristotle's ideas to some recent attitudes toward tragedy. Romantic critics who stressed literature as an expression of a writer's personality rather than an "imitation of life" discounted and misconstrued Aristotle's meaning, and to many he came to seem irrelevant. Probably most critics today are closer to him than critics were half a century ago, and there is still no better approach to a discussion of, say, "The Death of a Salesman" than via some of the generalizations he made. The Butcher text affords the best way of finding out what Aristotle actually said.

STORY. The Magazine of the Short Story in Book Form. Number One. Edited by Whit Burnett and Hallie

Burnett. David McKay. \$3. Those who remember with some affection the old *Story Magazine*, which introduced a number of gifted American writers to the reading public, will be pleased to learn that its editors have decided to bring it out twice a year in book form. Number One presents twenty moderately entertaining stories, ranging in locale from China to the Bronx to Ireland, by an international group of young writers. Although a few of the stories are banal and some are merely slick, the general level is one of unexciting competence, with the exception of one or two that are sharply executed (such as James Wyckoff's "The Door Between" and William D. Magnes's "The Vise"). Perhaps the prospect of appearing between book covers will encourage new writers to enliven future issues with more stimulating and original writing.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

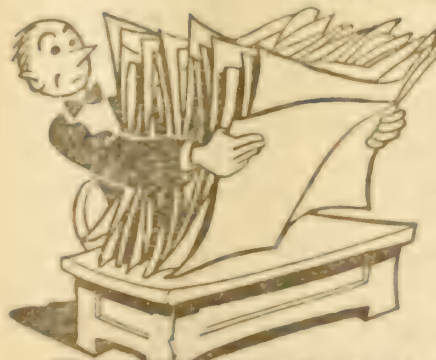
IT WAS in connection with "Caesar and Cleopatra" that Bernard Shaw asked his famous question "Better than Shakespeare?" Up to the end of his life he was still explaining that he had never meant "better in all respects," and the question does not need to be answered in that expanded form. What is really important is the fact that the Vivien Leigh-Laurence Olivier production at the Ziegfeld Theater demonstrates that "Caesar and Cleopatra" is brilliant and engrossing simply as a play, without reference to Shakespeare, and, what is more surprising, without any undue

emphasis upon its paradoxes or its lessons.

What time and familiarity with the Shavian point of view has done is to put audiences at their ease. They are no longer either puzzled by his point of view or nervously anxious to demonstrate that they understand what he is getting at. Taking his drama as drama and his comedy as comedy, they can enjoy both. Perhaps no work can really become a classic until something like that is true, and if—I apologize for the phrase—the "audience acceptance" of Shaw has reached a new high during the last few years, what that means is simply that Shaw has by now educated these audiences to the point where they enter his special world almost as easily as they do that of any other popular writer. One may even go one step farther and say that just as his own contention that the premises of Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra" are foolish and immoral is fundamentally irrelevant to the drama as drama, so the alleged superiority of his own is irrelevant to our judgment of him. In both cases all that is really necessary is that the premises should be temporarily acceptable and that an interesting story resting upon them should be told.

I must add that "Caesar and Cleopatra" has never before seemed to me so interesting a play as it did at the Ziegfeld and that this is of course at least as much the result of what the present production does for Shaw as of what time had previously done for him. The day may come when his reputation will tend to oppress his interpreters as much as Shakespeare's often does now and in its own way interfere with effective interpretation as much as another kind of

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self-consciousness has interfered with some productions of Shaw. But Miss Leigh and Mr. Olivier are quite properly at ease in a play which is, for them, neither merely impudent on the one hand nor sacred on the other. Mr. Olivier's Caesar is the disillusioned idealist humorously resigned to doing the best he can in a world he did not make and with human material of very disappointing quality. Miss Leigh is an exasperatingly attractive Cleopatra who learns only half the lesson that Caesar would teach her—how to assume power but not how to use it. The support is uniformly first-rate, the mise-en-scène sufficiently imposing without being overwhelming, and the action moves with admirable swiftness. It is not often that those who go to the theater in the line of duty feel moved to say as I am now: it seemed short and it was too soon over.

None of this is meant to imply that what Shaw has to say is of no importance to him or to us; only that the intellectual implications have been, with the aid of time, put in their proper place. Of course Shaw himself did mean a kind of retort to Shakespeare. The play is no play unless one realizes that when he tells us that the real significance of the story of Cleopatra emerges when the drama does not center around an amorous episode but around what

happens when a great man grown old meets a queen who has not yet grown up, he is thereby returning to his puritan insistence that life is real and life is earnest. But neither could it become the kind of play it now is until we had learned to be at home with this idea in a sense that its earlier audiences were not.

It is no news that Shaw, to a degree extraordinary for an artist, was concerned with the idea of government, its importance and its difficulty. Almost at the end, when Caesar is reminded that Rome produces no art he replies by asking if peace or even war is not an art, and by dismissing what the subject peoples have to give as mere ornaments. If this is not necessarily all that Shaw himself would have to say on the subject it is an attitude not wholly incomprehensible to him, and it suggests again the obvious fact that he sees in Caesar a hint of both the superman and the philosopher-king. Curiously, despite all his contempt for that Elizabethan man in the street with whom he identifies Shakespeare, the two have something in common. Shakespeare, as historians are fond of asserting, had a sense of the primary importance of social stability which renders the historical plays, perhaps even "Hamlet," incomprehensible to those who do not share it.

Among the many Shavianisms scattered through the text of the present play two widely separated ones, certainly not intended to be taken as comments one on the other, may nevertheless be confronted. Near the end Caesar, rebuking Cleopatra for her wilfulness, says: "I do not do what I want to do; I do what must be done. That is not happiness but it is greatness." Much earlier he had said: "When a stupid man is doing something of which he is thoroughly ashamed he is sure to tell you that it is his duty." Now Caesar was not a stupid man, but is not the fatal defect in the idea of the philosopher-king here exposed? It is terribly difficult for even a benevolent dictator to distinguish between "what has to be done" and that "duty" which is only an apologetic name for something of which anybody ought to feel thoroughly ashamed. There was a great English writer between Shakespeare and Shaw who spoke wisely of "necessity, the tyrant's plea."

Films

MANNY
FARBER

LET Stevens or Kazan win their Oscars; *The Nation's* Emanuel—a life-size drip-celluloid statue of Kirk Douglas ranting and disintegrating in the vengeful throes of death—goes to the man or men responsible for each of the following unheralded productions of 1951.

"Little Big Horn." A low-budget Western, produced by Lippert, starring John Ireland and Lloyd Bridges. This tough-minded, unconventional, persuasive look-in on a Seventh Cavalry patrol riding inexorably through hostile territory to warn Custer about the trap Sitting Bull had set for him was almost as good in its unpolished handling of the regular-army soldier as James Jones's big novel. For once, the men appear as individuals rather than types—grousing, ornery, uprooted, complicated individuals, riding off to glory against their will and better judgment, working together as a team (for all their individualism) in a genuinely loose, efficient, unfriendly American style. The only naturalistic photography of the year; perhaps the best acting of the year in Ireland's graceful, somber portrait of a warm-hearted but completely disillusioned lieutenant who may or may not have philandered with his captain's wife.

"Fixed Bayonets." Sam Fuller's jagged, suspenseful, off-beat variant of the Mauldin cartoon, expanded into a full-length Korean battle movie without benefit of the usual newsreel clips. Funny, morbid; the best war film since "Bataan." I wouldn't mind seeing it seven times.

"His Kind of Woman." Good coarse romantic-adventure nonsense, exploiting the expressive dead pans of Robert Mitchum and Jane Russell, a young man and a young woman who would probably enjoy doing in real life what they have to do here for RKO. Vincent Price superb in his one right role—that of a ham actor thrown suddenly into a situation calling for high melodramatic courage. Russell's petulant, toneless rendition of "Five Little Miles from San Berdoo" is high art of a sort.

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"The Thing." Howard Hawks's science-fiction quickie, fast, crisp, and cheap, without any progressive-minded gospel-reading about neighborliness in the atom age; good airplane take-offs and landings; wonderful shock effects (the plants that cry for human blood as human babies cry for milk); Kenneth Tobey's fine unpolished performance of a nice, clean, lecherous American air-force officer; well-cast story, as raw and ferocious as Hawks's "Scarface," about a battle of wits near the North Pole between a screaming banshee of a vegetable and an air-force crew that jabbers away as sharply and sporadically as Jimmy Cagney moves.

"The Prowler." A tabloid melodrama of sex and avarice in suburbia, strictly from James M. Cain, featuring almost perfect acting by Evelyn Keyes as a hot, dumb average American babe who, finding the attentions of her middle-aged disc-jockey husband beginning to pall, takes up with an amoral rookie cop (nicely hammed up by Van Heflin). Sociologically sharp on stray and hitherto untouched items like motels, athletic nostalgia, the impact of nouveau-riche furnishings on an ambitious ne'er-do-well, the potentially explosive boredom of the childless, uneducated, well-to-do housewife with too much time on her hands.

"The People Against O'Hara." An adroit, scholarly example of sound story-telling that every Message Boy should be made to study as an example of how good you can get when you neither slant nor oversimplify. Also highly enjoyable for its concern about a "static" subject—the legal profession, as such—and the complete authority with which it handles soft-pedaled insights into things like the structure and routine of law offices; the politics of conviviality between cops, D. A.'s, judges, attorneys; the influence of bar associations; the solemn manner of memorializing the wrench caused by the death of a colleague; the painful "homework" of committing to memory the endless ramifications of your case as well as the words you are going to feed the jury in the morning.

"The Day the Earth Stood Still." Science-fiction again, this time with ideals; a buoyant, imaginative filtering around in Washington, D. C., upon the arrival of a high-minded inter-

planetary federalist from Mars, or somewhere; matter-of-fact statements about white-collar shabby gentility in boarding-houses, offices, and the like; imaginative interpretation of a rocket ship and its robot crew; good fun, for a minute, when the visitor turns off all the electricity in the world; Pat Neal good, as usual, as a young mother who believes in progressive education.

"The Man Who Cheated Himself." A lightweight O. Henry-type story about a cop who hoists himself on his own petard; heavyweight acting by Jane Wyatt and Lee Cobb; as a consequence, the only film this year to take a moderate, morally fair stand on moderately suave and immoral Americans, aged about forty. An effortlessly paced story, impressionistically coated with San Francisco's oatmeal-gray atmosphere; at the end it wanders into an abandoned fort or prison and shows Hitchcock and Carol Reed how to sidestep hokum in a corny architectural monstrosity. Cobb packs more psychological truths about joyless American promiscuity into one ironic stare, one drag on a cigarette, or one uninterested kiss than all the Man-kiewicz heroes put together.

"Background to Danger." Tough, perceptive, commercial job glorifying the P-men (Post Office sleuths), set in an authentically desolate wasteland around Gary, Indiana, crawling with pessimistic mail-robbers who act as though they'd seen too many movies like "Asphalt Jungle." Tight plotting, good casting, and sinuously droopy acting by Jan Sterling as an easily-had broad who only really gets excited about—and really understands—waxed bop. Interesting for such sidelights as the semi-demi-hemi-quaver of romantic attachment between the head P-man and a beautiful nun.

And, for want of further space, six-inch Emanuels to the following also-rans: "The Tall Target," "Against the Gun," "No Highway in the Sky," "Happiest Days of Your Life," "Rawhide," Skelton's "Excuse My Dust," "The Enforcer," "Force of Arms," "The Wooden Horse," "Night into Morning," "Payment on Demand," "Cry Danger," and an animated cartoon—the title escapes me—about a crass, earnest, herky-jerky dog that knocks its brains out trying to win a job in a Pisa pizza joint.

Records

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THE shift of the N. B. C. Symphony broadcasts from Studio 8H to Carnegie Hall has improved the over-all quality of the sound that comes out of our radios, giving it a warmth and naturalness which the sound from 8H did not have. But whereas C. B. S.'s method of picking up the New York Philharmonic in Carnegie Hall brings us an orchestra which is at a sufficient distance for the components of the sound to be spaced out, N. B. C. transmits a sound whose components are tightly crowded in on us as though we were placed right in the middle of the orchestra.

In Carnegie Hall the N. B. C. Symphony plays and sounds, under Toscanini's and Cantelli's direction, like the great orchestra it became the year of the transcontinental tour—with the unanimity, precision, finish, and sensitivity, the blending, refinement, and beauty of tone that were carried to breath-taking incandescence in the performance of Debussy's "La Mer" at the final concert of the tour in Philadelphia. A week or two later "La Mer" was recorded—but not in the Academy of Music or Carnegie Hall; and the newly issued RCA Victor LP record gives us the performance with the altered sound it had in Studio 8H—some of the most agreeable sound we have ever had from that accursed place, but not what I heard in Philadelphia. And not with the warmth and distinctness of the sound of the New York Philharmonic on the Columbia LP record of the performance of "La Mer" conducted by Mitropoulos. The Mitropoulos violence produces nothing worse than an excessive acceleration here and retardation there; so that on the whole the performance is an acceptable and effective one, though not what Toscanini's has become—the definitive performance of our time. Coupled with Toscanini's "La Mer" is a transference of his older recording of Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream" music—quite satisfactory with treble stepped up; coupled with Mitropoulos's is Debussy's "Iberia" played by the Philadelphia Orchestra under

Ormandy—one of Ormandy's better performances, and the first Columbia recording to reproduce the orchestra's playing not only with distinctness but with the warmth and sheen of its sound.

Of the Bach Harpsichord Concertos Nos. 3 and 4 recorded for the Bach Guild (Vanguard) by Kurt Rapf and a small Viennese orchestra, No. 3 is an alternate version of the E major Violin Concerto, with a superb slow movement whose long-breathed melodic flow is more effective with the sustained tone of the violin, and No. 4 has only a moderately engaging first movement. The performances are good.

Some of the works of Vivaldi that we know well are very beautiful; but the unfamiliar Concertos in E minor and F and Violin Concertos in C and B flat recorded for the first time by Polymusic I find mostly uninteresting. Elliot Magaziner's violin tone is a little veiled; the playing of the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris under Charles Bruck is good; surfaces are a little gritty.

Beecham's often graceless and ponderous performances of Haydn's

Symphonies Nos. 94 ("Surprise") and 103 ("Drum Roll") with his Royal Philharmonic (Columbia) provide further evidence of the recent deterioration in his work; and their recorded sound becomes coarse, dull, and enveloped in distortion as the pickup moves toward the center of the record. His performance of Mendelssohn's "Fingal's Cave" Overture, on another record, is also over-deliberate; that of the "Ruy Blas" Overture is good; surfaces are a little gritty. Still another record offers his excellent performances of the Suite from Rimsky-Korsakov's "Le Coq d'or," some of Rimsky's best music, and Franck's "Le Chasseur maudit," a poor work.

Considered by itself Monteux's new performance of Stravinsky's "Le Sacre du printemps" with the Boston Symphony (RCA Victor) is competent and effective; but it lacks the force of Stravinsky's own dynamic performance with the New York Philharmonic, or even of Ansermet's more stolid performance with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande. The recorded sound of Stravinsky's performance is clear and cold;

that of Ansermet's has the spatial depth and roundness of London orchestral recording; that of Monteux's has Victor's warmth and radiance. My choice would be the Stravinsky.

And I would choose Ansermet's somewhat stolid performance of the complete score of Stravinsky's "Petrouchka" in preference to the violent one by Mitropoulos and the New York Philharmonic (Columbia) and the frenetic one by Stokowski and an assembled orchestra (Victor). But best of all, again, is Stravinsky's own, inadequately reproduced performance of excerpts with the New York Philharmonic; and one wishes he would make a new recording of the entire score.

As for Milhaud's "La Création du monde" and Copland's "El Salón Mexicano," excellently performed by orchestras under Leonard Bernstein (Columbia): the idea behind Milhaud's use of jazz in his piece—that because jazz is the music of the American Negro it is the right material for a ballet about "the creation of the world as it might be imagined by an aboriginal mind"—seems to me fallacious; but a couple of the passages in which Milhaud uses jazz material are effective, and indeed the only good things in the piece. That is more than I can say for Copland's work, into which he says he hoped to have put something of the spirit of the Mexican people that he felt in the popular tunes he heard. With his treatment of the languorous tunes—which I would again describe as putting them into a rhythmic straitjacket and pouring harmonic acid on them—I would say he put into the work the spirit not of the Mexican people but of Aaron Copland.

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE GENZMER is working on a critical biography of Thomas Jefferson for the American Men of Letters Series.

FRANCES KEENE, formerly with the OWI in Rome, edited "Neither Liberty Nor Bread," the only documented history of fascism as told by the opposition.

J. KING GORDON, formerly managing editor of *The Nation*, is on the staff of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

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Crossword Puzzle No. 446

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Comparatively presumptuous? (Says he's afraid, otherwise.) (5, 2, 1, 5).
- 10 This digit might make its point. (5)
- 11 Their reaction might depend on the season. (9)
- 12 Instructions for bubble formation might be deadly. (9)
- 13 Comparatively sec. (5)
- 14 Did it begin with Francis Scott? (3, 9)
- 19 Utopia? (1, 5, 2, 4)
- 22 One of these is hard, yet shakes.
- 24 Things might be so identified initially. (9)
- 25 What many pitchers rely on? (9)
- 26 I'm past being an adult insect. (5)
- 27 Super-duper? (10, 3)

- 8 Border state? (This side Paradise!) (5)
- 9 His hold isn't strictly legal. (7)
- 15 It makes a sort of agent gain, in large proportion. (9)
- 16 A square shouldn't have one near. (9)
- 17 The whim of a top U. S. dramatist. (7)
- 18 The Emperor set a good example. (8)
- 20 Take a taxi and a couple of articles to arrive at the cottage. (8)
- 21 Part of your habiliment, perhaps, looks like a bed! (5)
- 23 Stick with the hired help! (5)
- 24 Part of a battery works from one. (5)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 445

ACROSS — 1, 10 THE BIRTH OF A NATION; 8 SHED; 11 SERIOUS; 12 CONDUCTS; 13 QUITO; 15 INSET; 17 OUTWEIGHS; 19 COMPASSES; 21 and 7 down TRAPSHOOTING; 23 OILED; 24 RETICENT; 27 KICK-OFF; 28 BRASSIE; 29 YANK; 30 PERSIFLAGE.

DOWN — 1 THAW; 2 ENAMORS; 3 IVIED; 4 TENACIOUS; 5 OASIS; 6 DISPOSSESS; 9 FREQUENT; 14 DISC JOCKEY; 16 TRAP DOOR; 18 TEST TUBES; 20 MILK CAN; 22 AMNESIA; 24 RIFLE; 25 CHAFF; 26 MERE.

DOWN

- 2 Fair game for a Russian wolfhound? (3, 3)
- 3 This is "it"! (3, 6)
- 4 Stop in at a change of course. (9)
- 5 Vaults are so passé! (5)
- 6 Change. (Notice when it's about human beings!) (5)
- 7 Poker debts? (8)

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The Passing of Litvinov—J. A. del Vayo

THE *Nation*

January 12, 1952

THE VATICAN APPOINTMENT

Is It Constitutional?

BY MARK DE WOLFE HOWE

Lesson of the Past

BY JOSEPH L. BLAU

The Vatican's Global Strategy

BY MARCUS CATO



PROTESTANTS AND OTHER AMERICANS UNITED

for

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

—POAU—

THE CRISIS precipitated by President Truman's appointment of an Ambassador to the papal head of the Roman Catholic Church must arouse every patriotic American to a sense of his personal responsibility in preventing the consummation of this threat to religious liberty in the United States. Our Constitution guarantees religious liberty by maintaining the separation of Church and State. An Ambassador to the Pope is a clear violation of this constitutional principle. It gives a single church a secret and official access to the ear of our government which no other church would accept. It is a defiant violation of the First Amendment and will place all non-Roman churches in a subordinate status in American society.

A vigorous and expensive campaign lies ahead to prevent the consummation of this un-American and unconstitutional project. The P O A U is spearheading a national campaign to alert the nation to the danger. It will extend into many weeks while the Senate debates the issue. If the appointment is confirmed by the Senate, the campaign will extend into an indefinite future.

P O A U will carry the banner of opposition until this high-handed *invasion of religious liberty* is triumphantly defeated. It has already held 50 of a projected 100 mass meetings in cities and towns across the nation to arouse public opinion and focus it upon the Senate. It needs money for every form of publicity — newspaper, radio, television, direct mailing, and legal action in case this becomes necessary.

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

FRANCO, IT SEEMS, IS ALL BUT IN THE family. At first, when Paul A. Porter, acting Mutual Security Administrator, announced that the United States and Spain were about to negotiate an economic-aid agreement, the State Department made sounds of surprise and protested that major decisions had yet to be made with respect to the "basic military relationship" between the two nations. It looked, too, as if objections might be raised in the Pentagon unless the issue of bases for dollars were settled in advance on more favorable terms than Franco is known to have agreed to. But apparently these reactions were sparked by crossed wires rather than by any basic doubts. Mr. Porter is reported as saying that talks would begin by the middle of the month and an agreement would be concluded within ten days thereafter. If this schedule is held to, objectors will have to move fast. But no one seriously doubts that a Security Agency and permanent military mission will soon be established in Madrid and a deal made granting Spain—to begin with—\$100,000,000 in military and other aid and formally converting Franco into an ally of this country. More funds will certainly follow, for Mr. Porter's decision was based in large measure on the recent report made by Professor Sidney C. Suffrin of Syracuse University, who recommended an annual United States subsidy of \$150,000,000 to bolster up Spain's economy at its weakest points and make it a military asset instead of a burden.

✱

ONE POINT MR. PORTER STRESSED SEVERAL times. Franco is not to be pressed to reform his regime. "I look upon it [American aid] from the standpoint of an economic investment." This cold bargaining position does not shock us as it seems to shock some of our liberal contemporaries. We have never liked the look of political strings attached to American dollars; and if we did, we would know in this particular case that they would have no meaning. Franco cannot liberalize his regime. To do so would be to invite its overthrow. Not even American dollars could save him if he allowed the Spanish people to speak or vote or strike freely. If we are to join hands with a fascist dictator, better to do so without

camouflage, on Porter's formula. The sickening fact is not that we exact no political concessions from Franco but that we should ally ourselves with him on any terms. Those who read the remarkable articles by Robert Fromm in the two last issues of *The Nation* will realize with new acuteness what sort of ally we are buying. What most Americans may not yet realize is that our decision to support the Franco regime with money and military missions will inevitably have the effect of converting Franco's internal enemies—the oppressed people of Spain—into enemies of the United States. How can it be otherwise, since we are committed to the survival and strengthening of his rule? And if this is true, how secure can we feel even in the bases and airfields we get for our dollars?

✱

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED Nations secretariat indicate that relations between Trygve Lie and his staff continue to deteriorate. Another leading official of the Staff Association (see editorial comment in *The Nation* of July 28, 1951), H. Lukin Robinson of Canada, has been dismissed with no reason assigned; and now Mr. Lie proposes to ask the General Assembly for practically dictatorial power to set aside staff regulations and the findings of the Administrative Tribunal, all as part of a campaign to drive from the secretariat persons whom he regards as "bad international civil servants." As bearing on Mr. Lie's conception of a "good international civil servant," it is reported that he informed the chairman of the Staff Committee recently in Paris that the staff would have to decide whether "it is loyal to me or loyal to Lukin Robinson." Mr. Robinson, it will be recalled, was assigned by the Staff Association to defend, before the Appeals Board, fellow staff officers who had been dismissed early in 1951. It is to be hoped that a widely representative group of delegations will call a halt to this program of intimidation and reprisal.

✱

J. HOWARD McGRATH IS MAKING A UNIQUE contribution to a solution of the housing problem. The Attorney General is building, with federal prison labor, three "stand-by" prisons in Wickenburg and Florence, Arizona, and El Reno, Oklahoma, for use as con-

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centration camps should the United States be invaded or should war be declared or an insurrection take place. No slum-clearance features will be part of these singular housing projects, which will accommodate when completed about 3,000 dissenters. News stories refer to their construction as "a big-scale operation, providing for a possible roundup of many thousand potential spies and saboteurs." It was Mr. McGrath's predecessor, Tom Clark, who as an Assistant Attorney General laid the constitutional groundwork for these ominous institutions. Mr. Clark was in charge of rounding up 100,000 Japanese Americans during World War II and placing them in so-called "relocation centers," one of which, that at Tule Lake, will be used as an additional future concentration camp. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court, in the Korematsu case, upheld the executive order under which the Japanese were removed from the West Coast and placed in detention centers. And this decision will be cited as the precedent for upholding the provisions of the McCarran act under which any person who, "there is reasonable grounds to believe," might conspire with others to commit acts of sabotage or espionage in an emergency may be arrested and detained in the concentration camps now being constructed.

★

THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS DENOUNCED as false the Russian charge that American forces are transporting Chinese Nationalist troops to Southeast Asia for possible action against Communist China. Washington stories state that the charge may be a "cover" for aggressive action planned by the Communists in Indo-China or elsewhere, but items appearing in the American press with Taipei and Hongkong date-lines lend some support if not to this then to another recent Soviet accusation, made in the United Nations—namely, that the United States is plotting subversive activities in Communist-controlled countries. For example, on December 4, Jim G. Lucas, in the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*, reported from Taipei that Major General William C. Chase does not regard Formosa as "an isolated area" and that he would soon pay a visit to Major General John Cole, who heads our military mission in Thailand. An A. P. dispatch from Taipei on December 26 said that a Nationalist officer and twelve soldiers had been killed in an attack on an island off Fukien held by the Chinese Communists. Although not previously announced, the attack took place on December 7. On December 27 a U. P. dispatch from Hongkong announced that six unidentified planes had attacked the Communist-held island of Taichan. And on December 31, General Chase, in an interview at Taipei, stated that the United States and Nationalist China might work as "a team in action outside Formosa." The same dispatch quoted Chiang Kai-

shek as saying that Formosa was being prepared as a model province "for the recovery of all China." All this may fall under the heading of psychological warfare designed to deter possible Chinese aggression in Southeast Asia, but it points to the danger that Chiang's continued occupation of Formosa with a large force, armed and trained by Americans, may involve us in further difficulties with Communist China. Formosa is a time-bomb ticking off the coast of Asia.

★

WHEN A YOUNG AMERICAN OF INDIAN descent, slain in Korea, was refused burial last summer in a Nebraska cemetery because his heritage was something less than pure white, President Truman rightly denounced this most un-American outrage. Now the President may be forced to repeat his denunciation. Another Korean veteran, this time a nineteen-year-old Negro from Phoenix, Arizona, has been denied burial in a veterans' plot in Greenwood Memorial Park. A policy of the park—owned and operated by Arizona Lodge Number 2 of the Free and Accepted Masons—has been to bury Negro veterans only after three notarized letters of request have been received from veterans' organizations. The father of the dead soldier has refused to ask for such a humiliating "clearance." He believes his dead son should be buried in a democratic manner beside his fallen comrades—just as his life was taken from him—without regard to his race or color or creed. But efforts to lift the cemetery's bar have been blocked on the ground that they would constitute "undue interference in the cemetery's affairs," and consequently the soldier's body has been lying in the morgue for more than five weeks. Thus a new twist has been given to racist practice, which now follows its victims to their very graves. An official of Greenwood Memorial Park has said: "... we got a place for all races and creeds out here. The soil is the same in one part . . . as it is in another."

★

POOLS OF UNEMPLOYMENT ARE BEGINNING to appear in industries where new defense orders are insufficient to compensate for cuts in production due to sharply reduced allocations of materials. In the Detroit district, for example, the number of jobless has risen to 120,000—80 per cent more than twelve months ago—largely owing to layoffs in the automobile industry. It will rise still farther if the Defense Production Authority abides by its plan to restrict the output of private cars to 800,000 units in the second quarter of this year. Labor and management alike are protesting on the ground that the proposed cut is discriminatory, but DPA spokesmen claim that the automobile industry is actually being given special consideration. The contemplated cut will bring it down to 52 per cent of pre-Korean out-

put, while some other consumer-goods industries are being restricted to 35 per cent of that level. On the other hand, the social impact of sharply reduced production is especially serious in the case of automobiles because of the immense size and geographical concentration of the industry. Moreover, it seems that it may be many months before arms contracts take up the slack. The Ford Company, for instance, expects to fill only \$400,000,000 worth of defense orders this year while losing \$1,300,000,000 worth of civilian output. Such a hiatus suggests faulty planning in Washington. But it may be that some responsibility also attaches to managements which have been reluctant to turn to defense production so long as the demand for cars was high and materials could be scraped together.

★

THE WEST AGAINST ITSELF IS AN OLD THEME.

Nearly half a century ago, Western Senators and Representatives, obedient to the timber interests, put up the major opposition to the creation of federal forest reserves in the Western states. Similar disregard of the people's interests is now exhibited by Idaho's solidly Republican delegation on Capitol Hill, which is trying to block the construction of Hell's Canyon Dam across the Snake River. The Idaho politicians are supporting, instead, a proposal of the Idaho Power Company to erect five low dams on the Snake. Idaho is without any important home industry, and low-cost electric power is the state's principal need. The five Idaho Power Company dams would generate 487,000 kilowatts of prime power. The dam in Hell's Canyon would produce 688,000 kilowatts at the site, and by storing water for release during the dry season, would add 742,000 kilowatts to the output of Bonneville and McNary Dams, downstream on the Columbia River system. Thus the elected representatives of the people of Idaho are willing to settle for only one-third of the energy which might ultimately be made available to them in order to protect the preferential position of a private power monopoly. The Hell's Canyon Dam would also provide flood-control benefits all the way to the sea, while the Idaho Power Company dams would be useless for that purpose. The Idaho Power Company, moreover, charges a substantially higher rate for industrial power than that offered by the Bonneville-Grand Coulee grid, and Hell's Canyon's kilowatts would flow into this system. A bill authorizing construction of the Hell's Canyon project is now before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

★

SENATOR ALLEN J. ELLENDER, RETURNING from a trip to Europe, has discovered that while the United States is assisting Austria with ECA money, France, Russia, and Britain are demanding from Austria

some 150,000,000 shillings a year for occupation costs. To the Senator this seems so sensational that he wants to call the Austrian Chancellor Figl as a witness before a Senate investigating committee. The Chancellor's response was somewhat embarrassed—about the way a Nobel Prize winner might react when called to testify on the validity of the multiplication table. Senator Ellender seems to have overlooked the fact that the United States has been paying its way in Austria for the past four years and assisting the Austrian government, first with army funds, later under the Marshall Plan. The British, while obtaining Austrian shillings for occupation costs, have contributed substantial relief funds to Austria. The problem is thus essentially one of inducing France and the Soviet Union to forego their demands upon Austria. If the Senator intends to do this, we wish him the best of luck. But does he really think this purpose would be served by his opposing further assistance to Austria? Moscow can hardly be expected to change its foreign policy under the threat of a lowered living standard—in Vienna.

Mr. Truman Versus A. M. A.

THE President's appointment of a Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation is in one sense a confession of failure, since it means that he has abandoned hope of early passage by Congress of his national health-insurance bill. However, the move shows that Mr. Truman is not prepared to surrender to the American Medical Association, whose expensive and unprincipled propaganda against "socialized medicine" has been a prime factor in blocking action for a national health service. The new commission should at least keep public interest in the problem alive, and if it performs a thorough job of fact-finding, it may provide us with a really authoritative up-to-date picture of our health set-up.

No one can say that the commission has been "packed." Its chairman is Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, distinguished Chicago surgeon and former chief medical director of the Veterans' Administration, who even if he does not share the A. M. A.'s complacency is on record as opposing compulsory health insurance. A number of highly qualified physicians and medical educators have also consented to serve, together with a group of prominent laymen representing labor, farmers, and consumers.

Nevertheless, the appointment of the commission has been violently attacked by Dr. John W. Cline, president of the A. M. A., who charges that President Truman's action is "a brazen misuse of defense-emergency funds for a program of political propaganda designed to influence legislation and the outcome of the 1952 elections." According to Dr. Cline, "there is no health emergency in this country to require such an investiga-

tion," since "the health of the American people never has been better."

This onslaught, with its undertone of self-satisfaction, was easily predictable from the record of the A. M. A., which has a Candide-like faith that, medically speaking, this is the best of all possible worlds. Last June, in a speech at the dedication of the National Institutes of Health Clinical Center, President Truman said that in advocating health insurance he was not wedded to any particular plan. "What I want," he continued, "is a good workable plan that will enable all Americans to pay for the medical care that they need. And I will say here and now that if the people who have been blocking health insurance for five years will come up with a better proposal—or even with one that is almost as good—I will go along with them." Replying to this challenge, Dr. Cline declared: "A better program already is available and is functioning admirably—the American medical system, which has made this the healthiest great nation in the world."

Such ineradicable smugness itself proves the need for an objective survey of the medical facilities available to the American people. Possibly this country is the healthiest in the world—the Swedes might challenge that—but certainly good health is not available in equal measure to all the people. In the country as a whole, for instance, there is 1 physician for every 741 persons, but in Mississippi the ratio is 1 to 1,449 and in South Dakota 1 to 1,316. For the United States the infant-mortality rate has been brought down to 32 per 1,000 live births (1948) compared with 47 ten years earlier. But in New Mexico 70 out of every 1,000 babies die in their first year, which may have some connection with the fact that 34.4 per cent of the births in that state were unattended by physicians. (Incidentally, both maternal and infant-mortality rates are lower in socialized Britain than in the United States.)

Even the A. M. A. admits that more doctors are needed and that medical educational facilities are inadequate. It has started a fund for their improvement but apparently has not been as successful in raising money for this purpose as in passing the hat to fight national health insurance. As a result, the rush of medical students to Europe is so great that Dr. Morris Fishbein, a veteran opponent of public medicine, has been led to declare that some means must be found to utilize government funds for medical schools.

But the training of more doctors, important as that is, will not by itself solve the problem of the high cost of medical care, which puts it beyond the reach of millions and in cases of serious illness not infrequently swallows up the life savings of comparatively well-to-do people. Blue Cross and other prepaid voluntary-insurance plans have modified the problem to some extent, but they have not proved an answer to those groups

most in need of better health services. Possibly some compromise between the wholly voluntary system and compulsory national insurance may provide a feasible solution, and any recommendations that the President's commission may make on this score will deserve careful consideration. But until some other plan is adumbrated, "socialized medicine" holds the field as the best means of raising health standards to the high level which the wealth of this country and progress of the healing arts make possible.

The Vatican Appointment: A Second Look

DESPITE the many puzzling and contradictory aspects, it is now possible to trace at least the main outline of the story behind President Truman's extraordinary announcement of October 20 that he had nominated General Mark W. Clark as ambassador to the Vatican.

Although the President acted suddenly, it is now clear that he had had the appointment under consideration for a long time. In a press conference on October 26 he said that he had been studying the question ever since the retirement of Myron C. Taylor in 1949 as his personal representative at the Vatican. The abruptness with which the Taylor mission was terminated had come as a shock to the Holy See, and a marked change had been noted in Vatican protocol in dealing with American visitors and related matters. President Truman had been urged at the time, by Representative John McCormack and others, to meet the issue by sending a minister to the Vatican; but apparently neither a minister nor a "personal representative" was what the Vatican wanted.

There the matter rested for some time, although the debate within the Administration continued. Then, in January, 1951, the President privately offered the ambassadorship to Charles P. Taft, formerly president of the Federal Council of Churches. Mr. Taft declined it.

In May and again early in the summer Mr. Truman assured Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam that the appointment would not be made, but before long the goings and comings between Rome and Washington indicated that the issue was once again receiving top-level consideration. On October 12 Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., announced from Rome that no action was likely to be taken before the 1952 Presidential election; in the double-talk of politics this implied that an appointment was in the cards.

It is evident, therefore, that although the President's decision to send the name of General Clark to the Senate may have been abrupt and dictated by purely

tactical political reasons, the idea of resuming diplomatic relations with the Vatican was part of a carefully thought-out strategy. Several Washington columnists have recently reported that Mr. Truman is entirely serious about the matter; one of them has said he intends to send a representative to the Vatican "no matter what happens to delay or block confirmation" of the Clark appointment. It can be taken for granted, therefore, that Mr. Truman intends to have his way on this issue.

The timing and method of the announcement, however, appear to have been influenced by short-range political considerations. Clark was named on October 20. Two days later, when Philip Jessup was given his interim appointment as United States delegate to the U. N., the opposition of McCarthy and McCarran was noisy but ineffective. General Clark's name was sent to the Senate a few hours before it adjourned and with no advance notice. Since unanimous consent would have been required to consider the appointment, the President cannot have expected it to be confirmed. Also Mr. Truman named a general of the active army who had already assured him that he did not intend to resign. Unanimous consent would also have been necessary for consideration of legislation required to exempt General Clark from the provisions of the 1870 statute barring such appointments. Obviously, therefore, the proposal was made in a way that insured postponement of ratification until January, with no interim appointment possible. These facts justify the conclusion that the President intended to put Congress "on the spot," to embarrass Senator Taft in particular, and to create an issue out of which he could win political advantage. The more strenuously the Protestants attacked the appointment, the more strenuously—by inference—the Catholics would have to rally to the defense of the Administration, McCarthy and McCarran to the contrary notwithstanding. But politics are not always as simple as the blueprints of politicians. In this case there is reason to believe that the President's handling of the entire affair was a diplomatic and political blunder.

In the first place, Mr. Truman announced that General Clark was being named as ambassador "to the State of Vatican City." That even this would be unacceptable to the Pope was made crystal-clear in a column by Anne O'Hare McCormick in the *New York Times* of December 24. Writing from Rome, Mrs. McCormick said:

Advocates who argue that the appointment is not to a religious leader but to the ruler of the scrap of real estate called Vatican City do not get much support here. The mission is either to the Pope as the head of a world-wide church or it is nothing . . . to pretend anything else is to make the appointment useless or reduce it to absurdity. All other countries sending representatives to the Vatican accredit them to the Holy See, and

If the United States decides to send one at all it will follow the regular formula.

Reports from Rome in the wake of the announcement were eloquent of Papal dissatisfaction. Naming a military man as ambassador was itself a source of annoyance, for it emphasized the strategic aspects of the appointment. "If I go," said General Clark, "I will go as a military man in much the same status as General Walter Bedell Smith when he went to Moscow." A similar diplomatic *faux pas* was implicit in Mrs. Roosevelt's comment that the appointment would have "tremendous value in our fight against Communist Russia" and would "broaden the base of our intelligence," since the Vatican had "many good men behind the Iron Curtain." Dispatches from Rome quickly pointed out that this careless reference would constitute "excellent justification for the jailing and expulsion" of priests in Iron Curtain countries. Referring to Vatican sources, they also emphasized that the whole idea of "blocs and groupings" was repugnant to the church, that the announcement of the President's decision had been greeted with "marked reserve," and that even confirmation of an ambassador would not be construed as meaning that the "Holy See has become a member of the North Atlantic Military Alliance." These rather frosty comments seemed intended as a rebuke to those who had presumed to address the church as though it were merely another European state.

But the larger issue relates, of course, to the question of strategy: did the President strengthen the forces "combating communism" by appointing an ambassador to the State of Vatican City? The Pope's Christmas Eve message, which emphasized again the church's neutrality in the conflict between East and West and its unwillingness to enter into an alliance with any temporal power, arouses serious doubt that the appointment has improved relations between the Vatican and the United States. At the same time, confirmation of the appointment is more likely to undermine than to strengthen those "center" political groups which, both in Italy and France, contain important anti-clerical elements (see William Murray's article elsewhere in this issue). Nor did the President's move contribute to the improvement of Anglo-American relations. It has been suggested that one reason for British coolness toward the European federation planned at Strasbourg is that such a federation would be dominated by Catholics. This would lend credence to the theory lately advanced in the European press that the appointment of an American ambassador was intended to win Vatican support for the idea of a "little federation," should the larger European federation not be achieved. The "little federation" would be composed of France, Italy, and perhaps Luxembourg, and would, of course, be almost exclusively Catholic.

In the United States the effect of the appointment, on

the eve of a Presidential election, was not only to increase disunity and tension but to embarrass an important minority among the Catholics themselves. Religious differences have been given greater political significance than they have had in many years. It is already clear that parties and candidates will attempt to use the Vatican issue to their own advantage. Already, too, Protestant groups are displaying a new political unity of action. In this sense, the appointment subverts the civic unity which we have always managed to maintain as a people, with a few lapses, despite our manifold racial, ethnic, and religious differences.

But apart from its political impact, both abroad and at home, there is no reason to think that the sending of an ambassador to the Vatican will be of assistance in the effort to contain communism. The notion that the Vatican is an invaluable "listening post" has been pretty thoroughly demolished. Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, president of the Union Theological Seminary, has pointed out that on three recent occasions of the highest importance to the Papacy—the agreement of the Polish government with the Roman Catholic bishops, the banishment of Archbishop Beran from Prague, and the trial and conviction of Archbishop Grosz in Hungary—the Vatican received its first information from secular sources. *Time* magazine said: "The efficiency of the Vatican's 'world-wide information service' has probably been exaggerated for many years." The Pope, of course, has frequently and vigorously condemned communism, but he continues to insist that the church cannot be an ally in a struggle for power. Even if this statement is to be taken with serious reservations, the presence of strong Communist parties in Catholic France and Italy would indicate that Catholicism is not always an effective anti-toxin against communism.

We have discussed the appointment as a political matter, since that is apparently its chief strategic significance. In the blind struggle for power now being waged throughout the world it seems almost irrelevant to raise an issue of principle. But that issue cannot be pushed aside. Does the appointment violate the principle of the separation of church and state? Speaking as "a life-long Baptist," Mr. Truman has said "certainly not," but the Baptists, including his own pastor, strenuously disagree. In our view, the appointment violates the principle not only in the narrow sense that it might be ruled unconstitutional if a test could be devised but in the much broader sense of undermining the tradition, the experience, the meaning of the principle itself. As Bishop Oxnam has pointed out, an ambassador in Rome means an ambassador here. The presence of a papal nuncio in Washington would surely give a privileged status to one religious faith not enjoyed by any others. It would also support the contentions of those who have stressed the political orientation of the church and the

implications of its hierarchical structure to a democracy. The question, indeed, would arise, whether the members of the Roman hierarchy should be required to register as agents of a foreign power. More important, perhaps, is the fact that the appointment represents a regression to an outmoded, European form of church-state relationship. If it stands—whether General Clark or another is confirmed—it will be only the first step in a process that will reverse the historical American position on church and state. To most of us this would be far too high a price to pay for even a brilliant diplomatic success; it is incontestably too high a price to pay for a diplomatic blunder which has annoyed those it was supposed to please and confirmed the suspicions of those it was certain to annoy.

The Passing of Litvinov

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, January 4

IT WAS one of my greatest privileges to work closely with Maxim Litvinov in the Council of the League of Nations. In a volume of German documents on Spain seized by the Allied armies and published by the State Department at the beginning of last year there is more than one reference to that period and that association. Hitler's ambassadors were uneasy when they saw the case of Spain taken to heart by a man of such tremendous powers of persuasion and such penetrating insight.

Litvinov, of course, realized that the question of whether or not there would be a second world war would be decided in Spain, and I had his full support in the Council from the day I predicted that if Hitler were not stopped in Spain, general war was unavoidable. But I prefer to think of Litvinov's role in another great hour, when Spain was not a direct issue—the period preceding the Munich disaster. He had always been convinced that the only hope of keeping the peace was to confront Germany with an irresistible security bloc; and in spite of so many previous failures in the League, he tried with all his strength to inject the will to resist into the weak chorus of the Chamberlains and Bonnets. I saw him constantly during those days and I am a witness to his determination, and Russia's determination, to back the League to the limit if the League stood up to its duty.

He had many advantages over most of his colleagues, and one of them was his knowledge of the essence of fascism and his hatred of it. I am sure that until the day of his death he felt the same.

He knew the West quite well; especially he knew its leaders. His unique experience of having worked for years, and successfully, to break the *cordon sanitaire* around the Soviet state made him a realist in his approach to Western policy. From the moment that Czechoslovakia became the issue in the Assembly of 1938, he clearly

foresaw how events would unfold. For he realized that hatred and fear of communism would prevail even over the instinct of national patriotism and self-defense. He anticipated Munich, and Munich took place. His formula for dispelling the apparent obscurity of an international situation would today lead inevitably to the conclusion that the main goal of the policy of containment is to rule out the possibility of negotiation with Russia.

By an ironical coincidence Litvinov was buried in the Novo-dyevichi cemetery the day the Political Committee in the Palais de Chaillot started debate on the work of the Collective Measures Committee. It was Litvinov who, not in theory but in practice, concluded the most exemplary non-aggression pacts with Russia's border states, who negotiated the French-Russian pact, who presented the League with a definition of aggression that has never been improved upon, and who not only declared peace "indivisible" but knew how to combine strengthening the defensive position of his own country with strengthening peace throughout the world.

Hoping against hope, I continued to believe that improvement in his health and changed circumstances might permit Litvinov's reappearance on the world scene at a moment when Germany, in defiance of the dictates of reason, was being transformed into the cornerstone of Western policy. He knew Germany as no one else did.

But now Litvinov is gone. In years to come historians and commentators on foreign affairs will appreciate much better than they do today the real stature of this remarkable man.

The Voice of Science

BY LEONARD ENGEL

THE biggest annual event for American scientists is the Christmas-week meeting of the 103-year-old American Association for the Advancement of Science. While important discoveries are seldom announced at the meeting—most scientists prefer to publish them in professional journals as soon as they are made—its symposia and invited addresses, plus corridor gossip, accurately reflect the main trends in American science.

This year's meeting in Philadelphia was the most "political" I can remember. No fewer than eight symposia, some extending through two or three sessions, were largely concerned with the difficulties of science in the contemporary political world. (Many other sessions were devoted to the help science can offer in solving the world's problems, such as food resources and social change, but science has always had a lot to say about that; I am talking about the problems the world has created for science.) The views expressed were not always welcome to liberal humanists, but many sharp, useful things were said, and the association's Executive Council wound up with a stiff resolution condemning

the McCarran act. Dr. Edward U. Condon, target of the House Un-American Activities Committee two years ago, was elected president for 1954—I am told unanimously.

An all-day session on Soviet science was extremely provocative. Dr. Theodosius Dobzhinsky, the Russian-born Columbia University geneticist, unsparingly denounced Russian suppression of Mendelian genetics but pointed out that genetics and other sciences are also subjected to heavy political pressure in the United States. Dr. Russell L. Ackoff, of the Case Institute of Technology, said that there had been no new ideas in the social sciences in Russia since Lenin, but that neither had there been any in the United States in decades. In both countries, he declared, the primary activity of social scientists has been justification of the status quo. (I

understand that the meeting of the American Historical Association of New York the same week was a perfect example of what Dr. Ackoff was talking about; the program was devoted almost entirely to a tedious rationalization of current official American policy.)

Two symposia at the scientists' convention took up the question of anti-scientific trends and urged wider public dissemination of the rational scientific approach to social and political problems. The suggestion was made that American science needs a voice to speak for it, continuously and authoritatively, on questions of the day as they come up. I am not sure that this idea is feasible—the voice could represent only the lowest common denominator of the scientific community's opinion—but it is good to see scientists recognize their obligation to speak out as citizens.

Diplomacy, Religion, and the Constitution

BY MARK DE WOLFE HOWE

IT IS a sacred political tradition of the United States that questions of public policy are to be discussed as problems of constitutional law. It was inevitable, therefore, that when President Truman announced his decision to send an ambassador to the Vatican, discussion of the matter should, sooner or later, be directed to the issue whether the President's action violated the provision of the First Amendment that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Those who assert that the Presidential proposal is unconstitutional have, quite naturally, turned to passages in recent opinions of the Supreme Court in which the justices, speaking either for themselves or for the court, have made broad pronouncements with respect to the meaning of the American principle of separation embodied in the First Amendment. Perhaps no pronouncement has been more comforting to the President's critics than that of Justice Black in the *Everson* case: "The 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the federal government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. . . . Neither a state nor the federal government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa." It can scarcely be necessary to elaborate upon the application which such pronouncements as this have been given by

those who oppose the President's decision. Emphasizing the tenuous character of the Papal claim that Vatican City is a "state" in the sense that international law has used that concept, the critics of President Truman have been insistently asking how the head of one church can constitutionally be granted a status which no other church has sought or secured. Certainly there is grave doubt whether the President's proposal does not violate the principle of separation as formulated by Justice Black.

So far as I know, the most careful effort to answer the President's critics in constitutional terms is that which Professor Edward S. Corwin made in the *New York Times* on November 12. That answer, if I understand it correctly, involves three basic points. First, it argues that the Executive's diplomatic powers are unlimited and that the President, accordingly, possesses virtually complete discretion to establish diplomatic relations which he believes promise national advantage. Second, the answer of Professor Corwin maintains that the letter of the First Amendment merely prohibits the Congressional enactment of laws respecting an establishment of religion and does not forbid non-legislative action by the President, even if that action, if taken by Congress, would be a violation of the First Amendment. Finally, Professor Corwin emphasizes his belief that there is no procedure by which Presidential action, even if its constitutional validity is doubtful, could be brought in question before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Persuasive and cool-headed as is Professor Corwin's argument, a few questions concerning its validity may properly be raised. It is well to remember, in the first

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place, that Professor Corwin has been a vigorous critic of recent decisions and dicta of the Supreme Court respecting the purposes and meaning of the First Amendment. His conviction that the court erred when it accepted such broad pronouncements as those of Justice Black which I have quoted leads Professor Corwin to disregard them and to look only to the language and the circumstances surrounding the birth of the First Amendment. It is true, of course, that the text of the amendment limits Congressional action only; yet the court has said that the prohibition applies not simply to Congress but to the federal government. It is difficult to understand, I submit, how in this respect the court could have given the amendment a narrower reading. Those who framed the amendment were surely concerned with imposing limitation upon all branches of the national government, and not simply with providing a safeguard against Congressional action. To accept Professor Corwin's suggestion would seem, furthermore, logically to mean that when other problems of the First Amendment, such, for instance, as those concerning freedom of speech, are dealt with by executive rather than legislative action there are no constitutional barriers to Presidential suppression, at least if that suppression does not involve the imposition of a "rule of conduct" by executive order or decree. Perhaps Jefferson and Madison gave an absurdly extensive interpretation to the First Amendment when they contended that its provisions made a Presidential proclamation of Thanksgiving Day unconstitutional, but they were surely right in believing that the amendment limited executive power to the same extent that it confined legislative authority.

PROFESSOR CORWIN does not make it entirely clear whether in his opinion sending an ambassador to the Vatican would, under recent decisions of the Supreme Court, be unconstitutional. In urging that the Executive's discretion in establishing diplomatic relations is virtually unlimited he seems to accept the principle that no provisions of the Bill of Rights limit Presidential authority in that area. Yet his concluding argument that no procedure exists assuring judicial review either of executive action in making an appointment or of Congressional action in appropriating funds for the purposes of an embassy at the Vatican, seems to assume that serious questions of constitutional law are involved.

Quite possibly Professor Corwin did not intend to leave in his reader's mind the impression that action may be characterized as unconstitutional only when the Supreme Court is empowered to condemn it. It is, however, dangerously easy to read his argument as if it supported that proposition. If "unconstitutional" is so defined for purposes of the current debate, and if Professor Corwin's argument that there is no means by which judicial review could be assured is also accepted,

then the Presidential appointment and legislative appropriations in aid of it would be constitutional. Any such narrow definition of terms, however, would have most unfortunate consequences, for it would go far to justify the President and Congress in abdicating their responsibility to observe constitutional limits on their power. If it is important that those limits be seriously considered by the Congress and the President in normal circumstances, when the safeguard of judicial review is at hand, it is doubly important that the responsibility be thoroughly recognized when no procedure exists whereby the issue of constitutional law may be brought to the judiciary for final solution.

In facing the constitutional problem there are, of course, many questions which the President and the Congress must consider. Not the least important of them is the question which Professor Corwin has raised concerning the authority of the President, in handling the nation's diplomatic relations, to follow a discretion leading him in directions which the Supreme Court has said he may not take while dealing with domestic problems. That question is doubtless serious and debatable, and I, for one, should be unwilling to say that Professor Corwin's answer to the problem is not acceptable. In facing that issue, however, the President and the Congress are not as morally free as Professor Corwin seems to think they are to disregard recent decisions of the court concerning the separation of church and state. Whether or not one believes with Professor Corwin that those decisions have distorted the original meaning of the First Amendment, they remain, until reversed, the constitutional law of the land. Certainly those who disagree with the decisions are free to urge their reversal and to marshal the reasons why such decisions, right or wrong, are inapplicable to the problem in hand. What is objectionable, in my eyes, is Professor Corwin's pronouncement that when President Truman nominated an ambassador to the Vatican he "performed an act of state of the most commonplace kind." Surely it was not that. At the very least it was a determination that recent constitutional opinions of the Supreme Court on permissible domestic relations between the national government and churches have slight if any international relevance.

ONE further element in the present controversy deserves emphasis. History is normally the most helpful of instruments in the solution of constitutional questions. Things often done are likely to be classified as constitutionally done. The Supreme Court went surprisingly far in transforming the separation of church and state into a divorce of government and religion. The fact that this transformation has so recently occurred means that the history of relations between the United States and the Vatican, although it is relevant the question of policy, has little constitutional significance. It also

means, I suggest, that there is little relevance in the fact, often emphasized by those who support the President's action, that other nations committed to the principle of separation have found no constitutional difficulties in maintaining diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Until another nation committed to separation has gone as far on the road to divorce as the Supreme Court went in the *McCollum* case it is hard to treat the policies of other nations as having substantial bearing on our constitutional issue. The seas of separation to which the court so

recently committed us are more turbulent than the President's supporters are willing to admit. It will be unfortunate if the public is led to believe that the tempest is occurring in a teapot. To evade the storm by seeking refuge in a formula which says that the judiciary has no authority to consider the problem or to control executive discretion is to encourage irresponsibility in government. Discretion is only to be respected when it is conscious of the traditions which surround it and of the limits which an informed conscience sets to its exercise.

The Lesson of the Past

BY JOSEPH L. BLAU

VATICAN CITY is a token of the former temporal power of the Pope. About a thousand people live in its 109 acres. For nearly sixty years before 1929 the secular power of the papacy was non-existent, but through a concordat signed in that year this tiny domain was restored to the ruler of the Roman Catholic church by the Fascist authorities. It is to the Pope as "governor of Vatican City" that President Truman proposes to send an ambassador. The issue will undoubtedly be thoroughly aired before Congress acts. Here I shall explain only that it is not a new one, although it is posed in an unprecedented form.

In the mid-nineteenth century the Papal States formed a significant political entity. Their area was about 16,000 square miles and their population more than 3,000,000. They were no mere "token" of temporal power but a real force in the political life of Italy and Europe. Only the ruler of the Papal States—which included the city of Rome—could hope to become ruler of a unified Italy. Had the democratic forces under Mazzini been able to hold the city, whence the Pope had fled, the course of Italian history might have been changed and with it the history of Europe and America.

As early as 1779 wise John Adams, out of his experience as the representative of his country in France, wrote that he thought the Continental Congress would never "send a Minister to His Holiness, who can do them no service, upon condition of receiving a Catholic legate or nuncio; or, in other words, an ecclesiastical tyrant which, it is hoped, the United States will be too wise ever to admit into their territories." Adams's words were specifically directed against the exchange of representatives. In 1797, during his Administration, the United

States established consular offices in the Papal States, but formal diplomatic relations were instituted only after the lapse of half a century.

Pius IX was elevated to the Papacy in June, 1846. Within the limits set by his combination of secular and ecclesiastical authority, he was progressive in his political views. At the beginning of his reign he had a box placed at the Vatican in which citizens might deposit suggestions and complaints. He introduced many long-overdue reforms into the social and political structure of the Papal States and inaugurated a program for improving the material condition of his subjects. In his demand for withdrawal of Austrian troops from Ferrara the long dream of Italian unification was revived under the slogan "Italy, one country, one ruler, and that ruler Pius IX." Even Nicholas Browne, United States consul at Rome, who made no effort to conceal his lack of sympathy with the Papacy, reported to Washington that "many long years have elapsed since the Chair of Peter was filled by a pontiff as amiable and worthy as Pius IX."

In the United States, newspaper editorials, mass-meetings, and legislative resolutions urged the government to make some tangible demonstration of the sympathy of the American people for the new regime. This enthusiasm, culminating in the demand that formal diplomatic relations with the Papal States should be established, was generated by a libertarian political spirit which welcomed Pius IX to the group of enlightened rulers and the Papal dominions to the list of modern states. Scattered signs of aloofness from this general sympathy could not be called opposition. Objections were more concerned with terminology than with ideology. Protestant journals decried the use of such titles as "Reverend Father" and "His Holiness." A Philadelphia paper insisted on using the inexact terms "Italy" and "Italian government" instead of "Pope" and "Papal government." Only a handful of journals, like the *Episcopal Churchman* of New York, raised the basic question whether political government by

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religious authorities could at any time be considered desirable.

The Papal authorities had always extended the privileges of the diplomatic corps to the American consuls in Rome. Now they suggested to the American government that they would not be averse to receiving a fully accredited diplomatic representative. Secretary of State Buchanan thereupon recommended to President Polk that an appropriation be sought for opening formal diplomatic relations with the Papal States. Polk's message to Congress of December 7, 1847, transmitted Buchanan's recommendation with this comment: "The interesting political events now in progress in these States, as well as a just regard to our commercial interests, have in my opinion rendered such a measure highly expedient."

The proposal was vehemently debated in the House of Representatives. Lewis C. Levin of Pennsylvania, a leader of the Native American Party, was the spearhead of the opposition. In a long speech on the issue he said that "sympathy with Pope Pius IX appears to be the hobby-horse of political leaders," and "sympathy for the Pope has grown almost into a fashion." The measure was dictated, he asserted, by a desire to attract the votes of Catholic Americans; no public benefit would come from this embassy. Much of his speech, however, was mere Native American vituperation, and his opponents had no difficulty in pointing out his falsifications and misstatements, thus drawing attention away from the real problem to a host of secondary matters. When the question was put to the House, the appropriation for an embassy was approved, 137 to 15. One of the two Roman Catholic members of the House voted for the measure, the other against it. After equally prolonged but far less acrimonious debate, the Senate approved by a vote of 36 to 7.

THE first chargé, Jacob L. Martin, secretary of the American legation at Paris and a Catholic convert, died suddenly soon after reporting to Rome. His successor, Lewis Cass, Jr., was raised to the rank of resident minister in 1854. Other ministers were John P. Stockton (1858-61), Alexander W. Randall (1861-62), Richard M. Blatchford (1862-63), and Rufus King (1863-68). The instructions issued to them by the incumbent Secretaries of State stressed the civil nature of the representation. Each Secretary recognized and tried to convey to the minister certain difficulties in the situation caused by the Pope's dual position. Buchanan's instructions to Martin were more explicit, partly because the embassy was a new departure and these instructions were its foundation, and partly perhaps because the Secretary had some feeling that the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical should be drawn with special care for the benefit of this Catholic appointee.

Buchanan's letter of instruction makes it plain that he regarded the naming of an envoy as a reward to the Pope for his adherence to the cause of freedom. It was the hope of the American government that the reforms instituted by Pius might facilitate profitable commercial relations. This hope remained unfulfilled while the Pope retained the secular sovereignty. Not until the Papal States had been incorporated in a unified Italy was the antiquated system of monopolies which restricted trade eliminated. Buchanan feared too that a situation might arise in which it would be difficult for the American envoy to take a stand because of the interweaving of religious and civil issues. In his reply to these instructions Martin indicated that he understood their purpose and the delicacy of his mission.

Both personal and official relations between the Papal government and the American ministers were very good. Each side made the utmost effort to understand the viewpoint of the other and to present its own case in disputed matters sincerely and in full detail. The development of a number of misunderstandings during the two decades of the mission, despite the good intentions of both parties, lends plausibility to the belief that the difficulties were inherent in the attempt to maintain diplomatic relations between a freedom-loving nation for which governmental non-interference with religion was a central principle and a sovereign in whom secular and ecclesiastical power were united.

The liberalism of Pius IX was before long revealed as but temporary and prudential. As soon as he could Pius



Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Look Out, Harry, Here Comes Something Still Bigger!

broke with the liberal forces of Mazzini and his "Young Italy" movement. In the struggle between the Papacy and Mazzini for domination, the American minister was placed in the middle. When the triumph of Mazzini's forces drove the Pope out of Rome and into retirement at Gaeta, other members of the diplomatic corps accompanied Pius in his flight. Cass, who had not yet presented his credentials, asked the Secretary of State whether he was to present them to the Pope or to the authorities of the new Roman Republic. True, no other nation had recognized the Roman Republic, but it had been till then the policy of the United States to recognize *de facto* governments without inquiring into their legitimacy.

Mazzini and other officials of the Roman Republic pressed Cass to present his credentials to them and thus implicitly extend to them the recognition they craved from a sister democracy. The anti-Papist Nicholas Browne, who was in charge of the American legation pending Cass's arrival, had gone as far as his authority extended and perhaps even exceeded his warrant by warmly congratulating the new government as soon as it was set up and assuring it that the American government would be sure to recognize it. Cass, with more perception than Browne, realized that the other European powers would do all they could to prevent the provisional republican government from establishing itself, and for this reason did not present his credentials. Now both the Papal and the Republican party felt that the American minister had acted improperly.

When Pius IX returned to Rome—after the French had intervened and the forces of Louis Napoleon had defeated the Republicans—he shifted completely from his earlier reformist program. It had been possible before for his partisans to say that he was prevented by the cardinals from implementing his liberal program; now it was evident that he had renounced liberalism. Both theologically and politically the rest of his long pontificate was to be marked by an extreme conservatism. Yet it was not true, Cass pointed out in a dispatch of April 21, 1849, that the anti-Papal group was merely a radical and ultra-democratic rabble; much of the opposition was to government by the "ecclesiastical oligarchy" of the cardinals.

From this time, less than two years after the establishment of the American embassy, there could be no fundamental sympathy between the two governments. The very reason for the inauguration of relations, the liberal program of Pius IX, had been abandoned by its author. The sentiment of the American people changed rapidly. No longer could Congressman Levin have claimed that sympathy for the Pope was a reigning fashion. When Monsignor Bedini, a Papal representative, visited the United States in 1853, he was of course received with official courtesy in Washington, but in

many of the cities he visited there were popular demonstrations against him as the supporter and representative of a despotic government.

AFTER 1849, then, there was a surface patina of cordiality between the American government and that of the Papal States, but underneath was a deep-rooted distrust which bred minor incident after minor incident. In 1852 the Washington Monument Association refused a block of Italian marble sent by the Pope for use in the construction of the monument. During the Civil War American public opinion and official sentiment were offended by the report, unsubstantiated but widely believed, that the Pope had extended "virtual recognition" to the Confederacy. Finally, in 1867, without formal rupture, diplomatic relations were halted when Congress refused to appropriate funds for the embassy.

One basic reason for the distrust, a reason which has today fully as much force as it had in the middle of the nineteenth century, is that even the secular mind in America is deeply influenced by the Protestant heritage. When, in 1850, Cass saved two thousand Italian Protestant Bibles from burning, his stock rose in the public mind and that of the Papal government declined. From the very earliest days of the embassy in Rome, Americans at home doubted that the Papal authorities, in accordance with international custom, were permitting the embassy staff to hold Protestant services. Official documents make it clear, however, that Protestant services were held regularly, with the full knowledge and consent of the authorities. Some difficulties were occasioned by the fact that there were frequently as many as three hundred American visitors in Rome and the chapel in the embassy was not large enough to accommodate all of them; when another building was used, the police withheld approval until the embassy insignia was placed on it as well as on the building used for official purposes. To list all the incidents of two decades would be irrelevant here; it is both relevant and important to point out that rumors of the denial of the right of Protestant worship were frequent in America in this time and that some writers have explained the failure to continue the embassy after 1867 entirely on that ground.

Today, when the question of an ambassador to Vatican City is before us, it is well for us to keep in mind this earlier experiment and to learn what we can from its failure. It is expressly important to remember that the establishment of diplomatic relations had two explicit purposes: to strengthen Pius IX in what looked like a liberal program and to open a new field for American commerce. In neither of these aims was the embassy successful; the Pope reverted to conservatism, and commercial advantages did not come until after the termination of Papal dominion. Finally, we should remember that a move expected to bring about better understanding

and unity among nations became entangled in perennial religious controversy and brought, instead, misunderstandings and disharmony.

[I am indebted to Roman Catholic publications for most of the historical material used in this article. Leo Francis Stock has edited for the American Catholic Historical Association "Consular Relations Between the United States and the Papal States" (Washington, D. C., 1945) and

"United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Dispatches, 1848-1868" (Washington, D. C., 1933). Sister Loretta Clare Feiertag's dissertation for the Catholic University of America, "American Public Opinion on the Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Papal States (1847-1867)" (Washington, D. C., 1933), brings together a great deal of useful material. Needless to say, the *interpretation* of the sources given here differs from that of Stock and Feiertag.]

The Rise of Italian Secularism

BY WILLIAM MURRAY

A VIGOROUS attempt is being made in Italy to unify the minority center political parties into a powerful "secular third force." Recently in Rome, Ugo La Malfa, Minister of Foreign Trade, made a public appeal for unity. Of course creation of a third force between the Communist left and the Demo-Christian right has long been the ambition of Italian moderates, and La Malfa's appeal was unusual only in coming from a member of De Gasperi's Cabinet. It was preceded by another expression of national discontent. In late October thirty-eight non-Communist Senators and Deputies signed a manifesto also calling for formation of a third force and voicing concern that Western Europe, and Italy in particular, was losing control over its destiny. (American domination has caused one Italian writer and teacher to refer to Italy as "East Florida.")

Both La Malfa's speech and the earlier manifesto mentioned the growing dissatisfaction with the influence of the Roman Catholic church in Italian affairs. La Malfa, who is a Republican, was very specific. He called for "an agreement among the democratic secular parties," presumably excluding the Christian Democrats. The political purpose of such a move is either to take the government away from De Gasperi's party or at least to force it to make important concessions to the center parties. The past and present power of the Demo-Christians to formulate policies without considering the center has been entirely due to the inability of the bickering Republicans, Liberals, and Social Democrats to agree on even the most trivial issues.

But the Demo-Christians are at last worried about the possibility of secular unification. This was evidenced by the irritated declaration of their secretary general, Guido Gonella, on the day after La Malfa's appeal: "Today's problem is social, not political. An accord with Christian

Democracy would satisfy this exigency. This is no time for discussions on 'secularism' or 'confessionalism.'" Spokesmen for the Liberals and Social Democrats, however, hastened to assure La Malfa that now was certainly the time. Bruno Villabruna of the Liberals and Giuseppe Saragat of the Social Democrats said that they favored a united program but that the Republicans would have to quit the government before this could be achieved. If the center did unite to form a secular bloc, the prospect of losing the 1953 elections would force the Demo-Christians to cooperate with it in order to defeat the Communist-dominated "Popular Front," still the largest vote-getter in Italy. It is even conceivable that a secular bloc could obtain a slim majority in 1953. A fresh political wind blowing through the peninsula could capture the votes of people veering away from Christian Democracy in search of a positive political philosophy.

La Malfa, one of the ablest economists in Italy, was a member of the now defunct Action Party, the "party of the intellectuals," before joining the Republican Party, which claims Mazzini and Garibaldi as its spiritual founders. The Republican Party is the only minority party now participating in De Gasperi's seventh government coalition. The Social Democrats walked out last April, causing a minor crisis which the confident De Gasperi overcame simply by resigning and resuming power within the space of three days. The Demo-Christians, whose political strength rests squarely on the negative issue of anti-communism and the positive prospect of continued American aid, have long realized that if any unification of Italy's discontented, anti-clerical center parties is to be accomplished, the initiative must come from the Republicans, who command few votes but much respect. Politically the Republicans could bridge the gap between the conservative but anti-clerical Liberals and the Social Democrats. The present Cabinet's ablest members are Republicans: Randolfo Pacciardi, Minister of Defense; Carlo Sforza, ex-Foreign Minister, now without portfolio; and La Malfa himself, the young-

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est and most outspoken of the group. These men have lent their considerable talents and the prestige of their party to De Gasperi's otherwise colorless and uninspired government.

As La Malfa made his appeal during a session of the Republican Central Committee, there is no doubt that he speaks officially as a member of his party. By calling for more social reforms and by laying the emphasis on anticlericalism he struck at the core of the national discontent. Internal Italian politics have always revolved around the issue of state versus church, and the Republicans have fought on the side of the state since the days of Mazzini and Cavour, and even before Garibaldi marched up the peninsula to chase the foreigner out and smash the temporal power of the Pope. Clerical rule has never been popular in Italy, and we must not forget that Christian Democracy was founded by an Italian priest in 1919 and that De Gasperi emerged from the Vatican library after World War II to step into a job for which the church had carefully prepared him. This makes powerful propaganda for a secular political coalition with the drive and the means to bid for power.

On a practical political level, however, there are many obstacles to unification. At present only the Republicans seem to be capable of formulating a program and carrying it out. The Social Democrats, a party only in name, are floundering about in a morass of pedantic hair-splitting. Their leaders call for party unity and refuse to yield a political inch. The ablest man among them, Silone, has refused to accept any official post and

now devotes his considerable talents to backstage cynicism. (I recently heard him refer to United States Ambassador James C. Dunn as the "Vice-King of Italy.") The Liberals, who have been trying to agree on a platform for months, came up with a seven-point "unification program" a week after La Malfa's appeal. In point six they proclaim their "respect for the church, as long as it remains within its proper sphere of action." The Liberal platform, however, as laid down in the seven points, differs widely from the moderate socialism of the Social Democrats, calling as it does for the "reestablishment of a free, competitive economy"—"reestablishment" is hardly the right word, since such an economy has never existed in Italy.

The Republican problem is to strike a balance between the Liberal program of freedom for business interests and the state-control formula of the Social Democrats. All three parties feel strongly about the necessity of destroying the temporal power of the church. As a matter of fact, the Liberals, whose internal policies otherwise closely resemble those of the Christian Democrats, have long fought the government program of regional autonomy, which has enabled Catholic Action, the temporal arm of the church in Italy, to gain actual political control over communities in many parts of the country. If the secular democratic parties could agree temporarily to set aside their differences concerning the administration of the national economy, they could offer the underfed, underpaid, poorly housed Italian voter a strong incentive to go to the polls and recapture his self-respect.

The Vatican's Global Strategy

BY MARCUS CATO

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has proposed to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican at a time when the Catholic church is engaged in one of the greatest organizational efforts in its history. Since the end of the Second World War the Vatican has seen that American diplomacy, now dominant in Western Europe, was content to fight communism without offering an alternative. Its own purpose goes farther: Catholicism, it is determined, shall provide the alternative. Its success can be gauged by looking at Western Europe today—Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and Ireland are ruled by openly Catholic parties. This achievement is the work of Catholic Action groups in the various countries. Similar groups are now being

formed throughout Latin America and in the United States to assure the West's active cooperation in Papal policies. Since the United States is simultaneously trying to build up Europe's military defenses against communism, the Vatican is naturally eager to strengthen its bonds with this country by establishing diplomatic relations.

Once Catholic governments had been installed in Western Europe and Latin America, Rome set about coordinating their activities and using them to further its perennial aim of uniting all peoples under its authority. That is the significance of two recent events, which are more closely related than they appear—the World Congress of the Lay Apostolate held last fall in Rome and the ceremonies closing the extended Holy Year at Fatima in Portugal.

The purpose of both was to produce conditions favorable to world-wide Catholic expansion—conditions, that is, which permit the church complete freedom of action.

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Where this freedom exists, as in the West, it must be exploited fully and made secure against possible attacks; where it does not exist, as in the East, it must be conquered. The pattern varies with the country, but the goal is the same everywhere.

In his address to the World Congress of the Lay Apostolate the Pope stressed that all Catholic Action groups must become, like their prototype in Italy, an instrument to help the clergy further the policies of the church. He ruled out a suggestion that their action should be parallel to but independent of that of the clergy. "It is self-evident," he said, "that the apostolate of the laity is subordinated to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, for the hierarchy is of divine institution: the apostolate, then, cannot be independent with regard to it." And he added: "To think otherwise would be to undermine the very wall of which Christ Himself has built His Church."

Another purpose of the Lay Apostolate Congress was to settle the thorny question of the relation between organized religion and the state. The Catholic church has long maintained that since politics influence the morals of a people, it has a duty to invade the field of politics in order to defend morality. In his address the Pope condemned the "noxious tendency" that would "confine the church to those questions said to be purely religious, to keep the church to the sacristy and sanctuary," and went on to explain: "There is a reciprocal penetration between the religious apostolate and political action . . . in the highest sense of the word, which means nothing other than cooperation for the good of the state." Quoting from a previous address, he added: "It would be blameworthy to leave the political field free to persons unworthy or incapable of directing the affairs of state."

Tactics that apply to Catholic countries do not of course apply to Protestant countries. As the French Catholic leader, Count de Mun, once said, in France the separation of church and state is an impious thing, while in the United States it is pious. Where Catholics are in a minority, separation protects their freedom and must therefore be supported, but should America ever become a predominantly Catholic country, the principle of separation between church and state, upon which this country is founded, would be considered by Rome as "impious" as it is in France. In terms of the organization of Catholic Action, however, this difference does not exist. Even more than in Catholic countries, Catholics here are expected to extend and coordinate their activities to serve the purposes of the church.

ONE of the church's primary aims is the conversion of Russia, which will be accomplished, the Vatican feels certain, when communism is destroyed. This aim partly explains the emphasis on the ceremonies at Fatima,

which have been described by Bishop Sheen, who attended as the representative of Cardinal Spellman, as "the greatest religious event in the history of the modern world." One million persons, one-eighth of the population of Portugal, took part.

The Virgin Mary is said to have appeared in 1917 to three Portuguese children in the village of Fatima and to have told them: "The Holy Father will consecrate Russia to me. It will be converted, and an era of peace will be granted to the world." At that time, because Russia had proclaimed the freedom of religion and destroyed the power of the Orthodox church and of its head, the czar, the Vatican hoped that the revolution would lead to a reunion with Rome. A semi-official publication saw in it the hand of Providence, and Benedict XV later referred to Russia as the country where "the announced liberty of religion gave rise to the hope of a better future." The Orthodox church, having been closely bound up with the czarist regime, was left without head or prop and might, it was thought, seek an alliance with Rome in order to survive.

Immediately the Vatican laid its plans for that day. On May 1, 1917, Benedict XV created the Sacred Oriental Congregation and shortly afterward the Pontifical Oriental Institute to train missionaries to go to Russia. The Congregation was given jurisdiction over all countries where the Greek Orthodox Church was predominant—that is, Russia and Bulgaria, the Middle East, and north-eastern Africa. Today, having been excluded from Eastern Europe, its field is necessarily limited to the Middle East. Through that region, especially the Holy Land, the church hopes eventually to reach Russia. That is why the Vatican has in recent years taken an unprecedented interest in the Palestine question. That is also the meaning of the encyclical "Sempiternus Rex" of September 8, in which the Pope urged "heretical" Middle Eastern sects to return to the unity of the church.

The Middle East has additional importance for Rome today because it adjoins the Far East, where the loss of China with its 3,000,000 Catholics was a severe blow to the church. The Vatican hopes that just as the conversion of Greek Orthodoxy in the Middle East may lead to the conversion of Russia, the conversion of the Moslems in the Middle East may help it to reach the Orient. In the two most important Moslem nations in the Far East—Pakistan and Indonesia—Catholic missionary activities have been greatly intensified.

The ceremonies at Fatima were connected also with the Vatican's desire to convert the Moslems. The Virgin appeared in that tiny village, the church declares, because it bore the name of the daughter of Mohammed, of whom the Koran said, "She is the most holy of all the women in paradise, next to Mary." According to Bishop Sheen, "the Blessed Virgin chose to be known as Our Lady of Fatima as a pledge and sign of hope to the Moslem peo-

ple, and as an assurance that they who show her so much respect will one day accept her Divine Son."

The Vatican hopes to gain American support for its plans for the conversion of Russia and the expansion of missionary activities in the Far East because its freedom of action in both the Middle and Far East is dependent upon political conditions, which in turn de-

pend on American policy in those regions. Thus diplomatic relations with the United States can be a valuable aid to Catholic expansion. For the church the destruction of communism in the Middle East, as in Europe, is only a step toward the achievement of its ultimate purpose. Catholicism hopes eventually to serve as the alternative to communism.

Spanish Journey—Franco's Props

BY ROBERT FROMM

Madrid, December 21

IT IS some months since the day I took Mrs. L—— to town. Yet I remember clearly the ride and what she said. Mrs. L—— was a gray and placid housewife of fifty-five, and I had not paid much attention to her during the week I had known her. Then, on my last day at the village, I offered her a lift. We were exchanging monosyllables, when suddenly, as if the dikes of restraint had burst, she began to talk. In a low, angry voice she spoke of the low rations, the rising prices, the thriving black market, the official corruption, and the general distress.

"Half the people in our street are hungry," she said. "They'll work for ten pesetas a day, or even just for food. But they are afraid to complain. They don't know who might report their words, and then the police come. People who were arrested a year, or two, or three years ago are being let out now, and they are only fit to die. I talk freely with you because you're a foreigner, and you're going away. But if anyone knew I'm talking like this now, I'd be in prison tonight. Our life is black with fear."

Other people in other towns have told me the same story, but somehow it is this gray, stout woman who symbolizes for me Spain in its years of distress. As in the Communist countries, fear here is part of the climate of daily life. People grumble, but very cautiously. Jokes are repeated about Franco, or his Moorish guards, or his wife's visits to the jewelry stores on Gran Via, but only to trusted acquaintances. Spaniards seem to have a curious yearning to share their troubles with a friendly foreigner, but they don't want to be seen talking earnestly to a foreigner in public.

This fear is one reason why there is no large underground here. Police and Falangist informers are everywhere, and the penalties are savage. An underground does exist, but it is small and fragmented. Until about

two years ago a strong group, comprising mostly former Anarchists and Republicans, was active in Barcelona, especially in the distribution of illegal newspapers. Their work has now been stopped. Smaller underground groups run by Socialists, Communists, or Basque or Catalan separatists sporadically issue newspapers or handbills but are incapable of any important action. While they probably all took part in the strikes of last spring, no one I met thought they initiated them.

Inefficient and often corrupt as the police are, they have built an enormous web of paid and volunteer informers which misses little. According to the government's own admission, of the 37,000 people in jail, half are political prisoners. Careful Western investigators put the number of political prisoners at 40,000. No one but Franco and General Hierro, his Chief of Security, knows the exact number. A bystander gets occasional glimpses into the workings of a police state. Word is smuggled out of the Guadalajara Prison that Eduardo Villegas, a forty-eight-year-old Socialist, is being fed forcibly, after a six-week hunger strike; he was sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment in 1947 for trying to establish liaison between the Spanish Socialists in France and the clandestine groups in Spain. Some days ago the entire Spanish press carried a statement by the police on the arrest of twenty-seven members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia. The statement was a pained Falangist reaction to a protest filed with the United Nations by the Socialist International. The arrested men and women, it said, were not Socialists but Communists, and they had been publishing two underground newspapers, *Mundo Obrero* and *Trevall*; it was "not expected" that they would be executed.

Arrests are not the only way in which the Falangist state deals with dissidents. The "sanctions" which it imposes can make normal life all but impossible. In July the newspapers front-paged Franco's amnesty for railroad workers "sanctioned" in the fearful aftermath of the civil war, who were now permitted to apply for their old jobs. In October, "at the request of the syndicates," Franco pardoned thousands who had been

ROBERT FROMM is an American newspaperman now living in Europe. This is the second of two articles on his "Spanish journey." The first appeared last week.

penalized for striking last spring. This was the first public admission that, on the quiet, there had been mass reprisals.

But there is still another reason for the absence of a strong underground. The civil war is not forgotten. It cost Spain a million lives, and the physical damage still shows naked and ugly at every turn. Most people feel that Franco cannot be overthrown without a sharp fight. That would mean another civil war, and they shy away from the thought. Franco is an abomination, but chaos and bloodshed are worse.

YET the belief of liberals that Franco survives only through terror is a fallacy. No dictator can hold power solely by means of his secret police. Franco stays in power because, in addition to the police, he has strong institutional support, and he uses it adroitly.

By far the most important of Franco's props is the army; the army is the solid base of the Falangist state. Though Spain is threatened by no enemy, Franco has been keeping 300,000 men under arms. It is a pathetic force, ragged, badly equipped, and underpaid, but it has served its purpose as a super-police body.

To make sure the army does not get any odd ideas, Franco jealously weeds out all potential rivals. Such notable figures as General Alfredo Kindelan and the Nationalist war hero Aranda Mata have been purged. Not all the generals are happy. I am told that before last spring's strikes some of the more perceptive officers urged the Generalissimo to take steps to relieve popular distress before it expressed itself in violence. On the whole, however, the army is not socially conscious, and it is Franco's pet. The military have been getting a third of the budget, apart from the sums allotted to the colonial forces and the armed Secret Police. And it is a sure bet that in his talks with Washington, Franco will insist, above all, on funds and equipment for his army. He knows where his power rests.

Next to the army stands the church, which since the defeat of the Axis has come to play a commanding role in social and political life here. Franco himself is of course deeply religious, but his present close affiliation with the church is less piety than a shrewd political contract. Ramon Suñer, Franco's brother-in-law, and formerly his liaison with the Axis, has vanished from the scene which he dominated for so long. His place next to Franco's ear has now been taken by the Cardinal Primate. A clever and able Catalan in his late sixties, the Cardinal helps to mold El Caudillo's mind and policy. It is even suggested that some of his most important speeches were ghost-written by the Cardinal.

There are other links between the church and the Falangist state. Franco's Foreign Minister, Alberto Martin Artago—less famous for his diplomatic talents than for his thirteen well-publicized children—is a

former head of Acción Catolica and is still influential in its affairs. The Bishop of Madrid is one of the thirteen members of the Falange's Political Council. The Bishop of Montonedo recently visited a Falangist youth camp and delivered a speech extolling "the glorious Spain made by Franco." "The army bugle and the church bells" he said, "together call the youth of Spain."

In the shift of political power which brought the church to the fore the Falange has lost ground. This has been more than an echo of totalitarian defeat. Like the Kuomintang in its years of decay, the Falange has grown fat with wealth, corrupt, and lethargic. The black shirts are taken out only for the prescribed rallies; the Fascist salute is frowned on officially; the old fervor is gone.

But the Falange cannot be underestimated. It has grown into the political body, and especially in the smaller towns the Falange *is* the state. Franco himself is its head. Its secretary general sits in the Cabinet—and until the July shake-up served concurrently as Minister of Justice. The new national leader of the syndicates was until this fall a provincial governor and a Falangist chief. (American labor leaders who are said to be willing to accept the Franco regime if it "liberalizes" the trade-union movement should consider whether labor unions in a Fascist-patterned, corporate state can be divorced from the ruling party.)

Even more importantly, the Falange is the dictator's main instrument of mass control. The Falange runs the labor, youth, and women's organizations. It dominates the press, culture, and education. With its 700,000 members, it forms a gigantic web of espionage into private lives. Finally, it provides Franco with a paramilitary force which he could use in case of domestic trouble. El Caudillo is sensitive to criticism of the Falange. The other week, in a typical aside, he noted sharply that "the movement is not outworn, since it represents the destiny of a whole generation."

The man who speaks for Falangist "ideals," if not for the party, is one of Franco's closest aides, Luis Carrero Blanco, a captain in the navy. Still in his early forties, Blanco has had a meteoric career. Since the July reshuffle, which put him in the Cabinet, he has held the post of



Courtesy Washington Post

Minister of the Presidency, a sort of deputy Premier. Two daily news programs which every Spanish radio station is required to carry frequently include a commentary by one Juan de la Cosa, the name of a famous navigator of the age of exploration. Under this pseudonym Blanco extols El Caudillo as the savior of the West from its own folly and communism, attacks the West for its "blockade" of Spain, and praises the "high moral ideals" of the Falangist state. It is widely believed that Franco himself outlines some of his aide's more important broadcasts.

Among these three props of the Falangist state—the army, the church, and the Falange—not all is brotherly love. The army, for instance, regards the Falange with no more affection than Hitler's Wehrmacht once showed toward the Storm Troopers. But the friction thus far has been pretty well concealed, and Franco has skilfully kept the factions supporting him fairly well balanced. Together, they form a strong foundation for the regime, for they represent Spain's only mass organizations, control all means of communication and suppression, and know what they want.

AS FOR the people, their reactions range from suspicion of the regime to hatred. The moneyed class is divided. It is grateful to El Caudillo for saving it from Marxism, but it worries about the Falange's syndicalist ideas, borrowed from Italian Fascism. "The ban on strikes," a factory-owner told me, "is a sound development, but why can't I fire my workers if I want to?" On the whole, however, the rich are prosperous and content, and in any leftist revolt would again flock to Franco's banner.

The middle class, caught in the grinder of inflation, is largely anti-Franco. It ranges from bookkeepers, who cannot make ends meet, to intellectuals, who not only starve but also have to make their ideas acceptable to some Falangist overseer. It is symbolic of the fate of the intellectual in Franco's Spain that the chief censor, Dario Fernandez Florez, who decides what is to be published and what suppressed, is the author of a current best-seller—the near-pornographic story of a prostitute.

Industrial labor and the peasantry, ill-paid, undernourished, illiterate—the government admits one in four Spaniards cannot read or write—and unable to protest, are bitterly hostile. It is possible that the accumulated resentment expressed in the strikes of last spring might have forced a change of government, or at least important modifications, if at the critical point friendly American gestures had not saved Franco. I am inclined to doubt it, but it is a view widely held in Spain, and it has to be taken seriously. As once in China, opinion here links us with an unpopular regime.

The official propaganda line has changed a bit since

last summer. There are still vigorous, and well-subsidized, efforts to sell the Spanish "mother country" to the Spanish-speaking republics of Latin America. There is still fairly open talk of a "Greater Spain," with the first moves in the direction of Gibraltar and French Morocco, both "stolen from Spain." The Falange even proposed a "Day of Mourning" in August, to be observed annually until Gibraltar is regained. There are sharp anti-British undertones in Captain Blanco's commentaries, reflecting, beyond doubt, Franco's own belief that Britain is responsible for Spain's historical decline. But this attitude is being modified, and the anti-American propaganda, for the moment at least, has been suspended.

The new line seeks to persuade the Spanish people—and perhaps the foreign embassies here—that world events justify Franco's policies and that the West needs Franco's help in its hour of danger. Thus the newspaper *Madrid*, in an editorial circulated, for emphasis, by the Foreign Ministry, said:

Although it is true that from a military standpoint the Pyrenees are formidable, what Spain is really envied is its moral worth. This moral worth, and Spain's proved anti-communism, gives the Pyrenean summits their real importance. The contrast between the Spanish people, armed with their perfect morale, and other countries, whose morale is shaky and tainted with communism, forces the Tyrians and Trojans to acknowledge that Europe's real bulwark, its best guaranty of resistance, its decisive chance of victory over communism, its garrison of good soldiers, its natural bridgehead for America, is Spain and only Spain.

This, of course, is nonsense. Franco needs the West far more than it needs him. Neither he nor anyone else can be certain what the impoverished and restless Spanish workers and peasants would do in a crisis. But the new propaganda line changes El Caudillo from a supplicant for American help into a powerful figure to whom the free world must turn for aid.

I do not know how people here will react to this line. In general, they are too occupied with the dreary business of keeping alive to pay much attention to Falangist editorials. A few have told me hopefully that "perhaps American aid will mean more bread." A few hope that if any aid is granted, "you'll make sure that it doesn't stick to the hands of the gang in Madrid." But I have heard one remark I shall not forget. With a Spanish friend I was attending a Falangist rally at a Mediterranean port. There were the usual black shirts and involuntary crowds, the usual tributes to Spain's glory, the usual cheers for Franco ("Franco Sí, Comunismo No!"), and the usual gibes at the decaying West. "This," said my friend, "is what you Americans are backing here. And so many of us have thought you friends!"

BOOKS and the ARTS

PERIODICAL FAMINE

By VINCENT BROME

DISTRESSED as it is by the odor of so many deceased and dying journals, British periodical publishing today could hardly be expected to show an air of optimism. Since the end of last year more than twenty-three journals have ceased publication or merged with others, or appear less frequently than they did. They represented an extraordinary diversity of opinion and interest, but most of them were highly specialized small-scale weeklies of not very great significance to the community at large; several catered to, shall we say, esoteric tastes—*Pigeon Racing News*, *Amateur Sport*, *Childhood and Youth*. The real rub is this: in its more bitter reaches Britain's economic struggle seems to penalize the "serious" magazines, literary, cultural, and sometimes political, more effectively than others. Over the last few years literary journals like *Horizon* and *New Writing* have dwindled away, while great populars like *Illustrated* appear at first sight more opulent.

In point of fact, popular magazines are not unaffected. Some survive and flourish only with a radical change of policy, some have been forced to vulgarize their appeal, and a few are now so heavily disguised that no one would suspect their origins. Too frequently, in the present economic mold, whenever trouble threatens and circulations waver, standards are lowered and sometimes discarded. But the majority of popular papers do survive while *Horizon* and *New Writing* sicken and die.

The trouble begins once again with the cost of paper—though of course the far more profound question of whether a world rearming for peace can sustain its cultural life intact underlies everything. There are many types of paper, from newsprint to art paper, and the rise in cost varies from 100 to 160 per cent, but the difficulties are due as much to advertising fluctuations as to paper cost. Many trade, technical, and

even scholarly periodicals have found that rearmament and the shortage of raw materials seriously inhibit advertising—nobody wants to advertise the greater havoc wrought by his particular brand of shell or the explosive range of his torpedo in the *Times Literary Supplement* or the *Cornhill*. Some magazines have lost one-third of their revenue as a result. Soaring costs and falling advertising together call for fierce economies if publication is to be continued.

But post-mortems on defunct, dying, or indisposed journals cannot stop here. A third and equally significant factor has to be taken into account. Before the war there were flocks of magazines in Britain publishing short stories and articles, from the *Strand Magazine* and the *Windsor* to the *Grand Magazine* and *Twenty Story*. All these have gone. The death struggles of the *Strand* were long drawn out. Different editors changed its policy and character, adjusted its format, introduced more intricate display and layout, and in the long run accepted diminution to pocket size, but none of these elaborate twists and turns saved it from extinction. The wholesale collapse of magazines like the *Strand* began long before the current economic difficulties arose and reveal the third influence in the general decline. One of the stock fallacies sustaining the confidence of many publishers over the years has been the belief that a magazine "of character," presenting a strongly defined attitude to life and integrated by a creative idea, can preserve its prosperity indefinitely. Publishers resist the notion that the particular character of a magazine may be "worked out." They insist that timely injections of modernization, to reconcile the paper with a change in current attitudes, will continuously renew its life. Hence the prolonged attempts to stem falling circulation by every device from vulgarization to gift schemes, and

the monotonous consistency with which they fail.

Some element of atrophy must be admitted in any post-mortem on more recent magazines. The philosophies for which they stood have crumbled away; their personality has suffered hardening of the arteries. But whereas in the 1930's this was the dominant explanation of decay, today the cause is at least as much economic.

Some highly revered monthlies show this ambivalence very clearly. Scientific materialism has overrun their Old World outlook, and the reluctant attempt to compromise cannot be carried too far without destroying the original identity of the magazine. Compromise might have sufficed without the fierce rise in costs, but sheer economics force some of them, like the *Cornhill*, to meet the situation by appearing quarterly instead of monthly. (The rumor that the *Cornhill* is about to close down is false.)

In contrast, the story of the women's magazines remains phenomenal. *Woman* is said to sell two million copies weekly, and its rival, *Woman's Own*, presses close on its heels. The production and sale of popular fiction, female advice, romance, and mysterious substitutes for the harsh realities of living continue to flourish, and in some cases make matters worse for the more "significant" magazines.

Not that they have any direct effect on periodicals like *New Writing*. The troubles of the literary periodical in Britain today are epitomized in the decline and death of *New Writing*. At its peak, during the war, this magazine was selling 80,000 copies. Torn out of their normal environment, beset by ultimate realities, people then faced up to a deeper consciousness which was to some extent satisfied and was certainly made articulate by *New Writing*. Thrown back upon their own resources, they found the mind not only a refuge, as

John Lehmann puts it, but a fortifying influence, and they eagerly absorbed what one group regarded as their cultural "medicine" and another as profound reading. Today the pressures have relaxed, preoccupation with everyday things has overlaid deeper awareness, and the audience in consequence has dwindled. Before it ceased publication *New Writing* had fallen to 20,000 or 30,000 copies. But it was not only a matter of numbers. The rise in production costs and the increased selling price played a big part; it is possible that without the fierce upsurge of costs the magazine would have survived, for John Lehmann, its editor, had many ideas for renewing its life. Indeed, he still has.

But much of this happened before the weight of British rearmament became a serious threat. Today, rearmament may inhibit still more the free exchange of ideas, information, and opinion in some sections of the periodical press, although most of the old-established weeklies have the situation in hand.

The *New Statesman*—dare I mention it?—has compromised by increasing its price from sixpence to ninepence, but the *Tribune*—does the name mean anything?—has a literary editor who bitterly complains that lack of space has become a Procrustean bed. The *Spectator* has so far done nothing more drastic than increase its selling price by one penny, and the *Economist* appears to thrive. Some monthlies are in far worse shape. Wholesale increases in selling prices and advertising rates are one widely accepted solution, but they bring the danger of a proportional fall in advertising. Some weeklies now appear fortnightly, fortnightlies appear monthly, and quarterlies—completing the logic—sometimes fail to appear at all.

It may sound metaphysical to suggest that rearmament will be that much less effective if our periodicals become more inhibited, but critical analysis of ideas and current events has an indisputable part to play, and endless subtleties of the democratic principle are involved.

International democracy does seem to some British writers and editors a rather primitive affair when the most wealthy and powerful member of the United Nations proliferates magazines of every

kind from the glossy giant to the learned journal while Britain is forced back on papers so insubstantial in some cases as to be almost incapable of self-support. The whole of a British Sunday newspaper runs to eight to ten pages, perhaps as large as one supplement of the *New York Times*; *Picture Post* has 60 pages against *Life's* 140; *Partisan Review* survives, *Horizon* has gone. We have no equivalent of the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, or *Look*. Comparatively, the British scene is desolate.

[This is the second of two articles on publishing in Great Britain. The first, dealing with book publishing, appeared in the issue of December 1.]

Colette in America

SHORT NOVELS OF COLETTE.

With an Introduction by Glenway Westcott. Dial Press. \$5.

THIS reprint of six short novels of Colette is a joy, though the selection might have been better and the translations—"Chéri," beautifully done by Janet Flanner excepted—are sometimes rather feeble English. Yet the choice, considering that Colette has been writing for more than fifty years, is representative, ranging from the giddy and pleasantly school-girlish "The Indulgent Husband" (1902) through "Chéri" (1920), "The Last of Chéri" (1926), and the incomparable "The Other One" (1929), with "The Cat" (1933) and "Duo" (1934) as pendant attractions. The total effect is impressive. In addition, Glenway Westcott has provided a long and informative though somewhat rhapsodical introduction.

Reading and rereading Colette is an amusing and exciting experience. Even without Mr. Westcott's assertion that "she is the greatest living French fiction writer," one becomes aware of gifts enormous in their range though carefully limited in their application. She never attempts more than she can well manage; she knows always exactly what she can do; she is profound, but she never tries for profundity. She is enormously skilful. In the earliest of these tales, "The Indulgent Husband," a situation which might easily have degenerated into a sordid triangle or a wretched farce becomes an occasion for wit, high spirits, and, at the last, deep emotion. The Chéri sequence is more

serious throughout, a relentless analysis of the brief and sad career of a monied gigolo, a young man incapable of real feeling or of real expression who is at once civilized, so far as he ever becomes a human being, and ruined by an elderly courtesan. For when he marries—Colette's moral insight is infallible—it is he and not his temporarily broken-hearted mistress who suffers disaster. "The Other One" is the best story in the collection, quiet, almost uneventful, with, as a background, all the eventfulness of a successful play going into production. Here again there is a triangle, this time husband, wife, and secretary, which is brought to a certain resolution when the wife realizes that her relationship, woman to woman, with the secretary is as necessary as the loving complaisance she has expended on her spoiled husband. "Duo" and "The Cat" are only less good because the experiences they re-create are more limited. All, with the possible exception of "The Indulgent Husband," have a wonderful variety in their unity, which goes, by way of "Adolphe" and "La Princesse de Clèves," back to Marie de France so far as French fiction is concerned. Historically Colette is in the grand French tradition.

About her art in general, however, there are three further comments to be made, and the two last cause me to wonder somewhat at her popularity here and in England. Everywhere in her writing are passages which reveal her joy in nature, whether she is observing the weather or describing the various beauties of cats, country landscapes, or the tamed foliage of Paris streets. Sometimes her scenery becomes a symbol, as when the aging Léa, whom Chéri has deserted for a suitable marriage, observes the dying beauties of his mother's garden. Most frequently, however, nature is an enchanting phenomenon to be carefully observed and fully enjoyed.

So far, given our school-day training in the nature poetry of the nineteenth century, so good. But other matters can make us uneasy. Even if she makes fun of it, the world of every one of these tales is bourgeois. Its mores are rigid. Respectability and order, founded on a solid cash basis, triumph over love. The retired courtesans in the Chéri sequence ape the bourgeois life, and, after much hard work, achieve it for themselves

and their children. To us, with our belief in romantic love, in our good hearts, and in our disinterestedness, this attitude can be shocking. It is Colette's triumph that we never fall out of sympathy with even her most unpleasant characters.

More likely to be disturbing to the average reader is the fact that love and the arts of love, although they must always give way to other considerations, are so important. In America or in England the kind of plot Colette uses results in the lowest fiction, because, in America and in England—Jane Austen and Henry James are exceptions—love has never been taken entirely seriously as matter for fiction. Nor, except for Lawrence, has sensual love. In one of these novels a woman recognizes in her husband's conduct and appearance "the utter grace" that bathes him all over after love-making; in "The Last of Chéri" Léa loses her lover because, one morning, she is careless enough to let him see her double chin, her ruined throat. The fault is hers, quite as much as the bourgeois code which restores Chéri to his girl wife. His disgust may be heartless and ungentlemanly; it is also an actuality. For if love and love-making must give way to marriages of convenience, they are still the central facts of life and must be taken seriously. They are more important than simple sexuality, of which there is very little in these stories. The average reader, then, must adjust to values alien to those he is likely to have come on in American or English fiction, where sex is employed regularly to make best-sellers titillating or, more honestly, reduced to pornography. Not even "Sons and Lovers" and "Women in Love" have made it artistically respectable.

ERNEST JONES

Essay on American Fear

THE FEAR OF FREEDOM. By Francis Biddle. Doubleday and Company. \$3.50.

HOW far American fear of Russian communism has gone in destroying American liberties is thoughtfully set forth in this book by our former Attorney General, who was in a position to observe the beginning of the process at first hand and who has studied it carefully since he left office.

His main theses are that fear is necessarily incompatible with freedom and that the pursuit of "loyalty" leads to the grave of conformity rather than to the promised land of security. Although he exhibits well-tempered scorn for the careless political fanatics, such as McCarthy and McCarran, who would turn everyone into their own images, Mr. Biddle blames in some measure the public, which, he says, demands repressions out of fear of an imagined peril. I would have thought the word "accepts" better than "demands," but the results are just as tragic in either case.

Mr. Biddle points out that the obsessive fear of communism has led to the rise of hysteria not only among the ordinary run of bigots, who have been with us throughout our history, but among college professors, lawyers, and, with some notable exceptions, public officials. Scientists have shown more resistance than lawyers, whose fear of the threat of communism exceeds their concern for the preservation of liberty—and even law. It is thirty-one years since Charles Evans Hughes actively protested the ousting of five Socialists from the New York State Assembly. No one of his stature in the law has dared to protest effectively the deprivations of liberty which are becoming an every-week occurrence in our trembling land.

One of the many lessons Mr. Biddle points is the frequency with which we abandon liberties for all when some of us get scared. He gives useful accounts of the red scare following World War I. He goes to England for a parallel, where fear of the spread of the French Revolution led the governing and owning classes to act with even greater physical cruelty against nonconformists than we have done so far out of fear of communism. In the years immediately after World War I, Mr. Biddle points out, "tendency" became a test of criminality, and it has become so again today. On February 19, 1880, during another period of fear, this time in France, Flaubert wrote to Maupassant, who was being accused in a public trial of indecency: "With the theory of tendencies, you can execute a sheep for dreaming of meat." Fish, Dies, Thomas, Wood, McCarthy, and McCarran have been doing just that for too many years, and they have had the support of the worst elements in both political parties.



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Mr. Biddle has had access to hearings before loyalty boards, and if the results were not so tragic, some of the questions he cites would be ludicrous enough to blow up in a burst of laughter stimulated by common sense the whole apparatus of fear and oppression under which we live. Again, if our press were not also afraid, satire might regain us our liberties. Mr. Biddle rather neglects the negative role of the press; he likewise neglects the positive role of the Roman Catholic church in the spread of hysteria that has led to so much loss of freedom. He does point out how Roman Catholics themselves suffered in earlier periods of our history from an unreasonable fear of rule by the Pope. The Alien and Sedition Laws were passed out of fear of the effects of the French Revolution; our fear of Bolshevism kept the rigorous Espionage Act of 1917 in force long after it had served its purpose as a weapon against Germany; the McCarran act of 1950 is our latest legislative expression of hysteria.

Freedom, Mr. Biddle points out, requires maturity. Perhaps the American people are still suffering from growing pains—or is it that, worse still, they are suffering from hardening of the arteries? The enthronement of "guilt by association"—which Mr. Biddle describes in detail—not only as government policy but almost as a principle of law seems to indicate that we are at best in second childhood.

In his account of the loyalty program in operation Mr. Biddle gives instances to illustrate that the inquisitors are more interested in remaking the investigated in their own image than in intelligent inquiry. One member asked a victim whether he thought it was right to mix white and colored blood plasma and whether whites and Negroes should intermarry; another wanted to know whether the victim had read any bad books lately, such as Howard Fast's novels—the man admitted fearfully that he had once read articles in the *New York Times* on Karl Marx. It becomes clearer and clearer as one reads "The Fear of Freedom" that Communists are not the target but liberals, New Dealers, and Socialists, all of whom the Communists despise. And the effort is not to produce loyalty but conformity. It is also clear that the \$21,500,000

spent on loyalty investigations from 1948 to 1950—and this figure covers only the direct cost—has not revealed one actual case of espionage or evidence, Mr. Biddle writes, pointing to espionage.

Mr. Biddle's suggested remedies for the current hysteria are that inquiries should be concerned with a man's behavior rather than his beliefs; that we should cease using "loyalty," a misnomer for conformity, as a yardstick for security; that we should stop choking our own progress by secrecy; and that we should have faith in ourselves. He contends that the remedy for espionage is counter-espionage and investigation by qualified federal, not state or municipal, agents, and that competition for publicity by politicians, misnamed statesmen, produces inquisition, not security. Courage to combat those in both parties who are now doing their utmost for personal political advantage to debase our fundamental liberties is another requisite. Otherwise we are in danger of losing what freedom we still have, for giving in to bigots, like giving in to blackmailers, inevitably makes them all the more greedy and bold.

M. R. WERNER

Freud or Zilboorg?

SIGMUND FREUD: HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE MIND OF MAN. By Gregory Zilboorg. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

NO AUTHOR in the Twentieth Century Library, which aims to give the intelligent layman a basic understanding of the thinkers of the last hundred years, has a harder task than Dr. Zilboorg. Each of these authors is faced with problems of translation. Understanding of Einstein or of Henri Poincaré demands translation of mathematical symbols into words. In the case of Karl Marx and of Freud the translation of technical concepts into everyday speech is complicated by the polemic, half-understanding, -misunderstanding, and emotional distortion which surround their names. With Freud there is the additional difficulty that many of his terms have now become part of the language, so that there is constant need to differentiate their technical from their colloquial meanings.

Dr. Zilboorg is well qualified to give

an exposition of Freud's thought, but he fails in precisely those areas where the layman is usually found at fault; he gives an emotionally colored rather than a scientific appraisal of his material, and he makes constant use of imprecise language. Freud's stature derives from the originality of his thought, his close observation of clinical data, and his use of these observations to correct and enlarge his theories. These qualities do not emerge in this book. It gives neither a clear exposition of Freud's major concepts nor a chronological account of the development of his thinking. Instead it consists of somewhat random discussions of various things connected with Freud and of people in some way associated with him.

The emphasis on the lack of appreciation of Freud and on society's unreadiness to accept his thinking gives the book an oddly dated quality; battles of half a century ago are fought passionately as if they were current. On the other hand, there is almost no treatment of actual current attempts to modify or extend Freud's theories in the context of historical and comparative cultural studies.

To a reader who attempted to form a conception of Freud solely on the basis of this book Freud would appear, I think, primarily as a man in great need of defense, to whom detractors constantly "do an injustice," of whom it is necessary insistently to point out things that "do him credit," or are "to his honor," who must be defended as human in his "quasi-Olympian austerity." In the midst of almost any discussion on any particular subject. Dr. Zilboorg breaks off to champion Freud yet again against charges of "pan-sexualism," "narcissistic pride," and "actual misrepresentation." Freud had a group of "loyal and arduous disciples" who were also under attack, and these are singled out for praise by Dr. Zilboorg if they "understand and oppose . . . most of the opponents of Freud." There would seem to be only two kinds of people in the Freudian world, "anti-sexualist opponents of Freud" and "pro-Freudian partisans." Dr. Zilboorg's facts are presented in terms of moral judgments: he does not say that Janet differed from Freud but that he had an "inability" to accept Freud's version of the facts; Galton was "unable" to admit

his own evidence. Freud "dared" to extend earlier methods; he was "bold" in contrast to the "prudist formalism" and "reckless irresponsibility" of the medical profession.

Freud appears, further, as a person who believed that there is no freedom without "free functioning of reason," but who thought that problems connected with the conscious, reasoning mind require "no special hypothesis" and are "obvious" and "easily dealt with"—a judgment which itself does not do justice to the rigorous quality of Freud's thinking. The reader would gather that somewhere along the way Freud talked about the unconscious, id, ego, super-ego, narcissism, and sex "in the broad Freudian sense," but these terms are usually introduced casually with little or no explanation of the meaning Freud gave to them, apparently on the assumption that the reader either understands what they mean or that this is not the place for him to acquire that understanding. In some parts of the book there is oversimplification to the point of inaccuracy apparent to anyone who has read carefully Freud's "Collected Papers" or even "The Interpretation of Dreams" and "The Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex." In others there is detailed discussion of engagements in the wars among various Freudian sects which can be of interest only to those who have intimate knowledge of these orthodoxies and heresies.

The picture of Freud that Dr. Zilboorg presents to the layman is probably related to his view of the intelligent layman. It would appear that the layman to Dr. Zilboorg is a person who, in place of any attempt at scientific precision, prefers such vague terms as "well-nigh identical," "almost with anxiety," "one would almost say," "more often than not," "major ingredients," "simple and self-evident." This layman for whom Dr. Zilboorg writes does not mind being put off with vague generalizations: "clinically and sociologically speaking, this theoretical basis of Freud did not matter"; "we had never known [the whole dark continent that is man] until Freud offered us a glance at him"; "never mind the reasons."

There are stimulating passages in this book, such as the discussions of Galton and of Freud's view that there must be irreconcilable conflict be-

tween the individual and society. And there are some clear sentences, such as "It is this intuition [the ebb and flow of affect] that Freud brought from obscurity and scientific disrepute, . . . and he tried to make a scientific tool of it."

The seven chapters have no titles, and it is not clear how most of the chapters could appropriately be differentiated by title. The layman reading a book of 132 pages on Freud is assumed to be more interested in polemics about Freud and in long quotations from Catholic journals on the relations of Catholicism to psychoanalysis than in Freud's thought.

Freud's last work, "An Outline of Psychoanalysis," is a book of 127 pages. This, too, is a difficult book for the layman. But it is written seriously, in Freud's remarkably lucid style, and its difficulties arise not from confusion but from the complexity inherent in the problems dealt with. With this compact volume available, in addition to Freud's "Autobiography" and his other earlier work, it is hard to avoid the question: Why Zilboorg?

HELEN M. LYND

Books in Brief

THE SERPENT-WREATHED STAFF.

By Alice Tisdale Hobart. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.50. The problem of making available to all Americans the benefits of modern medical science is here seen principally through the eyes of two brothers—the older a highly skilled but reactionary surgeon, the younger a crusading orthopedist pioneering in group and preventive medicine. Despite the primitive simplicity of the characters, and a prose style which can only be described as abominable (p. 318: "Jo thought, Sally is becoming more mother than wife"; p. 364: "He was worried. Sally had become more child than wife"), the rare sincerity and honesty of purpose of the author of "Oil for the Lamps of China" shine through every page of her long novel.

ROSS AND THE NEW YORKER.

By Dale Kramer. Doubleday. \$3.75. A once-over-lightly of the best-edited magazine in America. All the familiar legends and anecdotes are included—everything but an understanding of the elusive personality of the genius who made it what it is.

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Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

EUROPEAN visitors have been known to complain that we Americans do not spend enough time talking about love. In my country, they sometimes explain happily, a mixed company will often spend a whole evening discussing only one fine point in the casuistry of that infinite subject. At such a symposium Jean Anouilh must be a star performer who can talk all fellow aficionados under the table before he even reaches the ultimate subtleties. But as a playwright for American audiences he is much better when, as in "Antigone," he does not really let himself go, and I cannot predict much success for "Legend for Lovers" now at the Plymouth Theater. It is always possible, of course, to blame everything on a mistake in the translation, and it may possibly be that this adaptation by Kitty Black is worse than the original. But it is difficult to imagine how this original could have been good.

Called "Eurydice" in the French, it is a version of the ancient story so ingenious that any residual resemblance is difficult to detect, and the moral seems to be that since love is sure to turn out less well than young lovers hope, Eurydices are fortunate when they get themselves killed in a bus accident and Orpheuses are wise to commit suicide without waiting for wild women, Greek or otherwise, to tear them to pieces. In Anouilh's version the scene is moved from Greece to a provincial railroad station in France. A minor actress happens to look into the eyes of a street musician and after a brief philosophical conversation they rush off to bed in a Marseilles hotel. As soon as things there have quieted down sufficiently to permit the curtain to be raised again the symposium resumes. Eurydice trembles to think how easy it would have been for them never to have met. Orpheus hopes that she will love him always and that she has not loved too many other fellows before. But since, through no fault of her own, she has been about quite a bit she decides that she had better run away and in so doing she catches her bus—in a sense she had not intended.

Then a mysterious stranger who has been hovering expectantly in the background explains to Orpheus that things would never have been the same again, that, as a matter of fact, things never are what one had expected them to be, and that, in general, anyone who has ever spent one perfect night in a Marseilles hotel had best call it quits. Death is kind. Indeed, even dying would not be bad if it were not for the struggle which life perversely puts up. Orpheus then accepts this logic, and the final tableau shows him and his Eurydice reunited in some future whose reality or lack of reality is in no way defined.

All this solemn nonsense is very carefully staged, and in some sense it is well acted. Dorothy McGuire seems to believe in what she is doing, and Richard Burton, as the young lover, at least acts with that combination of nobility and pettishness which is the traditional formula for making a romantic hero. In fact, there is one part, that of the young man's aging father whose unsuccessful efforts to make a conquest of the bar maid are intended to show what happens to great lovers who live too long, which Hugh Griffith acts superbly well in every sense, thus contributing the only moments of reality in the whole play. But no acting could possibly save a work which is neither consistent in itself nor recognizable as a representation of an audience's experience.

Some say that the proposition "Resolved that life is not worth living" does not state a debatable question. Perhaps they are wrong. But in all seriousness I must say that I have never heard the case for the affirmative less convincingly argued and that only those really convinced for other reasons could ever find "Legend for Lovers" persuasive. When I was young we used to be told that one of the great differences between civilized Europe and Puritan America was simply that here we did not know how to take light loves lightly. We were put through an intensive course in importations from Vienna, Budapest, and Paris, from which we were bid learn that the end of the world does not necessarily come if two young people fall into bed together or even if it is discovered that members of the female sex have more than once been the victims of this pleasant accident. But did any Puritan ever have a

dream so absurd as the dream of the young man in this play, and did any Puritan ever argue, as M. Anouilh here does, that if casual encounters in railway stations do not usually turn into beatific visions then life is obviously not worth living? Yet it is something very much like that which he seems to maintain with utter seriousness. No doubt a death wish can be the occasion of impressive works. But it needs to be a great deal better rationalized than it is in this merely sickly play.

The Other "Cleopatra"

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

CONTEMPORARY audiences are not conditioned to accept, much less respect, the love which Shakespeare celebrates in "Antony and Cleopatra"—the passionate love of a man and woman who are mature and at the full but no longer young and therefore jealous of time. Small wonder, since contemporary audiences are fed on the puerile, the "pure" and prurient, romance of the films, fed also on the cruder "Freudian" clichés about sex, and beset by the public convention—the private conviction may be different—that there is something a little ridiculous about passion in middle age. All the more reason why a production of "Antony and Cleopatra" should be pitched on a level of taste and tact which allows for gaiety but not for farce, for the communication of sensual delight but not of mere "sexy" titillation. And the appropriate tone, I learned on seeing the Olivier production, must be set in the very first scenes if the last scenes are to have their full tragic import.

The first scene of the Olivier production (Ziegfeld Theater) owes more to Hollywood than to Shakespeare, not only in its attributes as spectacle, which is well enough, but also in the first sight it gives us of Antony and Cleopatra. Instead of entering "with their trains" in the full dignity of a queen and a conqueror, they are carried in on a litter and they are so disposed and so comport themselves as to invite the titillations that were immediately forthcoming. In the second scene, in Cleopatra's private apartment, farce is added to titillation. The eunuch Mardian is cast and made up to be funny; so, even, is the queen's adviser, Alexas. In this context

the humorous byplay of the first part of the scene is turned into prurient farce—it is also given too much emphasis—while the ominous effect of the soothsayer's lines presaging the tragedy to come is quite lost on the giggling audience. But what is far worse, the court of Egypt is instantly made ridiculous in our eyes.

This handling is not only cheap but, in dramatic terms, incredibly stupid. The primary tension of the play rises from the conflict between two views of life, subsumed in the conflict between Rome and Egypt. The reader is pulled first toward one and then the other, and in the end the choice between them becomes for him, as for Enobarbus, a tragic choice. But here we are instructed at the outset to take, as it were, the Roman view of Egypt. As a result the basic conflict is renounced even before the action begins. It follows that parts of the play are rendered all but meaningless; and I think the utter wrongness of these opening scenes is best indicated by the fact that the crucial role of Enobarbus, the sensible man whose reason persuades him to choose Caesar and Rome and who then dies of grief and remorse for having deserted Antony and Egypt, has so little significance or relevance that it scarcely matters that he is badly cast—though it is hard to take an inept reading of "Age cannot wither, or custom stale. . . ."

Needless to say, the belittling of Egypt reduces the stature of Cleopatra as well, so that the love between her and Antony inevitably takes on the proportions of a private affair, not an affair of state involving the highest politics. And Vivien Leigh cannot overcome this hazard. She has not the presence of a queen; she is more girl than woman: she is very pretty but not voluptuous. She reads very well and her voice is sufficiently rich, but it has little variety, and its overriding, finally monotonous sound often tends to absorb rather than display the extremes of mood of a woman in love or the distinctions in tone between the woman and the queen.

As for Mr. Olivier, his performance never suggests, in spite of the lines that make it clear, that the capacity for love is as much an aspect of Antony's greatness as the capacity for world conquest. His passion for Cleopatra is

presented rather as a weakness—again the Roman view—and there is in Olivier's reading and his overacting more than a hint of the old lecher, which is unforgivable. The audience loved it.

In the latter part of the play the acting of both, and particularly that of Miss Leigh, is much more in keeping with the spirit of the original; but the damage has been done, and though the final scenes are moving they are closer to pathos than to tragedy.

Robert Helpmann as Caesar and as symbol of the cold pursuit of power is pictorially effective—his head and face are made up to resemble the visage on a Roman coin—and he acts the part fairly well, though he gives the impression less of the strong man who has subdued the softer emotions to his will to power than of the robot who has never had to contend with them. Lepidus, the elder statesman, is well handled; the characterization of Pompey as an ineffectual and genial fool is another gaffe. But I must desist.

The pace of the production is fast, and the revolving set is employed to generate excitement as well as to accomplish quick changes of scene. To people who do not know the play the Olivier interpretation will probably seem "wonderful" if only because it does make so many concessions to current conventions. To me it seemed a sorry mishandling of a great play.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

TWO excerpts from Berlioz's "L'Enfance du Christ"—the lovely *Adieu des bergers à la Sainte Famille* and *Repos de la Sainte Famille* from Part 2—were issued here on records many years ago; and there was a Christmas Day broadcast of several excerpts a few years later; but there has been no concert performance of the entire work in New York that I have known about before the recent one by the Little Orchestra Society, which at last provided an opportunity to hear a score that W. J. Turner regarded as Berlioz's finest. It was a performance in which, as usual, the orchestra's playing under Thomas Scherman's direction was a mere production of the notes, and in which much of the solo singing—by Martial Singher, baritone, and Mary Davenport, mezzo-soprano—was not very agreeable to the ear. But there were also Leopold Simoneau, an excellent tenor; Donald Gramm, whose fresh bass voice was one of the most beautiful I have heard in years; and William Jonson's Choral Art Society, which produced sound of extraordinary transparency and loveliness. As for the music, to someone listening with Turner's statement in mind it was bewildering to hear

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the mellifluous nineteenth-century oratorio style in Part 1; but one heard the highly individual operation of the Berlioz mind in the overture and the familiar vocal portions of Part 2; and its most powerful manifestations came in Part 3, in the passages concerned with Joseph's anguished appeals for refuge and the granting of refuge by the Ishmaelite. Parts 2 and 3 certainly make "L'Enfance du Christ" a remarkable and beautiful work; but—recalling the marvels of the *Love Scene*, *Queen Mab*, *Juliet's Funeral Procession*, and *Romeo in the Vault of the Capulets* in "Romeo and Juliet"—I cannot agree with Turner that "L'Enfance" is Berlioz's finest score.

The Quartetto Italiano, at the Y. M. H. A., played Boccherini's Quartet Opus 6 No. 1 in half-voice, so to speak—with a delicacy of style and sensitiveness of phrasing that employed the finest gradations of its extraordinarily blended tone. All this made for the most remarkable quartet playing since the first years of the Budapest Quartet, and a perfect performance of Boccherini's charming work; but the same delicacy and sensitiveness in parts of Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 3, and a by no means robust treatment of other parts, produced a less satisfying performance of this piece.

With all the remarkable qualities of the tone there was a dryness which I

wasn't sure I was hearing in the half-voice Boccherini performance, but which was unmistakable in the Beethoven; and when my guest exclaimed: "You know, it sounds like a different quartet up here; in Town Hall the tone was fuller and more luminous," I had my answer at last to the question that had been raised in my mind by the deficiencies in tone of the Budapest Quartet at the Y. The group has not been playing as it used to; but the poorer tone has been made to sound worse by the acoustic peculiarities of the Y. auditorium.

The New York City Ballet is now a superb company; and its great Balanchine ballets are enough to make its repertory quite the most distinguished in the world. The company is a superb one even without a Youskevitch, a Lazovsky, a Kriza whom it needs, and even with Laing whom it doesn't need and Eglevsky whom it would be better off without; the repertory is a distinguished one even with the inferior ballets of other choreographers than Balanchine. So far from objecting to the inferior ballets, I contend that these other choreographers must be represented in the repertory, and by what they produce. Not only that, but if keeping the Balanchine works on view for the small public which appreciates "poetic suggestion through dancing" depends on attracting to the box office the larger public which goes for literal representation of private neuroses and *crimes passionels* and for corny cuteness and comedy, I think the company is right to attract the larger public in that way. And I recognize a similar justification for the engagement of popular dancers like Eglevsky and Laing, but contend only that the proper way to use them is not to fit them into Balanchine ballets which they spoil but to present them in their specialties—Eglevsky in virtuoso pas de deux, Laing in a succession of "Lilac Garden"s.

If such tactics with the general public are necessary it is because there is nobody writing for it today. Edwin Denby wrote several years ago—nobody to explain, for example, that "to recognize poetic suggestion through dancing one has to be susceptible to poetic values and susceptible to dance values as well . . . I find that a number of people are, and that several dancers, for example Miss Danilova and Miss Mar-

kova, are quite often able to give them the sense of an amplitude in meaning which is the token of emotion in art." Instead there are, among others, writers like the one in *Theater Arts* who was described to me as one of those for whom modern dance expresses emotions whereas classical ballet is merely beautiful to the eye, and who was quoted as having credited Balanchine only with superb craftsmanship, not with artistic creativeness. There are, that is, writers who themselves lack the susceptibility to poetic values and to dance values that would enable them to recognize poetic suggestion through dancing.

The others include John Martin of the *Times*, whose present line with Balanchine is that of an admirer and friend who can understand Balanchine's affection for "Apollo," a "historical milestone," but must point out that it is "a very young and dated effort" which will never be a popular ballet; or who regrets having to counsel Balanchine to consign the wonderful invention of "The Four Temperaments" to oblivion for lack of the right music to carry it, and to return as beautiful a work as "The Fairy's Kiss" to the storehouse until its technical problems are solved; or who, conceding the beauty of "Swan Lake," must nevertheless admonish Balanchine sternly not to concern himself again with such old chestnuts—which is as though a theater company were admonished not to concern itself with Shakespeare or Shaw. "As a friend, and for your own good," says Mr. Martin to Balanchine, "I urge you to cut your throat."

CONTRIBUTORS

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Letters to the Editors

Indo-Pakistan Relations Are Improving

Dear Sirs: I think most Western newspapers have neglected to emphasize the fact that relations between India and Pakistan have improved in recent weeks. After the tension that existed between the two nations during the summer, it is heartening to think that an era of good feeling may be in the making. The fundamental kinship between India and Pakistan came to the surface, strangely enough, at the time of the assassination of Pakistan's Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan. The grief expressed by Indian leaders was genuine, and the better atmosphere it engendered has not been dissipated. It had the immediate good effect of establishing Khwaja Nazimuddin, Pakistan's new Prime Minister, and Ghulam Mohammed, the new Governor General, in many Indian minds as "able and moderate" and striving for peace between India and Pakistan. New leaders could not have got off to a better start with usually hostile neighbors.

The first fact about Nazimuddin which an Indian mentions is that he is a Bengali. That, for them, places him. It is like saying Ambassador Chester Bowles is from Connecticut, which gives an American an image of a tall, honest-faced New Englander.

The general feeling is that Nazimuddin's being from East Bengal may help ease some of the tensions within Pakistan. East Bengal, that island of the Pakistan nation which is separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory from the capital at Karachi, holds 64 per cent of Pakistan's 76,000,000 people. With this proportion of the population the Bengalis believe they have not adequate representation in the top government posts. Nazimuddin's appointment is expected to allay that resentment.

Furthermore, because he is a more orthodox Moslem than was Liaquat, Nazimuddin is expected to please the religious-minded in Pakistan. He made his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1936, which gives him the honorary title of "Al-hajj." Nazimuddin also pleases the educated moderns of Pakistan, for he has a "moderate" concept of the Islamic state and is said to have progressive ideas on such problems as land reform.

The big question—whether Nazimud-

din and the others who have taken over the reins in Pakistan will be able to improve Indo-Pakistan relations over the long run—is considered in a spirit of hopefulness. Nazimuddin's efforts, when he was Chief Minister of united Bengal, to bring about harmony between Moslems and Hindus are often recalled. Also the ability to hold amicable talks with India, displayed by Ghulam Mohammed, the new Governor General, when he was Finance Minister of Pakistan is cited as an encouraging sign. Some people here in Delhi even say that Nazimuddin, lacking the drive of Liaquat, will be a quieting influence on the extremists in Pakistan; it might, of course, work the other way—he might be pushed by them. If he does control the extremists, an atmosphere may be created in which the "new approach" Nehru has been talking of can be worked out. The creation of such an atmosphere, of course, cannot be one-sided. The extremists in India would have to be quieted at the same time, a job which Nehru has been stressing constantly.

Delhi, India

JEAN LYON

Reaction in New Zealand

Dear Sirs: Your readers may be interested to learn of a bill recently introduced into the New Zealand House of Representatives, bearing the title "Police Offenses Amendment Bill," which makes it an offense to excite disaffection, or to arouse hatred, or contempt against H. M. Government of New Zealand, or any other member of the Commonwealth, or against the administration of justice. Clause 5 of the bill makes it an offense "to print, publish, sell, distribute, deliver, have for sale, or import into New Zealand, or cause to be imported any document or other matter having seditious intention or tendency" and places the onus of proof on the accused, presuming guilt if a document loosely described by law as "seditious" be found in a person's possession. Policemen have the right to seize any documents, printing presses, or duplicators and to arrest without warrant anyone they believe to have broken the statute. Bail is denied to the accused person pending appeal. Clause 12 gives the Crown the right to keep any seized property even if no charge is made.

The right to strike is for all practical purposes denied. The term "strike" includes a reduction in "normal output or the normal rate of work—the said act being due to any combination, agreement, common understanding, or concerted action, whether expressed or implied, on the part of any workers, and being intended or having a tendency to interfere with the manufacture, production, output, supply, delivery, or carriage of goods, or articles, or the carriage of persons. . . ." Clause 15 forbids anyone to "watch or beset any premises" or follow any person with a view to "compel, induce, or influence" him not to become a blackleg. It also makes it an offense to publish documents exposing any person or class to hatred or contempt. There is also a provision in the statute which outlaws the displaying of banners, badges, etc., deemed likely to "facilitate victimization of any person or class of person, or to boycotting any person or class."

Not only is the burden of proving innocence placed upon the accused, but under the bill statutory time limits in which charges can be made are abolished. Clause 17 gives a police sergeant the right to pass judgment on the likelihood of a person's guilt and makes it an offense to disobey his orders regardless of whether or not they are just or reasonable. Furthermore, a police sergeant has the right to forbid demonstrations or processions.

London, England

TOM HILL

Mexico's New White Wealth

Dear Sirs: Recently, a new class of *hacendados* has sprung up in Mexico which has further widened the gap between rich and poor in a country of extremes. Chief among them are the cotton millionaires who have blossomed in Matamoros across the Texas border from Brownsville. During the last decade the thirsty desert lands lying south of Matamoros, irrigated from Rio Grande projects, have burst forth with a new white wealth—cotton. The new millionaires, with the instincts and desires of pre-Civil War cotton planters, have made the city's El Jardin district into a showplace of fine homes and estates. At Nuevo Laredo, Chito Longoria is building a palace with seventeen bathrooms, a swimming pool, a

five-car garage, and three bars. Longoria and his brothers—associates of Clayton and Company—own 10,000 acres of choice land, and control banks, cotton-seed mills, wholesale and retail stores, and a score of other enterprises.

In contrast with this "new prosperity," Mexico's landless and impoverished agricultural workers, who still comprise the great bulk of the population, often receive no more than two pesos (23 cents) a day; even in the most prosperous regions farm wages are

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miserably low. The landless often subsist on 1,100 calories of food a day, but they hunger for land as well as food. Forgotten are the principles of the revolution, which promised the landless liberty and land. Today the emphasis is on industrialization, not land distribution. In the six years of the Cárdenas regime more than 43,200,000 acres were distributed to the peasants, but since 1940 the new owners have had to struggle against lawsuits and denunciations of titles and much land has returned to the big proprietors.

The peasants say that fiery Zapata and wild Pancho Villa still live and can be seen riding over the mesas. Some day, they say, these heroes may return to restore the land to them.

Mexico City

FRANK KALMBACH

Loyalty Oath for Writers

Dear Sirs: I am an English writer visiting this country as a guest of the United States government to see America. One of the first things I saw was *Collier's* World War III issue. . . .

Since loyalty oaths are the fashion, isn't there one loyalty oath everybody could take—self-administered—which would bind oneself, in this time of unbalance, not to write anything disloyal to human interests? The editors of dollar or pound journals might not understand. But the writers they try to seduce ought to. If they are desperately short of pounds or dollars it would be better to sell their illustrious names to advertisers of beer or cigarettes. . . .

Philadelphia

GEOFFREY GRIGSON

[Mr. Grigson is on the staff of the *London Morning Post*, literary adviser to the B. B. C., a former editor of *New Verse*, and author of a number of books of poetry and criticism.]

An Error Cited . . .

Dear Sirs: The editors of *Scholastic Magazines* have read with surprise the article by Morris Mitchell entitled *Fever Spots in American Education*, first of a series on "The Battle for Free Schools," published in the October 27, 1951, issue of *The Nation*.

Presumably the *Nation* article, dealing as it does with very recent events in Pasadena, Englewood, and similar situations, was intended to inform readers of the present pressures on the schools and the forces behind them. The 1951 reader would have no idea, however, that the incident referred to involving *Scholastic Magazines* occurred

over eleven years ago, before the United States entered World War II, and that conditions have changed drastically since then.

The feature in question was an article which appeared in the September, 1940, issue of the *American Legion Magazine*, entitled *Treason in the Textbooks*, by Orland K. Armstrong, now a representative in Congress from Missouri. In addition to its generalized charges of "subversive influences" in the schools, it published a list of textbooks, magazines, and pamphlets which, it alleged, the Americanism Commission of the American Legion had found objectionable. In addition to *Scholastic Magazines*, the list included such books as Carl Becker's "Modern History," Charles A. and Mary R. Beard's "United States History," and "The American Observer" and other publications of the Civic Education Service.

If this article was later republished in pamphlet form without change and distributed by the American Legion and the National Economic Council, we were not aware of it. But we have in our files a signed statement from Boyd B. Stutler, then managing editor of the *American Legion Magazine*, which was given wide publicity at the time, and which reads in part as follows:

The *American Legion Magazine* expresses its regret that *Scholastic* was inadvertently included in the list of publications said to be objectionable for school use, which appeared in connection with the article entitled *Treason in the Textbooks*, by Orland K. Armstrong. . . .

The editors of the *American Legion Magazine* find nothing in the publication [*Scholastic*] which is un-American or otherwise objectionable for school use. . . .

The Legion also found it necessary to make public retractions to other publishers whose publications were listed.

How the careless handling of facts can work to the detriment of innocent persons is well illustrated by the fact that as a result of the article in *The Nation* we have already received a number of inquiries about our "loss of circulation" brought about by an attack on us by the *American Legion*.

KENNETH M. GOULD,

Editor-in-Chief, *Scholastic Magazines*
New York

. . . Apologies Tendered

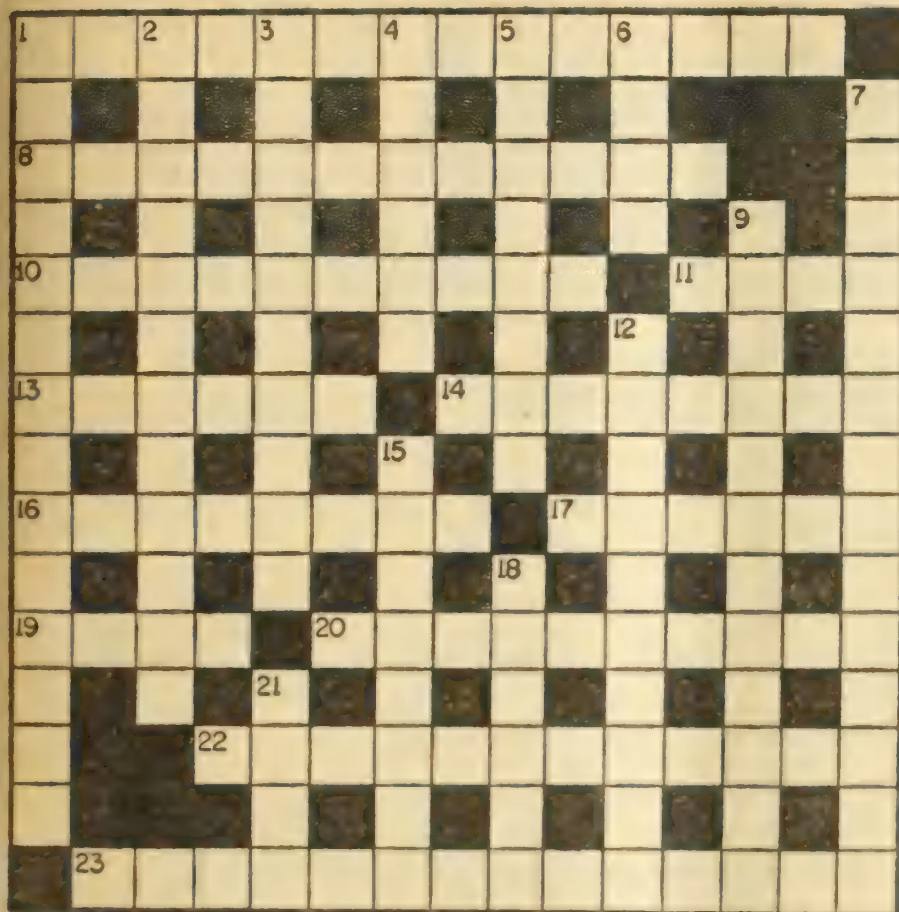
Dear Sirs: I can only offer my apologies to the editors of *Scholastic Magazines* for the erroneous impression given.

Putney, Vt.

MORRIS R. MITCHELL

Crossword Puzzle No. 447

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Play with bobbles? (6, 2, 6)
- 8 Certainly not a transmitter. (12)
- 10 The owner of a crown of diamond would be. (10)
- 11 See 4 down.
- 13 Solemn and cucurbitaceous. (6)
- 14 Sounds like juicy fruit now and again, with not enough B. (8)
- 16 81st element. (8)
- 17 See 28.
- 19 Were used to hold water once. (4)
- 20 Certainly no lover of Albion. (10)
- 22 Collection of tales which makes Conservatives blow their fuses? (5, 7)
- 28 and 17. Implying a waiter gets his directions confused? (2, 3, 9, 2, 4)

DOWN

- 1 See 4.
- 2 Logically should be hard, but actually soft drinks in England. (7, 5)
- 3 An entrant might have it firmly in his grasp. (10)
- 4, 11, and 1 down. The answer seems to be John's farewell at the exposition. (2, 4, 4, 3, 3, 6, 2)
- 5 Gave up and sneezed, by the sound of it. (8)

- 6 Cross the head of 3 up. (4)
- 7 Past masters? Quite the opposite! (Some of their sales take quite a licking!) (14)
- 9 Does he find fewer bumps on the 10? (12)
- 12 Provided by tires and tactical planes. (3, 7)
- 15 If West is the dealer, the first card is. (3, 5)
- 18 Shuts things up in churchyards? (6)
- 21 This ruler sounds like he might make work out of play. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 446

ACROSS — 1 FRESH AS A DAISY; 10 INDEX; 11 TASTEBUDS; 12 BLOWPIPES; 13 DRIER; 14 KEY SIGNATURE; 19 A WORLD OF GOOD; 22 ROCKS; 24 MONOGRAMS; 25 CURVATURE; 26 IMAGO; 27 CONFIDENCE MAN.

DOWN — 2 RED DOG; 3 SEX APPEAL; 4 ANTIPASTO; 5 APSSES; 6 AMEND; 7 STUDIOUS; 8 LIMBO; 9 USURPER; 15 GIGANTEAN; 16 ALONGSIDE; 17 CAPRICE; 18 CONCERTO; 19 CABANA; 21 ASCOT; 23 STAFF; 24 MOUND.

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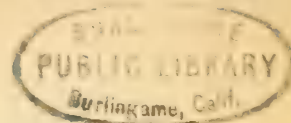
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Eisenhower, the Silent Symbol—*An Editorial*

THE

Nation



January 19, 1952

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Internal Confusion in Internal Revenue

BY NORMAN REDLICH

Granddaddy of the Tax Scandals

BY HARRY BARNARD

✱

Korea and Peace

Steps Toward Unification

BY ARTHUR L. GREY, JR.

✱

Headache Powders: Use Your Head

BY LEONARD ENGEL

On helping young people to think for themselves

THE propagandists of orthodoxy, both of the Right and of the Left, have always made special efforts to capture and to curb the minds of students. Those of us who care about freedom must do as much to keep our viewpoint before the new generation. These considerations recently led a liberal-minded Chicago businessman to take action.

☞ He arranged with *The Nation* to obtain a list of the valedictorians in the high schools of his city. To each of these honor students he sent a year's subscription to *The Nation*, both as a reward for scholarship and as a stimulus to further independent thinking. An honor

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☞ Many other readers of *The Nation* have found merit in this idea, and have added their help to the program. We recommend it to your attention as an honorable investment in the future of freedom. Young people today are beginning to believe that there is something "disloyal" about exercising traditional American liberties. *The Nation*, as America's oldest weekly, may serve as an antidote to this dangerous lie, and as an example to future voters of how to think for themselves about social and political matters.

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VOLUME 174

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 19, 1952

NUMBER 3

The Shape of Things

THE OBVIOUS RESULTS OF THE CHURCHILL visit have been duly tabulated and added up: American steel for British aluminum; agreements as to Britain's relationship with the future European army; American pledge that bomber bases in England will not be used without the consent of both governments; a few others which together imply more cooperation and less competition in various parts of the world. But the less obvious results, some not yet revealed and perhaps still only half-formulated, are certainly more important and considerably more disturbing. The talks in Washington between Acheson and Eden and the later secret discussion among General Juin of France, General Sir William Flim of Britain, and General Bradley indicate clearly enough that new commitments are in the making in regard to Asia. For one thing it is now accepted that Japan will be pushed by the United States into diplomatic relations and a separate peace treaty with Chiang Kai-shek. Mr. Eden's protest against this action, which was initiated in violation of American promises during Mr. Dulles's recent Tokyo visit, failed to move Mr. Acheson. As James Reston remarked in the *New York Times* last Sunday, "In the last analysis the British felt there was very little they could do. They could not break with the United States on the issue. They needed the financial and military help of the United States, so their tendency . . . was to go along, even though they felt the situation was fundamentally wrong." What, if any, economic or military *quid pro quo* Eden received is not known. But the British undoubtedly pressed their claim for greater aid in Burma and Malaya.

★

REGARDING INDO-CHINA THE PROSPECT IS still more obscure. The Churchill-Truman warning to Peking that they were watching the military situation in Southeast Asia and would not tolerate Communist expansion here, a warning more strongly phrased by Eden in his Columbia University speech, may imply an agreement to intervene with arms if the Chinese send troops into Indo-China. It has been interpreted this way by several well-informed Washington correspondents. No such agreement, however, has been publicly announced,

although the United States has apparently promised General Juin naval and air support in case of a Chinese invasion, and this, we all remember, was the way the whole thing started in Korea. Without any question the Asian aspects of the recent Washington talks provide hints of most serious developments ahead, and it is essential that all the facts be revealed without delay so that they may be examined by the public and by Congress before bigger and worse wars are launched.

★

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S WITHDRAWAL OF THE nomination of General Mark W. Clark as ambassador to the Vatican State—ostensibly at the request of General Clark—may satisfy those who disapproved of sending a military man on such a mission, but it will not quiet the storm of protest provoked by the original announcement. As usual, Mr. Truman appears to have been moved by political self-interest. The day before the nomination of General Clark was withdrawn, Senator Tom Connally voiced strong objections to it and implied that it could not be confirmed. In addition to this important opposition, a storm of protest has been beating on the White House and on Congress. "Members of the Senate," reported the *Wall Street Journal* of January 8, "who must act on the nomination, say they are still receiving a large volume of mail on the Vatican issue—and nearly all of it against the President's proposal. One Southern Democrat says that out of a 'trunkful of letters' . . . only three have favored a United States ambassador to the Papal State. Senators from other sections report overwhelming opposition to the nomination. 'And the Protestants,' says one law-maker, 'are demanding that it come to a vote so that they can see exactly how every Senator stands on the issue.' " For the time being the President has prevented a record vote, but groups opposed to the appointment of an ambassador should keep the pressure on until Mr. Truman publicly disavows the project and formally reaffirms the constitutional separation of church and state.

★

ATTORNEY GENERAL J. HOWARD McGRATH was teetering on the end of a plank around the turn of the year; today he is back in the President's good graces. Not only has his continuance in office been confirmed,

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but he has been assigned the task of cleaning up the scandals in which some at least of his own subordinates are involved. What happened to bring about this happy ending—for McGrath? Washington reporters have little doubt Mr. Truman had planned to jettison him. According to David Lawrence, writing in the *New York Herald Tribune*, the President actually approached four men in his search for a new Attorney General. Three of them refused, but the fourth, Justin Miller, executive head of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters and former Associate Justice of the United States Court of Appeals, accepted after some hesitation. On January 3 Mr. Truman missed a chance to deny widespread reports of McGrath's departure, and the announcement of his successor appeared imminent. Next day, however, McGrath emerged from a Cabinet meeting wreathed in smiles and told reporters that no change in his status was contemplated. According to Robert S. Allen, he was saved by the intervention of three friends—Senator Theodore Green, his political godfather; Cardinal Spellman, who telephoned a plea from Tokyo; and Matt Connelly, Presidential secretary, who concerns himself particularly with affairs of the Roman Catholic church and is said to be close to Franco's active Washington lobby. This story fits in with another Washington rumor—that McGrath has been allowed to stay at the Department of Justice until he can resign with dignity to take another post, that of ambassador to Spain, which is likely to become vacant shortly as the result of the illness of the present incumbent, Stanton Griffis.

★

WITH THIS ISSUE WE BEGIN A SYMPOSIUM ON the long-range problems of peace in Korea. In view of the continued deadlock in the cease-fire negotiations, such a discussion may seem premature, perhaps over-optimistic. But we are convinced that an armistice will eventually emerge from the talks and that it will bring with it a flock of problems more important and far more difficult to resolve than those now being discussed at Panmunjom. The authors contributing to the symposium have considered these problems with detachment and realism and where possible have suggested workable solutions. This week Arthur L. Grey, Jr., takes up the question of Korean unification. In subsequent issues Lawrence K. Rosinger will discuss the effect on Korea of the Japanese treaty and the Pacific Pact; Walter Sullivan, *New York Times* correspondent in Korea in 1950, will describe the task of rebuilding and relief that will face the United Nations once the fighting ends; Yongjeung Kim, director of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, will try to anticipate the internal political difficulties that peace will bring in Korea; finally Owen Lattimore and W. McMahon Ball will comment on certain broad aspects of a Korean settlement.

WITH MUCH STAR-SPANGLED FANFARE THE "Alert America" exhibit opened in Washington on January 7, sponsored jointly by the federal Civil Defense Administration and an organization known as Valley Forge Foundation. Actually the Valley Forge Foundation is an offspring of the Freedoms Foundation which was set up some years ago for the apparently harmless purpose of awarding cash prizes annually to "Americans who speak up for freedom." Its winners have included such freedom lovers as Westbrook Pegler and George Sokolsky, a fact which in 1949 led the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers (A. F. of L.) to hand back to the Freedoms Foundation an award of \$600 and a gold medal. The Alert America exhibit represents what is referred to in Pentagon circles as a "new concept"—the partnership of civil defense and the military. It will visit the forty-eight states and over a hundred cities. School children in particular will be encouraged to view the exhibit, which according to the advance billing "is so arranged that the effect is cumulative on the visitor. As he passes through it he sees the destruction of a city, of crops . . . of life." Whether the new concept of linking military and civilians is a good one is certainly open to question. But in any case it does not excuse collaboration between the government and an outfit like Freedoms Foundation and its dubious subsidiaries.

Eisenhower: Silent Symbol

ANY uncertainty about General Eisenhower's political affiliations and political ambitions has been removed by his announcement that he would accept the Republican nomination. In the phrase of Joseph Alsop, it can now be said that the General is "an avowed, available, and firmly Republican" candidate for the Presidency.

With Senator Taft virtually unopposed, the entry of General Eisenhower in the Republican race might normally be taken as a healthy political development. But the General has made his announcement under circumstances that give his candidacy an abnormal significance. We are disturbed by the manner of the announcement and its reception, by the view that the General apparently takes of his own position, by the extreme emphasis being placed on "leadership," and by the threat of increased military influence in government.

Consider, first, the strange situation in which the General's candidacy puts the average voter. Eisenhower is in Europe and if his statement is taken at face value will remain there until after the Republican convention. He does not intend to campaign. He does not intend to discuss the issues. He will enter no debates and appear on no platforms. There is a calculated aloofness about this that cuts across the grain of the American political tradition. As Max Lerner put it, the General's duty to

NATO today is greater than his duty to campaign for the nomination, but his duty to run for President in July will be greater than his duty to NATO. It looks as though the General wanted the Presidency handed him on a platter. This is certainly not flattering to the political ego of the average American voter, and it is unfair to the General's Republican rivals. Even a talented debater like Senator Taft will find it difficult to argue with a Silent Symbol on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Presumably Senator Taft and General Eisenhower differ on foreign policy; on domestic questions we are inclined to accept Mark Sullivan's assurance that the General is "staunchly Republican." But if foreign policy is the key issue in 1952, how can conflicting tendencies within the Republican Party be clarified and appraised if only Saltonstall can speak to Lodge and only Lodge can speak to God? The necessity for debate is all the greater because the differences between Taft and Eisenhower on foreign policy are perhaps more a matter of timing and geography than of substance. Both are proponents of military containment, differing principally as to the scale and speed of rearmament, the value of the United Nations, and the respective importance of Europe and the Far East. Behind Eisenhower are the so-called "Morgan interests" that supported Willkie in 1940 and Dewey in 1948, with their familiar emphasis on the Atlantic and Europe; behind Taft are the corn-fed industrialists and financiers of the Middle West, who are inclined toward an isolationist position but who nevertheless favor a strong policy in Asia along the lines of the MacArthur recommendations. These divergent interests and emphases should be thoroughly explored; all too little is known about them.

Despite the difficulties of debating with a Silent Symbol, Senator Taft is a determined man and can be counted on to challenge Eisenhower to take off his uniform and talk to the people. But assuming Taft can force a debate, how much of a debate will it be? Under other circumstances, it might be lively and enlightening; today it can hardly be either. The manner in which the Eisenhower announcement was received implies a strong determination to rule out any significant discussion of foreign policy. The swift indorsement of Eisenhower by newspapers like the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Sun-Times* indicates how easily a frenzy of enthusiasm may be whipped up under cover of which the only issue will be: are you for or against Eisenhower? That liberals like Senator Douglas and Senator Morse should be for Eisenhower along with diehard Dixiecrats such as Alabama's Tom Abernethy is a measure of the neurotic need for a "leader" and a hint that the next President may be chosen by "acclamation" rather than on the merits of his candidacy as tested in a political fight.

The danger in this attempt to avoid a campaign on the issues is increased by the very qualities that have made

General Eisenhower a popular figure. If he had the mannerisms and the arrogance of the stereotyped "man on horseback," in short if he were more like MacArthur, one could safely assume that the American people would recognize the type and act accordingly. But "Ike" is from Kansas; he looks and talks and acts like a civilian in uniform. The General should be aware that his supporters are exploiting these qualities. Eisenhower is the ideal candidate, writes Walter Lippmann, because he is "enormously stronger with the voters than is the Republican Party." In other words, Eisenhower's personal popularity can be used to bring to power a minority party that has been discredited by past performance and is still distrusted by the great mass of voters. Under the circumstances General Eisenhower's acquiescence in the type of campaign that is shaping up—for which, indeed, he is himself largely responsible—betrays a fundamental failure to understand the implications of democratic leadership.

The possibility that political debate will be foreclosed is further increased by the probable impact of Eisenhower's nomination on the two-party system. Though the Republicans' candidate, Eisenhower might well be the Democrats' as well, in fact if not in name. There is already, as in 1948, a strong pro-Eisenhower sentiment among many so-called "liberal" Democrats, and it can be argued that his nomination would prevent a Dixiecrat secession. The greater danger, of course, is that Eisenhower will be the Democratic candidate not formally but by default. If President Truman is nominated, there can be no debate on foreign policy. Nor can there be any real debate if the Democrats choose someone the President approves. They might as well nominate Republican Eisenhower as Democrat Vinson.

There is a final circumstance about the General's candidacy that we find even more disturbing than those mentioned. Eisenhower is not only a general; he belongs to the military. He was trained at West Point, and his entire career, with the exception of the brief interlude at Columbia University, has been spent in uniform. He was a tactful commander of a coalition of armed forces, but he has had no experience with political parties or political administration. The Eisenhower jacket may be less brassy than the gold braid on MacArthur's cap, but it is still part of a uniform. Today the influence of the military in government is perhaps greater than it was at the end of World War II. General Eisenhower may not want to represent the Pentagon in the White House, but how can he help it? The circumstances of the times—the danger of war, the war economy, the vast and growing network of alliances—tend to make any President, even a civilian and a democrat, a tool of the military. If there was reason, as we believed and stated, to be concerned about the appointment of General Marshall as Secretary of State, there is much more reason

to be concerned about the presence today of a regular army officer in the White House.

In a later issue we intend to examine what is known about General Eisenhower's position on foreign and domestic issues and discuss means by which the Democrats could organize to meet the threat which his candidacy presents to the two-party system. But the political season is already well advanced, and action should be taken now. In our view every effort should be made to prevent a stampede for Eisenhower. The General should be asked to resign his command immediately, return home, and start answering questions. Independent candidates should be entered in both major parties, for as many offices as possible; independent delegations should be entered in the Democratic primaries in as many states as possible; and liberals and progressives should start to caucus immediately on other ways of assuring voters a real choice in this most crucial election.

Visbinsky's Offer

Paris, January 12

TODAY'S announcement by Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky that Russia was now prepared to accept as part of an atomic-control plan inspection on a "continuing basis" not only represented an important concession; coupled with his retreat from Russia's previous position that atomic weapons must be prohibited first with international control to follow, it has presented the Western Allies with a genuine challenge. How they will meet it is not yet certain, but the first reaction of the Americans was to look for booby-traps. They professed to have spotted two questionable items: one, Vishinsky's insistence that the control agency should "not be entitled to interfere in the domestic affairs of states"; the other, the possibility that his proposal was intended to block the new Disarmament Commission, approved yesterday over strong Soviet opposition.

But it is clear that Vishinsky's initiative will increase the lead Russia has taken in the peace-propaganda bout going on in the Assembly. In every committee the Soviet delegates have been on the offensive, with the obvious purpose of proving that, while some great powers look for solutions in other quarters, Russia at least takes the United Nations seriously.

Until Vishinsky's intervention today, the outstanding Soviet proposal was that calling for a special meeting of the Security Council, to be attended by the Foreign Ministers, which should try to arrange a Korean truce and also to reduce tension and establish friendly relations among the powers. The Korean proposal was doomed from the start; but the idea of periodic meetings of the Security Council appealed to so many delegations that after strong initial objections from the Americans it was ultimately amended to eliminate refer-

ences to Korea as well as the Soviet demand for a meeting "without delay," and was then adopted as modified. The result was, in effect, a Soviet defeat, for no one here believes the Americans will permit an early meeting of Foreign Ministers even for general discussion of differences. But the fact that Vishinsky voted for the much-amended resolution is taken as additional evidence that Russia intends to back any move, however slight, toward big-power talks on peace. And if a cease-fire should be arranged at Panmunjom before the end of the Assembly, the Soviet demand for a Security Council session would have overwhelming support.

With the passage of time the contention that everything proposed by the Russians must be rejected automatically and entirely is losing force. Delegates are very conscious that two years ago Secretary General Trygve Lie recommended similar special meetings of the Security Council. They are conscious, too, that the concessions offered by Vishinsky on disarmament, if they mean what they appear to mean, greatly reduce the gap between the two rival plans and eliminate the most serious points of difference. It will not be enough, in the view of most people, merely to throw doubt on the sincerity of the Soviet offer; it should be examined on its merits with an evident will to agree if agreement is possible. Otherwise the setting up of the Disarmament Commission to work toward the "regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments" will be proved an empty gesture.

J. A. DEL V.

Same Pill, Less Sugar

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IN HIS report to Congress on the state of the nation, the President prescribed the same mixture as before except that the bitter defense pill was to be larger and its sugar-coating thinner. He recognized that arms were not the only protection against aggression but emphasized the building of military might and gave a minor role to the social and moral means of fortifying democracy—reform at home, economic development abroad. There was little evidence in the speech that the Administration had given heed to the authoritative and varied voices that have recently warned against putting too many of our eggs too fast into military baskets lest we weaken our economy and, even more, the economies of our allies.

I found the message depressing, but I was not at all surprised that the Stock Exchange regarded it as bullish and turned strong the following morning. Quite correctly, the professional traders saw inflationary implications in the President's words and therefore bought equities which, if not a perfect hedge against depreciating

dollars, are better than no hedge at all. In the first place, while details of spending were withheld for later messages, Mr. Truman appeared anxious to dispose of rumors that he would hold down military appropriations. "Our first job," he said, "is to move ahead full steam on the defense program. . . . This year I shall recommend some increase in the size of the active force we are building, with particular emphasis on air power. This means we shall have to continue large-scale production of planes and other equipment for a longer period of time than we had originally planned." It would appear that the Pentagon advocates of a 140-group air force have triumphed.

While the military budget seems certain to grow larger, there may be some trimming of civilian expenditure. Mr. Truman repeated the aims of the Fair Deal—conservation, improved social security, better housing, health and education, civil rights—but he was less specific than in earlier years and he conceded that "we cannot do all we want to do in times like these." Moreover, defense priorities for materials seem likely to reduce the volume of social investment.

Only in two instances did the President urge definite Congressional action which would increase non-defense expenditure. Some effort, he said, should be made to ease the pressure of living costs on those dependent on fixed payments. Old-age and survivors' insurance benefits should be raised at least \$5 a month above the present average of \$42; similar increases should be made in veterans' benefits and public-assistance grants. These proposals will no doubt be attacked by advocates of blind economy, but they represent elementary justice for the most helpless victims of inflation.

The President's second request to Congress was of more dubious nature. I cannot think that, at a time when producers of food and fibers are enjoying booming prosperity, strengthening the farm price-support system is imperative. At least any further underpinning of price floors for agriculture ought to be accompanied by the construction of solid ceilings over food prices. However, while Mr. Truman pointed out that the stabilization law was "shot full of holes" and asked for enactment of a stronger measure, he failed to mention the gap opened at the behest of the farm bloc.

Mr. Truman declared that "we can control inflation if we make up our minds to do it." But it is doubtful whether in an election year Congress is prepared to take the painful steps necessary, and Mr. Truman's speech left the impression that he was not going to push it very hard. True, he said that preserving the financial strength of the government would mean high taxes over the next few years, but he made no mention of the necessity for a balanced budget, though possibly he will do so in a future message.

Failing the strongest kind of lead from the White

House, there seems not the remotest chance that Congress will raise taxes again this year. Thus we face the prospect of a growing deficit to swell the springs of purchasing power in a period when the supply of many kinds of consumer goods will be curtailed more drastically than had been expected a short time ago. Under the circumstances the guarded hopes of economic equilibrium which I expressed in these pages two weeks ago begin to appear decidedly over-optimistic.

New Phase in France

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, January 8

THE Pleven government, as has been expected for some days, was defeated in the National Assembly on Monday by 341 to 243 votes, all the Communists, Gaullists, and Socialists, as well as a number of Radicals, M. R. P.'s, and others voting against M. Pleven's demand for special powers in the reorganization of the French railways. This was one of several fields in which the Pleven government was seeking authority from Parliament to put in force drastic financial and administrative measures by decree. The resistance to legislation by fiat, or what amounts to the same thing, is common in French parliamentary history; and in this particular case the Socialists and the left wing of the M. R. P.—not to mention the Communists—feared that the Pleven government, if given these special powers, would use them to make inroads into the whole range of social services.

But this is only one reason, the superficial one, why the Pleven government fell. There are many deeper, less obvious reasons. It is reported from Washington that the American press is much relieved that Pleven was not defeated on foreign policy. This satisfaction may prove premature and shortsighted. There is a strong feeling in parliamentary quarters that the Pleven government was profoundly representative of the phase of history through which France passed in 1950 and 1951, but that it had now somehow become an anachronism. In this phase France was expected to assume that it was the leading European nation of the Atlantic Pact and that large-scale rearmament, in view of the danger of a Russian invasion of Western Europe and German rearmament, were essential. The tendency now is undoubtedly to seek other solutions. As *Le Monde* put it:

It is often assumed that a Cabinet crisis in France merely means a slight reshuffle of seats. Governments change, but the people remain the same. It is not certain that this is true at present. Not only are the Gaullists proposing a new foreign policy, but among all other non-Communist political groups in Parliament one notices a development favorable to a revision of our

international commitments, in accordance with our physical possibilities. These tendencies, though still far from precise, and still hard to locate exactly, roughly correspond to "Bevanism" in Britain. . . . Naturally, it is no use expecting a radical change in our foreign policy overnight. The "Bevanist" tendency is still represented by only a small minority in each group; even so it already affects more than just a few isolated individuals, as it did last year. The views of Daladier on Indo-China, for instance, have undoubtedly an influence on the rest of the Radicals, and there are similar phenomena among the M. R. P.'s.

The paper goes on to say that the Gaullists and "Bevanites" see eye to eye when they criticize the Pleven government's excessive subservience to Washington, and both fear that Germany may be rearmed without sufficient safeguards for France; they do not believe much in a Soviet invasion. But here the similarity between the Gaullists and the French "Bevanites" stops. For if the "Bevanites" would like to veto the rearmament of Germany, cut down France's own military expenditure, and start negotiating with Ho Chi Minh and Mao, the Gaullists stand for a militarist policy in Europe and a kind of MacArthurism in Indo-China.

Thus while there is little chance of the "Bevanites" and the Gaullists finding enough common ground, in either the domestic or the international field, to permit them to form an alternative to the Pleven coalition, the two together exercise enough influence to prevent an exact repetition of the Pleven government. But to bring about a government combination which will be representative of the new mood in France will be exceedingly difficult on the parliamentary plane, and for this reason the crisis is expected to be a long one. It may, at first, be solved by the formation of some kind of makeshift government, fairly similar to the last one—probably with M. René Mayer as Foreign Minister instead of M. Schuman. But the 243 deputies who supported Pleven, most of whom are bound, because of their "central" position, to find a place in the new majority, are extremely divided themselves. The greater part of the M. R. P. want the Socialists in the next government coalition—which would necessitate the adoption of a financial policy somewhat different from M. René Mayer's—while other M. R. P.'s and many Radicals and right-wing conservatives favor, if only as an "experiment," the inclusion of some Gaullists. The peculiar feature of the present parliamentary situation in France is that in each of the major parties except the Communists there are at least two tendencies pulling in different ways; in most parties there is now what, for lack of a better word, *Le Monde* described as a "Bevanist" minority. Whatever the final outcome of the crisis, the Pleven-Schuman era, as we have known it these last two years, is either over or is nearing its end.

Internal Confusion in Internal Revenue

BY NORMAN REDLICH

THE subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee headed by Representative Cecil R. King of California has brought joy to the Republicans and anguish to the Administration by its revelations of corruption in the Internal Revenue Bureau. As a direct result of the committee's investigation, President Truman recently announced that the bureau would be completely reorganized and more revenue officials placed under civil service. But the scandals uncovered by the King subcommittee strike at the heart of our tax-collection system, and the problems raised will remain with us whether or not Congress approves the President's plan. They will exist as long as personal judgments determine how much money individuals and corporations shall pay to the federal Treasury each year.

Taxes no longer have a direct and dreaded impact only on the wealthy few. This year the federal tax system will drain off approximately one-fourth of the national income. Yet this vast collection process, which garners over sixty billion dollars annually, is largely voluntary. The government could never enforce the tax laws if individuals and corporations should decide to ignore them *en masse*. Weak governments have usually discovered, as Nationalist China did, that the tax-collection system falls apart if public confidence is forfeited. And the quickest way to destroy confidence is to let the public think that some persons, by bribing revenue officials, are "getting away with something."

With this fact lurking in the background, it is essential that the agency responsible for administering the tax-collection system should be a model of efficiency and integrity. The Bureau of Internal Revenue, at least in the last ten years, has deviated sharply from the required standards. Its organization is antiquated, and it is pitifully understaffed for the tremendous burden placed upon it by the revenue demands of the Second World War and the present defense program. Fair-minded observers would agree with President Truman that the majority of the bureau's employees are honest, but there has been enough dishonesty and inefficiency to arouse distrust about many of its activities. An especially unfortunate situation has developed in the offices of the sixty-four collectors of internal revenue. Although technically under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner,

these collectors are direct appointees of the President and enjoy a large measure of autonomy in their respective districts. Many of their offices have been notoriously inefficient. Only the pressure of the recent investigation, for example, brought about a genuine effort by the Third New York District to issue warrants for delinquent taxpayers. The collectors' offices are supposed to audit returns under \$8,000, but in many districts there is no auditing at all. John B. Dunlap, the present Commissioner, pointed out recently that only fifteen of the sixty-four collectors are career men and that twenty of them have outside business interests.

If all taxes were automatically computed and deducted from income like pay-roll taxes, corrupt officials would have a narrow field of operation. Unfortunately, preparation of a tax return by business men, corporations, executives, professional men, and those who are self-employed in various capacities is not a cut-and-dried affair. In a perfectly legal and aboveboard manner accountants and tax lawyers are constantly advising clients on ways to minimize their taxes. The Kiplinger Washington Agency, for example, in its tax letter of December 29, 1951, presented a detailed analysis of the use of charitable foundations as a device for passing corporate stock from generation to generation without paying an estate tax. Of course, beyond the accepted methods of tax saving lies the area of fraud. A business man may try to deduct \$2,500 for "entertainment of customers" when actually he bought his wife a mink coat. A doctor may try to conceal part of the cash he receives for house calls. A merchant may take a few dollars out of the cash register each night and charge it to "petty cash."

Returns in which the taxpayer has consciously sought to minimize taxes by either honest or dishonest means, and usually with the assistance of experts, offer tempting opportunities to venal officials. And these opportunities have been multiplied by lax administrative practices. For example, the collectors of internal revenue hand on returns of over \$8,000 to the internal-revenue agents for auditing; the collectors audit those under \$8,000. Often the receipt of many thousands and even millions in tax dollars hinges on an agent's decision to allow or disallow a deduction. It is at this point that smart accountants and lawyers, representing wealthy clients, come face to face with agents whose incomes are small and whose scruples are flexible. In thousands of instances, for a few hundred or a thousand dollars or even for friendship or a minor favor, an agent will decide a close question in favor of a taxpayer; these transactions rather than the pub-

NORMAN REDLICH discussed the proposed Constitutional amendment limiting individual income taxes to 25 per cent of a person's income in The Nation of October 20, 1951. He also writes on tax matters for various law reviews.

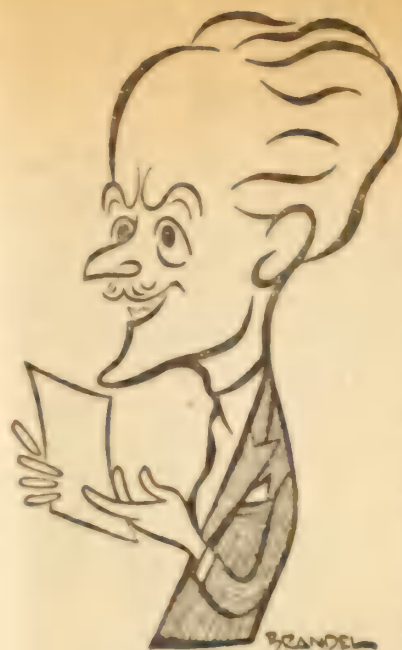
licized \$500,000 shake-downs constitute the typical corruption in the tax service. The King subcommittee is aware that this type of corruption, because it is more widespread, is even more dangerous than the corruption in high places. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to uncover.

The prosecution of fraud cases also offers opportunities for shake-downs and fixes. Between the time a tax-fraud case is first turned over to the special agent's office and the time prosecution is started by the Assistant Attorney General in charge of such cases, charges can be dropped at any one of seventeen points along the line. Tax evaders anxious to stay out of jail can dangle attractive bait before the eyes of officials who have discretionary power to stay prosecution. Corrupt officials have been assisted by the bureau's practice of permitting a prosecution for fraud to be discontinued if a taxpayer's health or sanity would be impaired by a trial. The investigations of the King subcommittee have made it plain that under the direction of T. Lamar Caudle the Tax Division of the Department of Justice did not prosecute fraud cases solely on the basis of apparent guilt.

GIVEN an administrative problem as complex as this, a Congressional committee of inquiry can obtain only certain limited results. The King subcommittee has neither the money nor the personnel to conduct a full-scale investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Its chief function is rather to cast a spotlight in different directions, awakening the public to the problems and leaving corrective measures to the Administration.

While the exposure of deals between local agents and accountants or lawyers has been of great interest, the more sensational revelations of the corruption of high officials have grabbed the headlines. These headlines may have placed an unfair amount of the blame on the shoulders of the Truman Administration, but they have already resulted in some important changes in the bureau. Commissioner Dunlap has replaced Commissioner Schoeneman, a notable improvement. The chief counsel has resigned. A new assistant commissioner, a new head of the alcohol tax unit, and a new Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Tax Division of the Department of Justice have been appointed. Tax-fraud cases will now be referred directly from field offices to the Department of Justice, thus by-passing the complicated hierarchy in the Internal Revenue Bureau. New collectors have been named in New York, Boston, and St. Louis.

Commissioner Dunlap has also organized an inspection service which is conducting its own investigation of dishonest practices in the bureau. Half the bureau's employees have filled out forms which detail their property holdings and net worth. Of course, an official dishonest enough to take a bribe will be dishonest enough



Representative King

not to include it in his net worth, but the forms may reveal some unexplained accumulations of wealth by men earning small salaries. And the necessity of filling out these forms may act as a deterrent against bribe-taking in the future.

Perhaps the most tangible result of the committee's work to date has been President Truman's reorganization plan. The new inspection service will be made a permanent part of the

bureau. Twenty-five district commissioners will replace the present loose network of collectors, agents, and special agents. The district commissioners will be under civil service and forbidden to have outside employment or business interests. Abolition of the politically appointed collectors is a big step forward; civil-service career men are far less susceptible to the pressure of people with "influence."

Apart from these immediate gains, the current investigation has unquestionably achieved some important long-range results. The public has been made aware of a deplorable situation. For some time, at least, revenue agents, tax accountants, and taxpayers will be on their good behavior. Fear may not be the most desirable method of securing compliance with the law, but it is often an effective one. As more disclosures are made by the King subcommittee, the public can look forward to still greater efforts by the Administration to clean house. However, the President's choice of Attorney General McGrath to conduct an investigation of the bureau is not likely to inspire confidence, in view of the justified charges leveled by the King subcommittee at McGrath's own department.

Congress will be asked to authorize an expanded staff for the overworked bureau and to increase salaries of field officials. The subcommittee itself, in a report to be released in the spring, will undoubtedly come up with some excellent suggestions for improving administrative and civil procedures. It will also recommend stricter regulation of federal tax practice in order to keep uncertified accountants, so-called "tax experts," and influence peddlers from negotiating with revenue officials. The committee has found that lawyers as a group are guilty of fewer dishonest acts than other tax practitioners.

But even if all these corrective steps are taken and the

bureau becomes, as President Truman has predicted, a "blue-ribbon civil-service career organization," the danger of corruption will remain. On the lower levels of tax auditing and collecting, men of means will still offer bribes which some officials will accept. The improvements already made and those in prospect will narrow but not eliminate the problem.

It is unfortunate that the subcommittee's disclosures have provided some unearned political ammunition for the Republicans. While the Administration will say that the changes it has instituted have solved the problem, the Republicans will insist that the only hope for greater honesty lies in a Republican victory in November. Neither claim will be true. So long as revenue officials

can give or withhold favors at their will the possibility of dishonesty will exist. This fact cannot be used as an argument for lower taxes, for a large and complex revenue system is now an essential part of our national existence. Instead, the public must insist that vigorous and non-partisan investigation be carried on constantly by the new inspection service of the bureau and periodically by Congressional groups like the King subcommittee. Corruption in tax-gathering can never be entirely eliminated from a tax system as extensive as ours. But it can be minimized, and certainly it should not be encouraged by inefficient organization, careless administrative practices, lax enforcement of the law, or patronage politics.

Granddaddy of the Tax Scandals

BY HARRY BARNARD

THE current Washington production, "Tax Scandals of 1951"—and presumably of 1952—is but a new version of the original show that reached the stage on Capitol Hill in 1924. The leading actors in this granddaddy of "Tax Scandals" were President Calvin Coolidge and Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon; Senator James Couzens of Michigan was the producer. The piece was a great hit and ran for years.

Attracted to every controversy, especially if it gave off even a slight odor of graft, political favoritism, or any other governmental wrongdoing, Senator Couzens was drawn inevitably into an investigation of tax collection. Having amassed forty million dollars by showing Henry Ford how to run an automobile company in a business-like way, he thought every other multimillionaire ought to be as honest as he was. And probably also because of his own millions, he had not an iota of awe for other multimillionaires, not even for Mr. Mellon, "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton."

Secretary Mellon was putting through Congress the tax program described as the Mellon Plan for Assuring Permanent Prosperity. Its nub was the reduction of World War I surtaxes on large incomes. Quite persuasively Mellon argued that if big corporations had their taxes reduced, they would put the money back into their business, and everybody would benefit. A few progressives challenged this plan, but the opposition got little attention until Senator Couzens opened up against it.

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Couzens had written a letter to Secretary Mellon asking him for the facts with which he backed his tax theory. Mellon considered this an affront and sent Senator Couzens a reply which in effect told him to mind his own business and to let Alexander Hamilton's successor handle such complicated matters as taxation. The belligerent Senator from Michigan let out a rejoinder foreshadowing an atomic explosion. Mr. Mellon, not as meek as he looked, replied in the same style, implying that Senator Couzens was not only a dolt in financial matters, in spite of his accomplishments with Henry Ford, but also a tax slacker, since he had admittedly invested much of his forty million in government securities.

That did it. On February 21, 1924, Couzens presented to the Senate a resolution for a committee to investigate the Bureau of Internal Revenue, which then as now was under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury. The bureau had not been investigated by Congress since the income tax had gone into effect eleven years earlier. Though controlled by the Republicans, the startled Senate passed the resolution. When the Senators recovered, they tried to remedy matters by denying Couzens the chairmanship of the investigating committee, which by precedent he should have had, and giving it to faithful old Jim Watson of Indiana. The committee was further loaded with good friends of Mr. Mellon, but Couzens insisted on a real investigation and stole the show. The first thing he did was to subpoena from the Bureau of Internal Revenue its top-secret files on all the corporations in which Mr. Mellon owned a substantial interest—a sizable file indeed. Next he retained as counsel for the committee the famous prosecutor of the San Francisco "graft" cases, Francis J. Heney. It did not bother

Couzens that his Republican colleagues had intentionally omitted from the resolution specific authorization for counsel. He got around this impediment by paying Mr. Heney's fee out of his own pocket.

NOW came the comic relief. Jim Watson rushed to Secretary Mellon, and Mellon rushed to President Coolidge. Among them they cooked up two blistering letters. One from Mr. Mellon to Mr. Coolidge informed the President that if the wealthy Senator Couzens were permitted to pay for legal counsel for an investigating committee, the Constitution would be subverted, the Republic endangered, and, worse yet, Mr. Mellon might be forced to resign in protest. A letter from President Coolidge to the Senate touched off a beautiful to-do in that body. Even Senators as conservative as Carter Glass denounced the President, declaring that his attack upon Senator Couzens and the committee was an attack upon the Senate itself; it was comparable, said Senator Tom Walsh, to the treatment of the English Parliament by the Stuarts and Tudors. Senatorial indignation over Coolidge's tactics was so great that the Couzens committee was again given the green light, this time with authority to hire a lawyer.

The interesting reports which Senator Couzens now sent regularly to the Senate showed that Mr. Mellon's Bureau of Internal Revenue had secretly granted rebates and refunds on their income taxes amounting to millions of dollars to a large number of corporations, including several controlled by Mr. Mellon. In one report Senator Couzens estimated that these secret refunds totaled well over \$600,000,000. Among the corporations which benefited were the Aluminum Corporation of America (Mellon), \$15,589,614; United States Steel, \$55,063,312; Bethlehem Steel, \$22,103,942; duPont, \$15,369,123; Federal Ship Building, \$19,849,786; National Aniline Chemical, \$9,912,140; and Gulf Oil (Mellon), \$3,378,000. Other beneficiaries included William Randolph Hearst, whose papers soon would be demanding a national sales tax, and Colonel William Boyce Thompson, an industrialist who had served as treasurer of the National Republican Committee.

Couzens was subjected to a great deal of criticism for failing to show that these refunds were illegal. In another report he answered that this was precisely the point—these internal-revenue secret dealings *were* legal, but the tax money was being shoveled back to the corporations without the public knowing anything about it. At the same time he insisted that under any fair system of taxation many of these corporations would not be entitled to such refunds, that they ought, in fact, to be taxed more heavily, and he urged that the laws be changed. He also declared that the Secretary of the Treasury, even if his name was Mellon, should not have the exclusive say on tax policy; this was something

over which Congress should exercise effective control. Therefore he recommended the creation of a permanent Joint Committee on Internal Revenue, with a permanent staff of experts, and the recommendation was adopted. Today one must wonder what has happened to this committee.

The curtain then went up on the grand climax of Couzens's "Tax Scandals of 1924." Mr. Mellon was so outraged by the effrontery of the Michigan Senator that he struck back at him with a fury that eventuated in the most celebrated tax case of all time up to then.

Back in 1919 Henry Ford had bought out all the other stockholders in the Ford Motor Company, including Couzens, paying Couzens alone thirty million dollars for his shares. Couzens paid in income tax on the transaction approximately nine million dollars, after having checked with the incumbent Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Dan Roper, as to the amount that he owed. When Henry Ford, around 1924, began talking of running for the Presidency, somebody sent to Jim Watson a memorandum asserting that the Ford stockholders had not paid enough income taxes. The Bureau of Internal Revenue investigated the matter thoroughly on several occasions and rejected the allegation. Now this old memorandum was dug up from the bowels of the bureau, and on the basis of it Mr. Mellon dispatched the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to Couzens in the Senate chamber with a notice that he was being cited for income-tax delinquency to the tune of ten million dollars.

"Sue and be damned!" Couzens told the Commissioner, then a gentleman named Blair. The result was a giant-size case before the United States Board of Tax Appeals which went on, concurrently with Couzens's investigation of taxes, for almost three years. In the end Couzens not only won a victory over the Bureau of Internal Revenue but showed that he had overpaid his taxes by more than \$900,000, which the government now had to refund!

It is clear from this recapitulation of the "Tax Scandals of 1924" that the 1951 version is pretty weak stuff and that Republicans as well as Democrats have been involved in corruption from time to time. The characters in the current show seem small potatoes—rotten as some of them probably are. If Congress could produce someone like the belligerent, progressive Couzens, with the temerity to dig into the files of the really big taxpayers instead of into the affairs of little people linked mainly with mink coats, we might get a performance that would make history. The investigators, of course, would have to be interested less in newspaper headlines or ammunition for a coming political campaign than in penetrating to the heart of what political analysts from James Madison to Charles A. Beard have called a basic problem of government—who pays what taxes?

Korea: Steps Toward Unification

BY ARTHUR L. GREY, JR.,

THE fundamental issue of the Korean problem is the political unification of this artificially divided country. Unless it is resolved, there is little possibility that lasting peace will be achieved.

Although the armistice talks at Panmunjom have been concerned entirely with military matters, they have great bearing upon the unification question. In the first place, these talks opened channels for negotiation on the Korean situation which had been blocked since the dissolution of the U. S.-U. S. S. R. Joint Commission in 1947. Secondly, agreement on an armistice—which still appears possible despite the wrangling—should encourage attempts to settle political matters as well. Finally, should the proposal for neutral participation in the enforcement of the Panmunjom provisions be accepted, it would be an important precedent for genuinely international settlement of the Korean problem.

Korea's history and geographical position decree for it a role of absolute neutrality in international affairs. The first action of the United States and China in coming discussions of the future of Korea should be recognition of this fact. So long as one power has a strategic advantage in Korea, no agreement on unification will be reached. Direct negotiations with China by the United States, either acting for itself or for a combination led by it, would just as surely fail to produce a unified Korean government as did United States negotiations with Russia in 1946 and 1947. Each side would still feel that it was in its interest to reject any settlement which did not give the balance of power to the Korean group it was already supporting.

Assuredly the role of the Korean people in the unification process should be a large one. The present situation is a direct result of too much outside interference in the country's affairs. The capacity of the Koreans to govern themselves has been severely maligned during the past few years, much as it was earlier by Japan. Actually the Koreans displayed a good deal of skill in self-government when they had the opportunity immediately following the Japanese surrender in 1945. Before the arrival of the Russian and American occupation forces, the Japanese authorities acceded to the demands for government-

tal powers made by the new "People's Republic," a representative body of more than forty Korean political groups of all shades which emerged from the underground on V-J Day. The People's Republic was in the main left of center. Not until the extreme rightist groups which now dominate the South Korean government withdrew from it and set out to destroy it, was it to a significant degree controlled by Communists. While it cannot be assumed that the Korean people have been unaffected by the pressures to which they have been so long subjected, it is hardly plausible that a country which so recently contained a large measure of moderate leadership is now fairly represented by Communists in the North and venal reactionaries in the South.

A FIRST concrete step toward unification could be the formation of a national government with limited powers but responsible for the boundary line created by the cease-fire, the establishment of a uniform currency, and the removal of other obstacles to freedom of movement and commercial relations between the two areas. In this way the difficult issue of the dissolution of the present northern and southern governments would not have to be faced immediately.

The impossibility of agreement between the United States and the Communists on how elections should be conducted precludes the selection of the over-all national government by vote of the people. Therefore, such a government should be set up by an international agency created through an accord among the belligerents, and its members should be appointed on as widely representative a basis as possible. When, after a period of time, the new government had assumed most of the responsibilities of sovereignty, the international agency should consider ordering a national election. The important thing from the standpoint of the agency would not be the internal government but the maintenance of Korean neutrality.

Seemingly, it was for discharging just such responsibilities that the United Nations was created. But the U. N. agencies established for dealing with the Korean dispute are incapable of mediating it. One of the great weaknesses of the U. N. in the present situation is that Asian countries like Pakistan, India, Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines have each only as many votes in the General Assembly as, for example, any one of the six Central American countries. Yet all the latter together have a population only one-half that of Burma, the least populous of these Asian states. The result has been that

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the U. N. has become too closely identified with the United States in Korea and is unable to play an independent role. The establishment of a new agency which is acceptable to both sides is therefore necessary.

In the meantime, non-military U. N. agencies now in Korea should be assuming greater responsibilities. These are the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), which succeeded the U. N. Commission on Korea in 1950, and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) established a short while later. Neither is operating effectively, either to relieve the deplorable economic conditions in South Korea or to prepare the area for becoming part of a unified Korean state. American policy on economic assistance has followed the same disheartening course during the fighting that it did during the occupation period four and five years ago, affording only militarily administered relief "for the prevention of disease, starvation, and unrest among the civilian population." UNKRA, which derives the bulk of its funds from the United States, has been unable to start even a small program for repairing some of the eight billion dollars' worth of war damage in South Korea.

No doubt the willingness of both sides to continue the talks at Panmunjom has been prompted by their con-

viction that a resumption of the fighting would bring little in the way of decisive results. Thus instead of facilitating agreement, the armistice may only increase the reluctance of one or both sides to make the compromises necessary for the realization of Korean unification.

One of the difficulties which we may hope will be overcome by reduced direct American participation is the present inelastic attitude of Congress. There is every danger that the din of Senatorial tocsins would frighten American negotiators from agreeing to the slightest departure from the status quo. The possibility that China and Russia may feel that a constructive approach is now expedient must not be dismissed. In any case, the chance of a negotiated settlement should not be sacrificed to useless recriminations and justifications for continued unilateral action.

The war has reduced Korea to a condition in which it is of very little value to anyone. There have been an estimated five million casualties out of a total population of thirty million at the beginning of the war. Millions of people are homeless. Most of the factories are leveled; schools are either wrecked or have been requisitioned by the military; and agricultural production, which was not adequate before, has fallen by nearly a third. If these facts mean anything, they call for imaginative cooperation to rescue Korea from chaos.

Headache Powders: Use Your Head

BY LEONARD ENGEL

TWO out of three Americans are said to get headaches a dozen times a year or more, and 10,000,000 to suffer from chronic headaches, often of the severest kind. Whatever the validity of these figures, the drug industry finds our aching heads a good thing, worth almost \$100,000,000 a year in sales; headache remedies are second only to laxatives among over-the-counter (no prescription required) drugs. Unfortunately, many of the headache preparations on the market are far from innocuous, many more are unscrupulously promoted, and most are overpriced.

Needless to say, the right way to deal with headaches, especially if they occur frequently, is to find and treat the cause—a job for a physician. Headaches may be a sign of such serious disorders as the malignant type of high blood pressure, eclampsia (toxemia of pregnancy), brain tumor, meningitis, encephalitis, and head injury. They may also have an infinity of other causes. Emotional tension and allergy are often involved, both

in ordinary headaches and in migraine. Eye strain and poor posture can bring on a headache, and so can menstrual difficulties and constipation. Colds, fever, sinusitis, and neuralgia are commonly accompanied by an aching head. And, of course, a headache may be the price of what copy-writers like to call "over-indulgence."

The best-known, most widely used medicine for occasional headaches and other minor pains is aspirin; yet few people are aware of the most important fact about it. This is simply that aspirin is aspirin, no matter what the ads may say. The next time you shop for aspirin, ask for it without specifying the brand. If the clerk is reasonably honest, he will offer you a choice of half a dozen brands ranging in price from 20 to 85 cents for a bottle of 100 tablets, and when you ask what's the difference, he will reply "none whatever." What he says is literally true. Aspirin is an "official" drug, that is, it is listed in the United States Pharmacopeia. Under the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 drugs so listed, or drugs with similar names, must conform to the Pharmacopeia standard. All brands of aspirin, in other words, must be and are the same.

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Ninety per cent of the aspirin sold in the United States is produced by two chemical companies, Dow and Monsanto. Most "aspirin manufacturers" merely buy the stuff in bulk from one or the other, sometimes both, press it into tablets, and bottle it. There is nothing unethical in this, but it shows how ridiculous is the claim of high-priced brands to special merits.

Aspirin is one of the safest drugs known, although large doses may interfere with the coagulation mechanism of the blood, and a few individuals get a rash if they take any aspirin at all. On the other hand, it provides only a modest amount of relief. When something more potent is needed, physicians usually prefer a preparation known as APC or AAC compound, a mixture of aspirin, caffeine, and a coal-tar derivative named phenacetin or acetophenitidin. APC is a standard preparation, available under many different brand names—such as Empirin and Anacin. Being more potent than aspirin, APC preparations are not so safe, though they are less dangerous than many other headache concoctions currently offered the public. Directions on the label should be followed carefully.

Many headache remedies are based on acetanilid or antipyrine, two coal-tar derivatives discovered in Germany sixty or seventy years ago. At about the same time the Germans discovered two other coal-tar products, aminopyrine and cincophen, which were used as pain-killers for several decades. Though harmless enough in small, occasional doses, they were highly toxic when taken over a long period or in large amounts. Both were finally eliminated from over-the-counter drugs. Acetanilid and antipyrine are not much safer but are still in use. If taken too frequently or in too large quantities, they can lead to digestive and skin disorders and even to more serious ailments and death.

IN ANOTHER dangerous group of drugs found in many headache remedies are sodium, potassium, and ammonium bromides. The bromides were formerly used in epilepsy—they have been superseded by far more effective agents—and are still prescribed occasionally as sedatives. If taken too often they tend to cause rather than relieve headaches, leading the user to take ever larger doses. The result may be addiction, skin eruptions, digestive disturbances, or mental derangement—ending perhaps in delirium, coma, and death.

About a dozen years ago the Food and Drug Administration seized shipments of Bromo-Seltzer, an acetanilid-bromide headache remedy put out by the Emerson Drug Company of Baltimore. Emerson indignantly denied that its product was unsafe, but the F. D. A. won in court, and Emerson was compelled to cut the quantities of acetanilid and bromides in Bromo-Seltzer and to print a strong warning on the label pointing out, among other things, that Bromo-Seltzer is "not for use

by those having kidney or other organic disease, unless advised by physician." Bromo-Seltzer is now probably safe enough for occasional use, provided the label warning is kept in mind. Not all who use the drug, though, see the warning, since Bromo-Seltzer is dispensed at soda fountains. To reach all users, a warning should be incorporated in the ads. Drug advertising, however, is within the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission rather than the F. D. A., thanks to the efforts of the drug lobby when the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was debated.

During the war the F. T. C. filed complaints against five manufacturers of headache remedies, charging them with misrepresenting in their ads not only the merits but the safety of their products. "Respondent's advertisements," the F. T. C. declared in one complaint, "contain no warning or statement revealing the potential danger of the excessive use of its preparation with respect to either the dosage or frequency of use, and such failure may lead the public to believe that the preparation may be safely taken in such amounts and with such frequency as may be necessary to accomplish the represented and desired results." None of the five pointed out, the commission added, that their preparations were particularly dangerous for children. One of the five was Emerson. The other four and their products were the BC Remedy Company (BC Headache Powders, containing acetanilid and bromides), Stanback Company (Stanback Headache Powders, acetanilid and bromides), Capudine Chemical Company (Hick's Capudine, antipyrine and potassium bromide), and Miles Laboratories (Dr. Miles' Nervine, a triple bromide preparation, and Dr. Miles' Anti-Pain Pills, containing acetanilid).

After lengthy hearings the F. T. C. told BC and Stanback in 1946 that their ads would have to mention the acetanilid and bromides in their products. Both companies elected instead to eliminate the two ingredients from their formulas, and agreed further that the F. T. C. could issue cease-and-desist orders without new hearings if either were ever used again.

Hearings in the other cases dragged on until last year. Then, just as they were to go to trial examiners for decision, the F. T. C. turned around and settled them by stipulation (agreement with the defendants). None was compelled to make any vital disclosures in its ads. Emerson and Capudine were merely required to make minor changes in their claims and to include in their ads the innocuous phrase, "Follow the label—avoid excessive use." Miles, which had delayed the proceedings with a court suit contending that the F. D. A., not the F. T. C., had jurisdiction over drug ads, had to use the same phrase. In recent ads that I have seen, this cautionary statement is well buried in the text.

It still seems to be all right to pass on to the ultimate consumer the headache over headache remedies.

BOOKS and the ARTS

ROCK

There is stone in me that knows stone,
Substance of rock that remembers the unending unending
Simplicity of rest
While scorching suns and ice-ages
Pass over rock face swiftly as days.
In the longest time of all come the rock's changes,
Slowest of rhythms, the pulsations
That raise from the planet's core the mountain ranges
And weather them down to sand on the sea's floor.

Endures in me record of rock's duration.
My ephemeral substance lay in the veins of the earth from the beginning,

Patient for its release, not questioning
When, when will come the flowering, the flowing,
The pulsing, the awakening, the taking wing,
The long longed-for night of the bridegroom's coming.

There is stone in me that knows stone
Whose sole state is stasis,
While the slow cycle of the stars whirls a world of rock
Through light-years where in nightmare I fall crying
"Must I travel fathomless distance for ever and ever?"

All that is in me on the rock replies,
"For ever, if it must be; be, and be still, endure."

KATHLEEN RAINE

The Problem of Greece

GREECE: AMERICAN DILEMMA AND OPPORTUNITY. By L. S. Stavrianos. Henry Regnery Company. \$3.25.

PERPLEXED Americans can find no better paradigm by which to assess their responsibilities and interests in areas under American influence than the experience of Greece. Modern like ancient Greece provides an ideal laboratory specimen; volume is limited, contributory factors are susceptible of isolation and scrutiny, and remoteness facilitates objectivity. Hence if the dilemma and opportunity of Professor Stavrianos's title are valid for Greece, the analysis and program he offers may be applicable to wider areas also.

Stavrianos's indictment of American policy in Greece has a familiar-enough ring. Our intervention has done nothing to solve the problems which necessitated intervention—and which, un-

solved, must continue to necessitate it—but has only maintained in power an utterly selfish and corrupt clique indifferent to their country's welfare, quick to use terrorism, and certain to fall as soon as American financial and military support is withdrawn. We have made substantial contributions in improving communications, controlling malaria, keeping starving people alive, and insisting upon Liberal Party representation in the government, but these ameliorations leave Greece's desperate social and economic unbalance virtually untouched; because our policy has never envisaged the rectification of this unbalance it has been doomed from the start and cannot secure even the strategic goal which is its object. The army and the administrative machinery have remained firmly in the same rightist hands in which the British placed them at the end of the war, and the present political leadership, even with a Liberal Party façade, is utterly incapable of

initiating the thoroughgoing reforms essential for reorganizing the country's economy and exploiting its resources so as to employ its surplus population and raise the shockingly low standard of living. Rehabilitation of war damage is not enough. Greece's economic and social ill health was chronic long before the war, and led to the harsh dictatorship of Metaxas in 1936. During the war the leftist resistance movement called E. A. M. gave the parts of Greece it controlled, according to E. A. M.'s friends, the most efficient and equitable government they had ever enjoyed; and the disappointment of the high hopes raised by it, the intensification of the economic stringency occasioned by the loss of foreign markets for Greek tobacco and other meager exports, and the reversion to a government very like that of Metaxas in political coloring and techniques have brought the chronic malady to a critical point. No government which does not attack the ills at their root can survive without repression, and no repression can succeed without outside support.

Why have we committed our mistakes? Perhaps the most useful aspect of Stavrianos's book is his account of how, step by step, our policy came to be what it is, so that if we refuse to believe that our officials have been blind we need not assume that our policy has been wise. If there is a villain in the piece it is Winston Churchill, who set the policy of using only the extreme right, even before liberation, and of thwarting every honest effort put forth by moderates. Churchill's policy was continued, without perceptible change, by the Labor government, until, in February, 1947, the British acknowledged their failure and withdrew from Greece. To keep Greece from falling into the Soviet orbit the vacuum had to be filled, but America lost its unique opportunity for making a thorough house-cleaning the condition of its support, and instead, by the terms of the Truman Doctrine, actually outbid British intransigence. The civil war which followed must be

kept in mind in any calculation of Greece's probable contribution in any future war. The rebels were too numerous and their determination too great for their movement to be ascribed to a hard core of Communists inspired from abroad. Formidable resistance flared up even in the traditionally conservative Peloponnese, which had no contact with Communist regimes to the north of Greece, large sections of the regular Greek army refused to fight against their brethren and were interned, and though the insurgents undoubtedly received assistance from the north, the Greek government had to use far larger numbers and far more lavish equipment to subdue its rebels than the Germans had used to curb the E. A. M. resistance during the war.

The accuracy of Stavrianos's estimate of the past is vouched for both by his meticulous documentation and by the actual course of events. The one crucial question upon which opinions must always differ is the extent to which E. A. M. was committed to world communism, and hence the degree of likelihood that if it were not suppressed it would bring Greece into the Russian orbit. The best objective evidence of E. A. M.'s good faith is its conduct before the bloody civil war of December, 1944. It welcomed the token British force, retired from Athens, and actually began demobilization, until it was moved to resistance by outrageous provocation. But even if the Communist core of E. A. M. were committed to the Russian program, it remains true that they could have been countered more effectively by using their rivals of the socialist and democratic parties than by relying on their polar opposites.

It is in its optimism for the future that Stavrianos's book may arouse greater skepticism. His solution is that we encourage a truly centrist government, free it from the hamstringing incubus of rightist army and administrative direction, and give our full support to a program of fundamental reform. If such a program had been adopted from the start, civil war—which Stavrianos thinks is otherwise bound to recur—would have been averted, Greece would have been made into a model exhibit of democracy in action, and at far less cost than the two billions we have spent we should have had reliable

allies instead of a sullen population that speaks of the American "occupation."

Greece's economy can indubitably be greatly improved, and numberless commissions of experts have projected programs for fuller exploitation of its resources, but it is hard to see how Greece could ever approach the satellites' rich agricultural and mineral potential. The problem of finding new political leadership seems no less difficult. The polarization instigated by both right and left and crystallized by British and American policy has left the center bare. The "liberal" parties of today are indistinguishable from the right; the meaninglessness of labels is now illustrated by the fact that Papagos can be heralded as a liberal. We should have resolutely to face the cries of "Communist" that would greet the newcomers we would countenance and the measures they would introduce. These measures might indeed emulate some of those taken in the Soviet satellites to the north, but unless we blunder Greece will not itself veer over to Russia. Greek national pride is too strong, and even its doctrinaire Communists have been twice disillusioned by Stalin—when for his own ends he surrendered them to Churchill, and when for his own ends he forbade their necessary contacts with Tito during the civil war of 1948.

But all difficulties must be faced. Our present approach, deriving from the traditions of the British Foreign Office which the British have themselves abandoned, has been proved futile; the social and economic situation in Greece is explosive and gathering steam; we may still, and therefore we must, channel the forces of change in a direction profitable to ourselves as well as to Greece and the world. Stavrianos's expert knowledge and patent sincerity command respect. If he makes no secret of his partisanship, he offers justification for it that is always plausible and at most points convincing. Because of its geographical position the problem of Greece possesses very great importance for us in itself, and perhaps equally great importance as a pattern for our policy in other areas; a thoughtfully presented view which differs from that upon which our present policy is based deserves attention.

MOSES HADAS

Mr. Brooks's History

THE CONFIDENT YEARS: 1885-1915. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$6.

THE CONFIDENT YEARS" brings to a close Mr. Brooks's five-volume "history of the writer in America." The virtues and shortcomings of Mr. Brooks's method have by now been thoroughly canvassed, and "The Confident Years" provokes no novel reflections on that score. The same skill in evocation recreates the latter-day milieu of American literary life—the physical and social scene, the components of the intellectual climate—as freshly as for the earlier years; it is an art which, as Mr. Brooks notes with allowable asperity, "critics who totally lack it have always disparaged." The same sense of discovery, or of sharing one's own discoveries, is aroused as Mr. Brooks's sensibility responds to the particular note of some half-forgotten book of minor worth or a minor genre and sketches its claims on us. And the same evasion, finally, of literature in its major aspects, of the work of literature as an autonomous entity, disappoints the expectations which these artfully composed backgrounds, these passing felicities of appreciation, awaken in us. As in the other volumes the most successfully pre-

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sented figures are those of lesser writers or writers of only quasi-literary interest—the chapters of “The Confident Years” which seem best to encompass their subjects are on O. Henry and H. L. Mencken—and the implied claim for American accomplishment never quite realizes itself by bringing into focus the end product, the achieved work of art, by which the claim stands or falls. It would be grossly unjust to Mr. Brooks’s series to say that it is an admirably arranged museum of Americana; yet it too often comes too close to being just that.

What Mr. Brooks intends the series to be is disclosed in the last chapter of “The Confident Years.” This Forward Glance is an affirmation of American literature as an expression of the Enlightenment, a restatement, developed with less intemperance of manner and greater dialectical skill, of Mr. Brooks’s old case against T. S. Eliot and the prevailing alienation of the literary mind from the set of ideas at the core of the American experience. In the dialectics of debate Mr. Brooks thrusts shrewdly enough, as I have said, at the paradoxes of Eliot’s position, and he is on firm-enough ground, one feels, in the supposition underlying his argument that the present crisis of the Enlightenment is a crisis of growing pains and not of senility—the more severe in America in so far as America has given itself more wholly than Europe to the chiliastic beliefs that the Enlightenment, like early Christianity, is in the process of sloughing off.

But Mr. Eliot as an ideologue is after all not very difficult to dispose of, and shrewdly and tellingly as Mr. Brooks at times puts his case against the defectors from the liberal-democratic tradition, his own relationship to that tradition is hardly a forceful or compelling one. In the end, in fact, his attitude seems to be that of rather thin nostalgia for the brave days of “Jean Christophe,” the “confident years,” in short, of his own pre-World War I youth: “If the abcess of the world-war time were to break in a world-peace instead of in world-destruction,” he writes, “what shouts of jubilation then would rise from a renaissance world.” This mood is as little relevant in a central way to a revaluation of the liberal-democratic tradition as Mr. Eliot’s prescription of a Coleridgean

“clerisy” and, if one may put it so, a good deal less amusing. As a piece of cultural history Mr. Brooks’s series is in its way a unique achievement, but as an interpretation of American literature and of the American mind this closing volume sharpens one’s sense of its shortcomings. HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

The Two Germanys

THE EASTERN ZONE AND SOVIET POLICY IN GERMANY, 1945-1950. By J. P. Nettl. Oxford University Press. \$5.50.

OUR GERMAN POLICY: PROPAGANDA AND CULTURE. By Albert Norman. Vantage Press. \$2.50.

UNDER the flood of news reports and arguments about the West German Republic, now courted as an ally in the defense of Western Europe, it is easy to forget that Germany is not one, but two, and that the other, Soviet-controlled Germany is at one and the same time a pawn of Soviet policy and a quarrelsome Siamese twin of the Adenauer republic. As the two republics grapple with each for leadership of the frustrated urge to national unity, their struggle is a reminder that Germany again has a potential freedom of choice between two basic orientations and that coexistence of two worlds means a prolonged coexistence of two mutually hostile and rival Germanys.

The nature and potential of that “other” Germany have been clarified by J. P. Nettl’s thoughtful and well-documented study, the best available. Avoiding dramatic conclusions and, indeed, clinging to a somewhat drab style of understatement, Nettl implicitly warns Western students and planners of policy against regarding the East German “people’s republic” as a negligible or non-existent factor. And while he throws much new light on the basic contradictions in Soviet policy, his analysis also carries with it a caution against the over-facile assumption that the Russians may somehow be jockeyed into giving up their domination over their third of Germany.

What are the plus signs, in power terms, for Soviet policy in East Germany? By a drastic land reform, carried out while the Germans were completely disorganized and benumbed by

defeat, the traditional class of large landowners was uprooted and a broad redistribution of the land was effected. If East Germany lagged far behind the western republic in recovering production and living standards after 1948, it also avoided the extremes of economic despair through which the West Germans passed between the defeat and 1948. The East German transition from one totalitarian system to another was, unfortunately, less painful in some respects than the far greater change to a widening range of democratic choices and responsibilities in the western zones.

In Nettl’s opinion this relentless erection of a new totalitarian regime was based on a carefully predetermined Soviet plan of action. However, from his own evidences of conflicting Soviet aims and interests it can be argued with considerable force that the outward appearances of careful planning may derive from the fact that, when confronted with choices to be made, Soviet policy-makers were conditioned to make decisions which copied or reinforced that system of power which was familiar to them. For example, Nettl documents in considerable detail the difficulties which faced the Soviet leaders in deciding between removing capital equipment and taking larger reparations out of current production, between extending direct Soviet ownership of industry and manipulating the terms of trade. If the Soviet representatives had been operating on a longer-range plan, they would have found many advantages in postponing the fusion of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, as occurred in Poland and Hungary.

Nettl’s carefully buttressed conclusions, which have to be mined out of the context by the reader, are important. The Soviet government has acquired a valuable colony in East Germany and will not abandon its prize except to grasp at the even greater resources of West Germany. Moreover, despite removals which total some 20 per cent of the total product, the Soviet authorities can bring about a gradual improvement in that sector which serves the German population, so that the West cannot rely in perpetuity on the superior attractiveness of its living standards. Contrary to a widespread assumption, both East and West Germany have adjusted their economies quite well to getting

along without the other. The Soviet government realizes that the eastern zone is the most anti-Soviet region of Germany, except for a part of the youth, and must therefore maintain the rule of a stooge party which would disintegrate under conditions of genuine political freedom. On balance the Soviet zone makes important contributions to the economy of the Soviet sphere and provides a potent but not decisive leverage in the politics of Germany as a whole.

"Our German Policy: Propaganda and Culture," by Albert Norman, is a brief account, by an interested and observant staff member, of the efforts of the American occupation authorities, in 1945-46, to promote the growth of democratically oriented press, publishing, radio, motion-picture, and theater services in their zone. It gives credit for many sensible constructive steps which were taken by the improvised administrators of the occupation, and makes clear the confusion of purposes with which the United States approached the task of German reconstruction. While Norman barely touches on the basic question of whether "democratization" can be injected from without or merely encouraged to grow from within, he has given a frank and modest picture of the problems which faced the occupiers in the fields of education and information.

PHILIP B. MOSELY

That the twilight of the gods of culture had set in was made plain to our author when the Nazis separated him from his library and hunted him from pillar to post.

We first meet him during his Viennese exile, just as his boxes of books are miraculously restored to him. His "lost library" is clearly a choice cross-section of the standard *bibliothèque* of the European cultured classes before 1933. As he unpacks his precious volumes one by one, he gives free rein to nostalgic memories suggested by the work and author in question, not to mention related works, coteries, critics, traditions, and movements up and down the centuries. Thus we learn that Mr. Mehring has been a prodigious reader of everything censored and uncensored in Western prose or verse, and that he has something pointed or piquant to say about all the famous authors from Goethe to Thomas Mann and about all the infamous authors from the Marquis de Sade to James Joyce. At times "The Lost Library" is in danger of becoming a "Who's Who" of the world's literature. But the author regales us with such a brilliant flow of anecdotes, comment, satire, mockery, and acute observation that we are hugely entertained, even to the point of forgetting that his reminiscences are held together by the theme of "Alas, poor Yorick!" The lost

library becomes a symbol of the lost European culture which Mr. Mehring dearly loves and which he fears will soon be as dead as Newton's rectilinear universe.

In spite of its vein of pessimism, "The Lost Library" is a witty, entertaining, and instructive book. The author has had the good fortune to get two excellent translators to introduce his first prose work to the American public.

FELIX GRENDON

Films

MANNY FARBER

MIRACLE IN MILAN." A sentimental documentary fable about loving that neighbor, set in a hobo jungle beside the Milan railroad tracks; a grubby, inventive "My Man Godfrey" that came to America late in the year but walked away with most of the best-foreign-film awards and will doubtless delight every filmgoer who seriously believes he loves his fellow-men. It is a De Sica treatment of a Zavattini novel, featuring Francesco Golisano—a grinning, bull-like mixture of Burt Lancaster and Mussolini—as a naive orphan who turns his shanty town into a haven of fine emotions, simple pleasures, and modest comforts. Highly unenjoyable

The Lost European Culture

THE LOST LIBRARY. The Autobiography of a Culture. By Walter Mehring. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.50.

ONCE upon a time Walter Mehring, a German poet and novelist now living in New York, owned a library, bequeathed by his father and enriched by himself. In those happy, far-off days the Kings of Steel and Oil still gave culture a pat on the back now and then. And a man might boldly carry a book down Fifth Avenue or Piccadilly without people looking askance at him as at a half-alive fossil or a ghost-writer on his last legs. Then the World Series of wars began, Hitler emerged, and as Mr. Mehring sees it, the Kremlin brought down its mailed fist and hobnailed boots on what was left of the Four Freedoms.

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for its moronically oversimplified pantomime and symbolism, its fragmented and ragged structure, its exhaustive sentimentality: to wit, the forlorn thread of a dirt road (loneliness); marble-walled interiors (the idle rich); fried eggs (what the poor dream about); the falsetto operatic voice (art is pompous and pansy-like); high hats and mink coats; little capitalists being chased down the street by angry mobs; buttocks-rich shots of pseudo-Grecian statues; bums kissing bums; people counting (charmingly) on their fingers; white flags of surrender; sunsets; parades; angels. Though it has been called "the freshest movie in years"—by those who very likely applied the same phrase twenty years ago to the René Clair films which served as prototype (in the matter of high hats being blown across a lot, for instance)—"Milan" really burglarizes the repertoire of those suave, altruistic C-men (Cartier-Bresson, Chaplin, Clair, Capra) who treat the spectator as a child to be guided, taught, and disciplined.

"Rashomon." A torpid, stylish Japanese study in human frailty, like nothing so much as a tiny aquarium in which a few fish and a lot of plants have delicately been tinkered with by someone raised in Western art-cinema theaters and art galleries. Five characters, two unfrequented real-life sets—a ruined temple and a forest—and a script which is probably the first to describe a highly contrived sword-fight-and-seduction through the biased eyes of four different people. The villain is a conceited, slothful, bug-ridden bandit (Toshiro Mifune)—a type now familiar in Hollywood adventure-comedies about Mexico—who has a hard time pulling himself away from a good nap to ravish the wife of a traveling samurai. Makes its play for posterity with such carefully engineered actions as one in which the dozing barbarian scratches his crotch while the sword across his knees somehow rises (Maya Deren-fashion) as though it had just had a big meal of sex hormones. "Rashomon" is supposed to get down to the bedrock of such emotions as lust, fear, and selfishness, but actually it is a smooth and somewhat empty film whose most tiresome aspect is the slow, complacent, Louvre-conscious, waiting-for-prizes attitude of everyone who worked on it.

"I Want You." The Goldwyn stock company (Granger, Andrews, McGuire, Keith, etc.) drafted away from their side of the railroad tracks—the other side from De Sica's—for the duration of the cold war. Written by *New Yorker* writers Irwin Shaw and John Cheever. Much too talkative and taken up with the sad departures of drafted men; nothing more momentous in it than Mildred Natwick sweeping all her pseudo-hero husband's war mementoes off the wall. Yet good—as all Goldwyn's soap-operas are—for its sad, cautious desire to get at the haggard side of Americans by being exactly right about the stained wall-paper around picture frames, the sexless bathrobe of Mrs. Suburbia, the sullen pooped-out expression on her face, the chenille His-Her towels in the bathroom, and the fact that most of the conversation consists of tired nothings: "What'll it be?" . . . I want to say hello to George Kress. . . . Why, I'm making you rich; what're you complaining of? . . . Oh, wait a minute. . . . Why doesn't Landrum mind his own business? . . . How are things in Washington? Scary." Not even Goldwyn can keep Farley Granger from his obsequious, frightened, liver-lipped manipulation of a smile or a drag on a cigarette, but the others almost break your heart with their pinched-faced "bravery," their frozen pantomime, their ability to talk without opening their mouths.

"Behave Yourself." A tasteless, paceless, surprisingly good farce, spoofing the "Thin Man" idea of having cops, robbers, a dog, a mother-in-law, keep a young married couple (Granger again, with Shelley Winters) from going to bed together. Crammed with ultra-modern buildings, furniture, statues; shot mostly through leaves and incidental bric-a-brac. Cameraman James Wong Howe, usually an earnest documentarist, shoots a crucial murder here as if he'd been bribed by Florence Knoll. The humor is either strictly from Minsky or tied up with the décor, or both (as when the dog finds himself in a jungle of plastic mannikin legs). Best funny moment of many months is provided by the scene in which a silly egg-skulled cockney gangster (with a bullet wound in his forehead that may have been painted by Pierro della Francesca) slides down like a well-

oiled banana into a colossal bubble-bath.

"The Racket." This movie had everything—Mitchum, Ryan, and today's most-talked-of subject matter. But it came out a junky, impossible bore.

"Another Man's Poison." The elevation to co-stardom (with wife Bette Davis) of the over-energetic Gary Merrill in a psychotic melodrama that left me limp, incredulous, and baffled.

"Westward the Women." Two hundred women and Robert Taylor. This is a Western?

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE superb Purcell Fantasias in three, four, and five parts are played well by the London String Trio and Aeolian Quartet (Allegro), but with more animation and more finesse in spite of the fuller sonority by a small Viennese string orchestra under Litschauer (Vanguard). The Viennese performances are better reproduced, except for the coarse brilliance of the violins on the side with the five-part and the first six four-part Fantasias; and some of the Allegro performances are too low in pitch. The Vanguard records offer also two fine Purcell Chaconnes and an effective performance of one of Beethoven's least accessible works, the Grand Fugue 133.

One of the accessible great works of his last period, the Quartet Opus 132, is given a performance by the Paganini Quartet that is in every respect first-rate (RCA Victor).

First-rate in most respects is the playing of the New Music Quartet in Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 3 (Bartok); but it has an excessive nervous tension which is disturbing even when it doesn't convert sforzatos into explosions; and the finale suffers from an attempt to play it in the impossibly fast tempo set by Beethoven's metronome-marking. From an accompanying note about the failure to obey Beethoven's metronome-markings and the resulting falsification of the music one would think it had amounted to allegros being played largo; when in fact it has amounted only to reducing them to allegros which permit the clear articulation of the music nec-

essary for its sense. On the same record is a similar high-tension performance of Beethoven's reworking for string quartet of the not especially interesting Piano Sonata Opus 14 No. 1. With treble reduced the sound is brash in loud passages; whether the noises are solely those from the scratches on my review record I cannot say.

Two engaging early works of Beethoven, the String Trio Opus 9 No. 1 and Serenade Opus 8, are played beautifully by the Pasquier Trio; but even with minimum treble the recorded sound is not beautiful (Allegro).

Beethoven's inconsequential Trio Opus 11 for clarinet, cello and piano gets from Reginald Kell, Frank Miller, and Mieczyslaw Horszowski a fine ensemble performance which Mozart's Trio K.498 for clarinet, viola, and piano does not get from Kell, Lillian Fuchs, and Horszowski on the same record (Decca); and my guess is that it is Miller who restrains Kell, stimulates Horszowski, and integrates the playing of the three in the Beethoven piece. That guess is based on all the playing I have heard Miller do, which has led me to the opinion that he is one of the greats among the ensemble musicians of today. His tone hasn't the rich sensuous beauty of Leonard Rose's, but has a tensile strength which makes possible the exciting continuity in a sustained legato phrase, and even in a series of plucked bass notes; with this continuous life there is also extraordinary refinement and elegance of style; and in addition to everything else there is the feeling for ensemble performance that seems to carry other musicians with it. The Beethoven piece is excellently reproduced; the Mozart is not; surfaces are gritty.

Another of the superb Budapest Quartet performances of the period when Roisman was in good form and Alexander Schneider was second violin—this one of Schubert's great Quintet Opus 163, with Benar Heifetz playing second cello—has been issued on LP (Columbia), its sound now free of the defects of the 78 rpm version, and wholly agreeable even without the warmth and radiance of the Victor recording of Beethoven's Opus 132.

The sound is in fact more agreeable than that of the beautiful performance of Schumann's Piano Quintet recorded

by the Budapest Quartet of today with Curzon (Columbia), which has an excessively sharp distinctness that sharpens the edge on Roisman's tone.

C. P. E. Bach's Chromatic Fantasy for harpsichord is interesting, but his Trio in B flat and W. F. Bach's Sonata in F are not; the performances by Lois Schaefer, flute, Robert Brink, violin, and Daniel Pinkham, harpsichord, are good (Allegro).

I would skip the Loewenguth Quartet's coarse-grained performance of Mozart's K.457 (Decca), and the Aeolian Quartet's pedestrian performances of K.575 and 590 (Allegro).

As the first volume in its Archives of Recorded Music UNESCO has issued "L'Oeuvre de Frédéric Chopin" (Paris: Editions de La Revue Disques), a compilation without evaluation, under the direction of Armand Panigel, of all the recordings of Chopin's works, including those no longer available.

On the other hand the Music Library Association (c/o Music Division, Library of Congress) has assembled from the December 1948 to September 1950 issues of its quarterly magazine, *Notes*, the summaries of record reviews by Kurtz Myers, and published them as "Cumulated Index of Record Reviews." I would say a considerable number of the evaluations aren't worth anyone's attention; and the summarizing is done with a few symbols that are not always adequate.

Otto Erich Deutsch, who assembled all the available documentary material on Schubert in "The Schubert Reader," has issued an equally valuable "Schubert Thematic Catalogue" (Norton; \$8.50), listing and dating the works in chronological order, with single-stave *incipits*, information about manuscripts and editions, and so on. I find inadequacies and inconsistencies in the *incipits*; but they don't amount to a major defect.

R. D. Darrell, who compiled the first "Gramophone Shop Encyclopedia of Recorded Music," has now produced "Schirmer's Guide to Books on Music

and Musicians" (\$6), an excellent volume of the same kind—one which answers the question whether a book exists, but not the question whether it is worth reading.

CONTRIBUTORS

KATHLEEN RAINE is an English poet now in this country under the auspices of the Poetry Circle of the Y. M.-W. H. A.

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Letters to the Editors

Witch-Hunt Victim

Dear Sirs: I am one of the many victims of the current loyalty purge who will receive no hearing except that which you can provide for me by publishing this letter. I am a tenth-generation American whose Puritan ancestors fled from England in 1635 because they dissented from the state religion of that country. I am also an economist who received an unusually costly education, including five years of full-time post-graduate university work, and was later awarded a two-year post-doctoral Carnegie fellowship at Columbia University. Since then my life has been devoted to university teaching, government work, and writing. In 1948, at the age of forty-four and after eight years of federal employment, I retired from a \$10,000 position to devote my full time to writing a book on price theory, now almost completed. When I returned to Washington a few months ago to seek reemployment with the government, I was denied a position, not on the ground of reasonable doubt as to my loyalty but, literally, on the ground that *there was a reasonable doubt as to whether there was a reasonable doubt as to my loyalty*. In other words, the loyalty probers of the agency where I found an opening (OPS) could not make up their minds in two months' time, and my prospective chief had to hire someone else because he could wait no longer. This experience will, of course, make it extremely difficult if not impossible for me ever to secure another federal position, and universities will be equally reluctant to employ a person of doubtful loyalty. There is almost nowhere else for an economist with my

experience to work. Such penalties are imposed every day of the week upon American citizens who have no hearing and no recourse. I cannot even appeal to the review procedures of the Civil Service Commission, for no appealable decision on my loyalty has been reached.

So far my case is typical of thousands of others, most of which are not even listed in the official statistics on the number of persons suspended or discharged on loyalty grounds (I was not suspended or discharged). I would like to add some information as to my political beliefs, perhaps the real grounds for the charges of disloyalty. For thirty years I have been a democratic Fabian Socialist. Like many Republicans and professors of social science, I believe our country, like Western Europe, is moving slowly but steadily towards democratic socialism. Unlike the Republicans, I approve of this trend. . . .

Since I am a Fabian Socialist and consider the American Socialist Party ineffective, I have actively worked and campaigned for the Democratic Party, when not in federal employment, since 1933. In 1934 I was a leader in my home city in the Democratic campaign of that year and was elected a member of the Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee. In 1938 I managed the primary Congressional campaign in Pasadena for an able Democratic state assemblyman, Elmer Lore. In 1940 I was the official Pasadena Roosevelt-Wallace campaign manager. To these and other Democratic Party campaigns I gave hundreds of dollars and devoted hundreds of days of time, including weeks of door-to-door bell ringing. In 1944, when I was a federal employee, my mother was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention, where she voted for Harry Truman. I myself am a warm admirer of our President, and shall vote for him again regardless of the outcome of my case. I blame Republican McCarthyism, not Truman, for the great injustice to most of those charged with disloyalty.

There are other pertinent facts in my case which any fair-minded judge or jury would consider. The four books I have had published on economic and social theory during the past twenty years all contain clear evidence that I am not a Communist. One of them, called "Total War" (1943), is, in my humble opinion, the best available guide

to the all-out economic mobilization which would be required in a war with Soviet Russia.

While I have of course been given no hearing, or even an interview, on the charges against me, I have heard in a round-about way of one, and only one, charge—namely, that I traveled to Russia in 1939 with a group of Communist sympathizers. Actually, I have never been to Russia, a fact I regret rather than feel proud of. In 1939 I hoped to go, and made all arrangements, but changed my mind. The record of the passport and visa granted me in 1939 is presumably the evidence on which I am accused of the serious offense of desiring to see for myself how communism works in Russia. I remember nothing concerning the Intourist tour I planned to take, but this may of course have included Soviet sympathizers. The only other possible basis for charges that I am a Communist is that I once (1935) learned to read Russian, read some Communist books and magazines, and attended meetings addressed by Communist speakers. As a life-long student I regret that I did so little of this, for science requires the study of arguments and evidence on both sides of every issue. Nine out of ten American writers on Soviet Russia simply don't know what they are talking about, and I fear I still belong in this group. To regard study of communism as evidence of Communist sympathies is one of the crudest errors of our loyalty probers, an error which may result in disastrous ignorance of our enemy in World War III and even help to bring about this war.

I am in a position to reveal the questioning of my loyalty and the damning facts upon which it may be based only because I have a small private income. The vast majority of those who have been similarly treated dare not reveal their misfortune because this would make future employment still more uncertain. I speak, therefore, for thousands who are voiceless. For them more than for myself I protest against the vicious practice of questioning a man's loyalty and denying him federal employment without a hearing and on such grounds as former study of communism or Soviet Russia, the malicious testimony of discharged servants, and the intolerance of some religious and political opponents.

BURNHAM P. BECKWITH
Pasadena, Cal.

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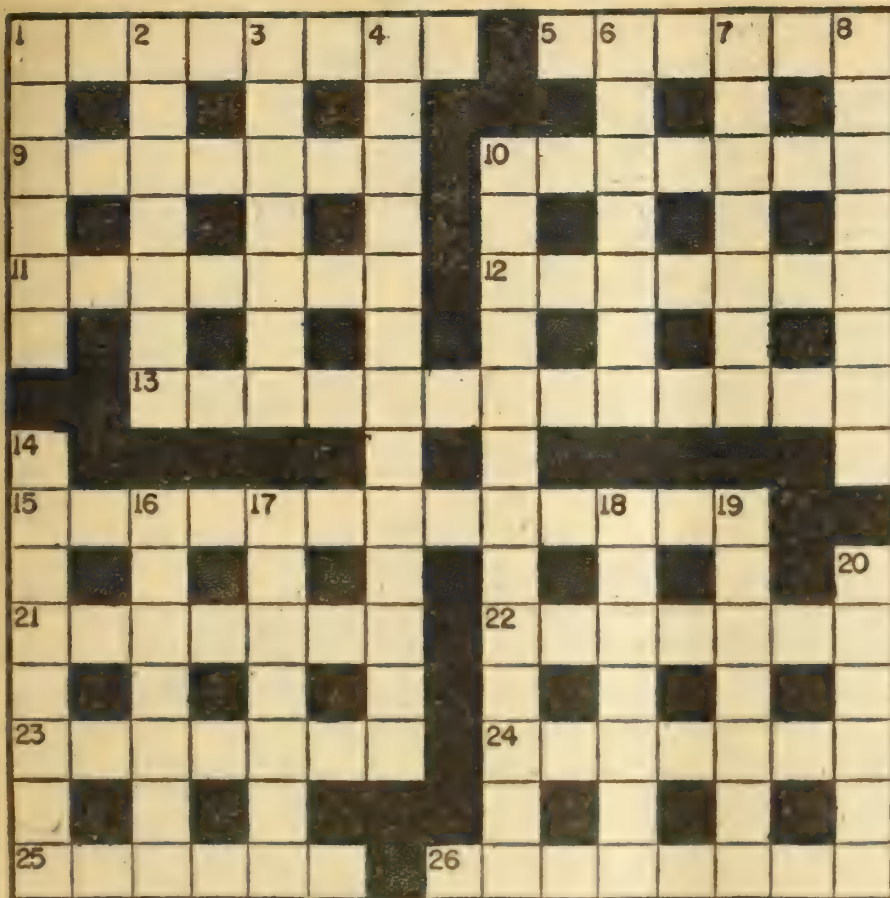
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Crossword Puzzle No. 448

by FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 What subs used to make clean habits. (8)
- 5 Shock absorber. (6)
- 9 Frequently this is 14 down. (7)
- 10 Proving the possibility of finding a tender-hearted radical is purely relative! (7)
- 11 Did this get under the old woodsman's skin? Quite the opposite! (7)
- 12 Compound the price of eggs? (7)
- 13 Do coach stands furnish drink and something to settle the stomach? (6, 3, 4)
- 15 Would this illustrate a non-partisan angle? (7, 6)
- 21 A leaning towards a certain recording? (7)
- 22 One who steers steers? (3, 4)
- 23 A mule is usually so clean. (7)
- 24 Wifely. (7)
- 25 Weak. (6)
- 26 They make us attest enactments. (8)

DOWN

- 1 Ypres to the doughboy suggests a couple of blades swinging in the dampness. (6)
- 2 One of these is fine for the forts wall brackets. (7)
- 3 Too much of this and you sound rather shaky. (7)

- 4 You'd have chills and fever with it, yet still might feel swell! (7, 6)
- 5 Is atonal music, if you pay no attention to it? (7)
- 7 A rag for making a hodgepodge of a hodgepodge. (7)
- 8 Arbor vitae. (3, 5)
- 10 Do they pay it in their spring, in the spring? (8, 5)
- 14 This might be rather dull, yet is supposed to have a point. (2, 3, 8)
- 16 Women's hair might be, both before and after trimming. (7)
- 17 Mountain which is comparatively 25. (7)
- 18 It isn't old wine for the navy town. (7)
- 19 He's quite practical concerning the head of 21. (7)
- 20 In England they couldn't be considered minor subjects! (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 447

ACROSS:—1 COMEDY OF ERRORS; 10 NON-CONDUCTOR; 11 HARDHEADED; 13 MELONS; 14 BERIBERI; 16 THALLIUM; 19 EWRE; 20 ANGLOPHOBE; 22 SHORT STORIES; 23 and 17 HE WHO HESITATES IS LOST.

DOWN:—2 MINERAL WATER; 3 DOOR HANDLE; 4, 11 and 1 down OH DEAR! WHAT CAN THE MATTER BE?; 5 ES-CHEWED; 6 ROOD; 7 POSTMISTRESSES; 9 PHRENOLOGIST; 12 AIR SUPPORT; 13 DUE NORTH; 15 CLOSES; 21 SHAH.

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Dear Howard:

I have just finished SPARTACUS. It's a terrific book, the best you've done, in my opinion. A true symbol of the world toiler now and in all past times. All the while I read it I kept seeing contemporary figures, modern Ciceros, ward heelers in Washington, the cities of today and the servile revolt of the present period now on a world scale.

I feel that this is the book of yours most durable and with most universal appeal, because it can be read anywhere and fit any of the countries of the epoch of imperialism.

Also I think you've done a radiant job of using the materials that have come down to us on Spartacus. Of using the actual materials and actual characters of the period and making them understandable in terms of both then and now. Your handling of Negro and Jewish and Nordic white symbolization was beautifully done, pertinent not only for the American scene but having worldwide color-national connotations.

This is a book I chewed up clause by clause, like a meal. It has to be read that way to get its full historic and contemporary meaning.

I feel sure that the world's progressives will, with time, regard this story as the one most symbolical of the long struggle of labor. It has beauty, mature style, and hits the philosophic bull's-eye of life itself.

I would take heart, if I were you, in the knowledge of having done an enduring and highly symbolical work of art, and the way in which you have struck out, in publishing SPARTACUS yourself, is an act itself of a literary Spartacus.

May I express my admiration.

Sincerely,

Earl Conrad.

THE above is a letter from a friend of mine, a fine and brave writer in his own right. You can understand that I read his letter with great pride and considerable happiness. And here, briefly, is the story of the book he refers to:

The book was written—with some gaps and diversions—over a period of a year and a half. It was finished in June of 1951, and submitted in the same month to my regular publisher, *Little, Brown and Company*. The editor-in-chief, Angus Cameron, read the manuscript immediately, and wrote to me:

"It is a novel we can publish with pride and with the gamble that it will do better than *The Proud and the Free*. . . I congratulate you."

He told me a few days later that the editorial staff agreed with him, and that in his opinion, I had written my best book. He told me that *Little, Brown and Company* would publish it.

But a month later, I learned that Mr. Cameron had been forced to resign from *Little, Brown and Company*. I also learned that they would not publish *Spartacus*.

Whereupon, I submitted the manuscript to six other publishers; not to every publisher, but to six others. After all, it was not a first novel. Nineteen years ago, I had published my first; this was my twelfth.

Three of the publishers would not even read the manuscript. Three rejected it flatly. This I considered sufficient indication of how the wind blew, and rather than spend the next five years in endless submissions, I decided to publish it myself.

I had no money with which to publish a book, but I had friends and I knew that over ten million people in America had read my books. I wrote to these friends. I asked them to buy in advance, sight unseen, a novel called *Spartacus*, which I would publish if and when enough of them sent me five dollars for a subscription to it. It was a strange offer on my part, and I got a strange response.

Over fifteen hundred people sent me five dollar bills and checks. Not only did I receive enough money to send them copies of the five-dollar edition, but their faith and their kindness made it possible for me to publish a cheap edition for mass distribution.

I am not good at writing advertising, nor do I think I can hire anyone to write the sort of advertising I need. What Earl Conrad says about my book is important because it comes out of his own experience and struggle—and I think little that does not come out of such a source can have real importance in telling anyone else about a book. I know a woman who works very hard and who has worked very hard for most of her life, and who has had to face the stubborn and bitter things of life most directly and unequivocally. A few days ago I received a letter from her which said:

It is 12 midnight Sunday night and I have finished reading SPARTACUS. It has left me with a wonderful feeling of the wholeness and rightness of the simple things that I love and of the complete justness of fighting for the 20th Century freedom you and I are aspiring to.

I haven't the ability to criticize your book in a literary fashion. All I know is that I love what you have written, I love how you have written it, and love what it will accomplish in bringing us nearer to that world of peace and equality of man that Spartacus and men of similar mold have endeavored to bring about.

I do not think that more than this could be said or should be said. My problem now is to find out whether people will go out of their way to buy and read this book. I am asking you to do so, to write me at Box 171, Planetarium Station, New York 24, N. Y., and send me \$2.50 in cash, money order or check, for a copy of *Spartacus*. The book will be sent to you immediately.

HOWARD FAST

Box 171, Planetarium Station

New York 24, N. Y.

Justice Douglas *Is Available—An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

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U. M. T.

National Need or Booby Trap?

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE

vs.

SENATOR EDWIN C. JOHNSON

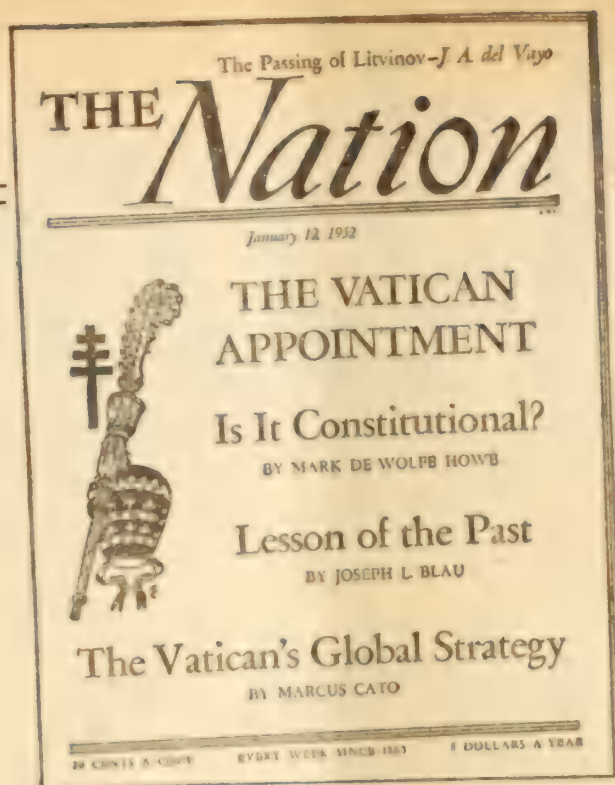
✱

Act II in Asia: Indo-China

he French Must Choose - - *Alexander Werth*

Vietnamese Speaks - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Chiang's Guerrillas - - - - - *Andrew Roth*



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NUMBER 4

The Shape of Things

THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC REPORT TO Congress added little really new although it elaborated many of the points made in his State of the Union Message. Again Mr. Truman emphasized the "great gains in our basic economic strength," gains which, assuming military security has been achieved and peace thereby preserved, would make possible "a material well-being never known before." This promise of jam tomorrow was presented as compensation for a cut in butter today which need not be very severe. Combating the arguments of those who have questioned our ability to carry the load of rearmament, the report pointed out that in terms of 1951 dollars the growth of production goods and services since 1947 exceeded the total cost of the national-security program last year. Since a further 5 per cent increase in national output is a reasonable expectation in 1952, we should be able to cover the contemplated large additions to the defense program while maintaining at least 1947 living standards. The implication of all this is that a pay-as-we-go policy, which the President urged strongly last year, would be feasible without undue sacrifice. Unfortunately, Mr. Truman now seems to have abandoned this objective. Facing a prospective deficit of \$16,000,000,000 in 1952-53, he is asking Congress for additional revenue amounting to only \$5,000,000,000, and even this modest request is couched in terms that suggest he is resigned to a refusal. The almost certain consequence, as Keith Hutchison pointed out last week, is increased inflationary pressure, which, even if held to manageable proportions, must mean serious maladjustments of the economy and much greater inequalities of sacrifice than would be necessary if the Administration and the Congress united in balancing the budget.

✱

MR. CHURCHILL'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS WAS undoubtedly a *succès d'estime*; it is less sure whether, to use David Lawrence's phrase, "he made a sale." Senators and Representatives of all shades of opinion praised the speech as a performance, but many seem to have steeled themselves against being persuaded by it. When the Prime Minister's words confirmed their own convictions—for instance, his appeal to the United States to preserve its atomic supremacy—they drew loud cheers;

but an expressive silence greeted his suggestion of stronger American support for Britain in Egypt. From the British point of view Mr. Churchill's visit to Washington has, perhaps, achieved one of its major objectives—an improvement in the atmosphere—and one of its secondary purposes—an increase in steel shipments to Britain; but taken as a whole it appears to have been a limited success. On his return home, Mr. Churchill is certain to be criticized for giving away too much for too little. Already upset by the way Washington has exerted pressure on the Japanese government to agree to a treaty with the Chinese Nationalists—a move with dangerous economic and political implications—Britons are definitely alarmed by the Prime Minister's expression of support for Washington's Formosa policy and his implied promise to back up an extension of the Korean war if the armistice talks break down. The advantages of "increasing harmony" between British and American policy in the Far East are well understood in England but wholehearted unison with the American orchestra will be difficult to achieve until its brass sections are toned down.

✱

IF GENERAL EISENHOWER WAS SKEPTICAL about President Truman's warning that a political career would expose him to rotten eggs, tomatoes, and dirt, he now has had a first taste of what it means to enter the Presidential sweepstakes. The Taft forces are out to get the Republican nomination by fair means or foul. According to David Ingalls, Taft's spokesman at the San Francisco meeting of the Republican National Committee, Eisenhower is merely a "good-looking mortician" who if nominated would preside over the Grand Old Party's last rites. The ruthlessness and venom with which Taft's champions flailed out at Eisenhower won some sympathy at San Francisco for the General's spokesman, Senator Lodge. A little earlier, similar tactics had drawn from Governor Warren of California a warning that those who live by the sword eventually die by the sword. But none of this means that Taft's blitz will not work. If Eisenhower refuses to take off his uniform and come home to campaign before the Republican convention next July 7, Taft will be the only potential winner who can give authoritative promises to Republican politicians hungry for patronage, the only front-running candidate who can make solid deals and change his tactics from day

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by Frank W. Lewis opposite 96

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to day. His adaptability has already been shown by his readiness to reverse himself on a medical-education bill, after protests from American Medical Association lobbyists, and vote against a measure he had previously indorsed.

★

AN EISENHOWER SUPPORTER SIGHED WITH relief after the San Francisco meeting had ended and somberly suggested to reporters that "for amateurs" the General's group had "done all right." What he meant, presumably, is that the Eisenhower battalions had escaped encirclement, at least for the moment, by Taft's heavy columns. But Eisenhower's candidacy is not aided, among independents, by the ponderous efforts of Arthur Krock, in the *New York Times*, to prove that the people really know all they need to know about the General's views on domestic policy—and that these views, if we understand what Krock is talking about, are considerably to the right of Robert Alphonso Taft's.

★

TWO OFFICIAL DECISIONS HANDED DOWN recently in Germany have an ominous ring. In one case three Jewish merchants of Polish nationality had been brought before a Berlin city court. The details of the case are of no interest, but the following statement in the sentence is worth recording. "The three defendants are Jewish merchants of Polish nationality. . . . One of the aggravating circumstances against the defendants is the fact that they are foreigners. As such they enjoy the hospitality of Berlin and they have badly abused it. . . . Also to be considered aggravating is the fact that the defendants are Jews." In the second case the widow of Colonel Count Marogna-Redwitz was informed by the Bureau of Finance in Munich that her pension was to be stopped because her husband had been sentenced to death for high treason—the Colonel had been involved in the unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Hitler in July, 1944. This is apparently still considered a major crime by German justice in the year 1952. Those who remember the anti-democratic decisions of German courts and administrative authorities under the Weimar Republic will surely feel: this is where we came in.

★

THE SCHOOL FIGHT IN ENGLEWOOD, NEW Jersey, which *The Nation* first brought to national attention (Our Town in Turmoil, June 16, 1951), has flared up again. At the beginning of the new year the Board of Education apparently felt that it would be expedient to yield a point to those who have been conducting a bitter campaign against the public schools of the community. Before recommending a textbook or supplementary book for general use, the superintendent must now require the teacher who is to use the book, or a committee of teachers, to certify in writing that the

book does not "advocate the support of a foreign power nor of a doctrine inimical to the principles of government established by the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State of New Jersey, and further that it does not advocate a principle or doctrine inimical to the American system of free enterprise." The New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers, has properly objected to this new burden placed upon teachers in a time of general fear and uncertainty. The regulation is not aimed, of course, at preventing the intrusion of an alien philosophy or ideology; its sponsors know perfectly well that no revolutionary doctrines are being taught in the schools of Englewood, New Jersey—one of America's wealthiest suburbs. Its purpose is doubtless to appease the reactionary minority. But the inevitable effect of the regulation will be to intimidate teachers in the exercise of their professional judgment, since their tenure can be threatened by the charges of bigots that materials they have certified do in fact advocate a doctrine "inimical to the American system of free enterprise." And just how is this phrase, we wonder, to be defined?

✱

THE REAPPEARANCE OF MUSSOLINI'S FAMOUS paper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, has aroused a good deal of surprise and indignation among those who still refuse to admit the resurgence of Italian fascism. The event, however, is only the most striking of a number of similar happenings in recent days. The list of journalists who were practicing Fascists in the Mussolini era is already a long one. *Messaggero*, Rome's most popular daily, is headed by Mario Missiroli, one of fascism's so-called intellectual leaders, the author of "L'Uomo Mussolini," a minor "Mein Kampf." On *La Stampa* are the Fascist journalists Giulio de Benedetti and Paolo Monelli. Signoretti is editor of *Roma*, an important Naples daily. Other newspapers and magazines, the press services, and the radio stations employ dozens of former Fascists. It is hardly too much to say that outside the small and financially weak left and liberal papers, the best journalistic plums in Italy today drop into the hats of those who can prove an impeccable pro-Fascist past. It did not take long.

✱

ON THE DAY MRS. HARRIET MOORE DIED IN Nims, Florida—just a week after her husband Harry Moore, State N. A. A. C. P. leader, was murdered by a bomb placed in their home—a series of four weekly nation-wide radio broadcasts entitled "Florida Speaks" was launched over the far-flung Liberty network "to let the people throughout the country get the true picture of conditions down here." (For background on the Liberty network see *The Nation* for November 3, 1951, page 370.) Significantly, the programs

originate from Station WLBE in Leesburg in Lake County, where Sheriff Willis McCall recently shot down two handcuffed Negro prisoners, Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin, killing the former and seriously wounding the latter. The "Florida Speaks" series, according to Wendy Husebo, co-owner of WLBE, will answer "the many unfavorable stories and comments of Northern newspapers and radio stations." Speakers will include Doyle Carlton, president of the state chamber of commerce, Karl Lehman, secretary of the Lake County chamber, and W. E. Debman, author of the recent novel "Weep No More My Lady." Mrs. Moore can no longer weep or speak, but her daughter Rosalea, who narrowly escaped the blast, or Walter Irvin, who managed to cling to life by playing dead, could say a few words about conditions in Florida too.

✱

AMONG ARAB NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS none has been more responsible and moderate than the Tunisian movement, and no nationalist leader more eminent and admired than Habib Bourguiba, head of the Neodestour Party. Ever since the end of the war Bourguiba and his followers have engaged in negotiations, punctuated by strikes, in an effort to win, not independence, but autonomy within the French Union. Early last year an agreement was reached in principle but never carried into effect. France has insisted that the European minority in Tunisia—some 300,000, half of them French—shall have as many seats in the Assembly as the 3,500,000 Tunisians. This the Bey has refused, under firm pressure from the nationalists, and in the middle of January he dispatched an appeal to the United Nations for intervention by the Security Council. The consequences could have been foreseen by anyone familiar with the old, ugly pattern of colonialism on the defensive. Invoking the state of siege proclaimed in 1939 and never rescinded, the French police ordered the dissolution of the Neodestour Party, denied it a meeting hall, and then, without warning, in true totalitarian style, seized M. Bourguiba and four of his lieutenants in their homes before dawn and carried them away to unknown places of detention.

✱

HOW RECKLESS AND PROVOCATIVE THIS action will be shown in the days ahead. Bourguiba and his followers are not even charged with a crime. The arrests are described as a "measure of removal" to end the "systematic agitation" of the nationalist leaders. If they serve any such purpose it will be a modern miracle. A contrary result is far more probable. In Tunisia resentment and nationalist excitement will rise, hope of a settlement by negotiation will disappear, and the fever will spread across the borders. In the United Nations the Arab countries will class France with Britain as an overt

enemy, and the United States will be caught in a new dilemma: how to support French control of an area essential to Western defense plans without totally and fatally alienating the Arabs. In this situation only the Russians can afford to smile.

✱

IN OUR OPINION JOE LOUIS, FORMER WORLD heavyweight champion, lost one of the most important fights of his life when he decided to play in the San Diego open golf tournament despite the acknowledged color-line barring of another Negro, Bill Spiller. When the Professional Golf Association—sponsor of the event—announced that all non-Caucasians were to be barred from membership, Louis lashed out at such "Hitler like" action and said that he would enter the tournament. Eventually he did, but on a technicality: he is an amateur. Horton Smith, president of the P. G. A., explained that "Joe Louis, as an amateur with a Number 2 handicap, will be permitted to play under the United States Golf Association rules." Spiller, he added, since he is a professional, must abide by the P. G. A. rules. In referring to his decision to play Louis said that "you crawl before you walk." He seemed satisfied that the affair "had brought the matter before the public . . . and now it is up to the P. G. A. and the newspapers to see that the situation is cleared up." It was an obscure loophole in the P. G. A. rules through which Joe Louis "crawled." If the ex-champion will stay in his "biggest fight" to the end he will apply for entry into other P. G. A.-sponsored tournaments and insist that Negro professionals be allowed to participate also.

Honoring "President" Tubman

PRESIDENT TRUMAN sent a delegation of four distinguished Americans—Ambassador Edward R. Dudley, Major General James S. Stowell, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, and Carl Murphy, editor of the *Afro-American* of Baltimore—to represent him at the inauguration of President W. V. S. Tubman for a second eight-year term as President of Liberia. One can only hope that the members of this delegation were unaware of the circumstances under which President Tubman was reelected; but Mr. Truman must have known the facts.

When W. V. S. Tubman was first elected in 1942, the Liberian constitution stipulated that the President could not be reelected. Tubman began his administration by issuing various enlightened edicts and sponsoring a number of important amendments to the constitution. For example, the franchise was extended to the aborigines, who form over 90 per cent of the population. Since Liberia was founded, the country has been run by the Americo-Liberian minority—descendants of freed

slaves from the United States—with a ruthlessness that would incite the envy of any ruling class in Africa. As recently as 1930 Americo-Liberians were shipping natives to the slave markets of Fernando Po. To give the vote to the masses seemed to be a bold step forward. Another amendment sponsored by Tubman permitted the President to be reelected for a second eight-year term.

The test of Tubman's "reforms" came in the election of May, 1951 (see editorial comment, *The Nation*, May 5, June 9, 1951). A new party, which included both aborigines and Americo-Liberians, selected as its candidate Dihdwo Twe, a full-blooded aborigine of the Kru tribe who had been educated in this country. It was Twe who in 1930 first brought to light the facts of Liberia's slave trade and forced an official investigation. His efforts won him international fame but hardly added to his popularity among Liberia's ruling class. As a result of the investigation, and of ensuing action by the League of Nations, C. D. B. King, who was President at the time, was forced to resign. He is today Liberia's ambassador in Washington.

From the outset Twe had great difficulty in qualifying as a Presidential candidate. Tubman claims that Twe's party did not file in time; Twe claims that the government's constant interference made it impossible for his supporters to obtain signatures to petitions. A month before the election Twe and his coworkers filed a statement with Tubman citing various acts of harassment, violence, and terror, and asking for an extension of time. The request went unanswered. Whatever the merits of these conflicting assertions, it is a fact that the ballot, in true totalitarian style, gave the name of only one candidate, Tubman, who was reelected without a dissenting vote. Soldiers armed with machine-guns were present at the polling places to arrest any voter bold enough to write in another name.

After the election an indictment was returned against Twe and eighty-six of his followers, charging them with sedition. This outrageous act caused scarcely a ripple in the world press. Indeed, as long as Liberia remains a museum piece among the nations, of no appreciable interest to anyone, it will be difficult to focus attention on happenings there. Twe promptly, and wisely, fled to the high bush, where Kru tribesmen hid him while soldiers and government-recruited witch-doctors scoured the country with instructions to bring him in dead or alive. Eventually he escaped by canoe, after two days and nights on the open sea, to a nearby European colony, where he now lives in hiding.

The State Department and the United Nations have refused to intervene or make any representations to the government on the ground that the dispute is an internal matter. This excuse has a hollow ring in view of the protests and censures distributed to similar offenders who happen to fall within the Soviet orbit instead of

ours. Washington's policy may have been influenced by the fact that Tubman has cooperated in a Point Four program for Liberia which promises to be quite successful. Then, too, Liberia is a member of the United Nations, where a vote is a vote. But whatever the reasons for the failure of the State Department to act, this country does not need to honor men who have no better title to high public office than Tubman's to the Presidency of Liberia.

Justice Douglas Is Available

ARTHUR KROCK to the contrary notwithstanding, *The Nation* is convinced that Justice William O. Douglas is "available" for the Democratic nomination this year. Mr. Krock's story in the *New York Times* of January 14 that Justice Douglas had eliminated himself from consideration for the nomination was one of those curious political exclusives for which Mr. Krock is noted and which must be scrutinized with great care.

Three interpretations of the story are current. One is that President Truman or some member of the White House staff "leaked" the story to Mr. Krock to discourage those Democrats who think of Justice Douglas as the real heir to the Roosevelt tradition. Another assumes that Justice Douglas and Mr. Krock are good friends although they do not see eye to eye politically; in fact, it has been suggested that Justice Douglas is the unnamed "Northern Democrat" who was the source of Mr. Krock's report of last November 7 that President Truman had offered to support General Eisenhower for the Democratic nomination. This interpretation implies that the story was a curious political stratagem: the announcement that Justice Douglas was *not* "available" was supposed to stimulate a demand for him.

In our view the story and its timing were part of a plan to prevent a movement in favor of Justice Douglas. Confronted with the published fact that he had sent President Truman a note last August stating that he was not and would not be a candidate, Justice Douglas could be expected to do what in fact he did—"reiterate his decision." The timing of the story is important. It appeared on the day after the *New York Times Magazine* had printed an article by Justice Douglas, *The Black Silence of Fear*, which is by all odds the strongest, most thoughtful, and most carefully considered statement he has made on current issues. Referring to the article, Mr. Krock wrote: "... [Justice Douglas's] attribution of responsibility to the 'military' mind of what he termed the perilous ascendancy of an orthodox and fatal attitude toward Asia was taken by some as a challenge to those Democrats who hoped to nominate General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower in place of Mr. Truman. If Administration politicians who don't believe the President will run again, and were thinking of Justice Douglas

as his successor, got goose-flesh and developed a fever over this article, the news of his August letter from India [to the President] should restore their political health." Other politicians, too, might want reassurance on this subject. Indeed, everyone supporting General Eisenhower, including Mr. Krock's employer, the *New York Times*, must have appreciated the kindness of whoever it was in the President's entourage that released, just at this time, a letter which Justice Douglas had written the President last summer.

Despite the letter, we are convinced that Justice Douglas is available for the Democratic nomination. We believe that he has given every possible indication compatible with his office that he is available. Apart from this, the American people can demand that any individual be a candidate, and if enough of them join in the demand, the chances are excellent that he will yield. The moral pressure that can be brought to bear is truly irresistible.

To repeat what we said last week, if there was ever an election that called for a great debate on foreign policy it is this one. General Eisenhower has been in Europe a year. During that year it has become clear that the emphasis in American policy has shifted from economic reconstruction and development to military containment. Justice Douglas is as much a symbol of the former as General Eisenhower is of the latter. If these two men were the opposing candidates, the people would have a real choice. An attempt is being made to take Justice Douglas out of the struggle not because he might win the Democratic nomination but because a pro-Douglas movement could endanger the plans of those who want to preclude all debate on foreign policy in the coming campaign. Just how far the pre-Eisenhower forces are willing to go in an effort to avoid a real debate is suggested by Walter Lippmann's surprising statement in the *New York Herald Tribune* of January 15 that it is really quite unimportant what General Eisenhower says about major issues, so "synthetic and contrived" are most political declarations. We too place only limited credence in speeches and platforms, but we have faith in the educational value of a political campaign in which the big issues are fully discussed by the candidates.

The notion that it is proper for a military commander on active duty to become a silent candidate for the Presidency but improper for a Justice of the Supreme Court to be considered by the people must be demolished. To help along the good work, we are going to start "leaking" stories ourselves. In the best Krock tradition, then, we can report that "it become known this week" that Justice Douglas could be induced to make himself available as a candidate for the Presidency if enough people wanted him—and our mail indicates that a large number do. The people who feel this way should resolutely reject the myths of his unavailability and start talking about him.

Universal Military Training

NATIONAL NEED

BY WAYNE MORSE

United States Senator from Oregon

ONE of the first items of business to be taken up by the Armed Services Committee in this second session of the Eighty-second Congress will be the recommendations of the National Security Training Commission for a program of universal military training. Last year the Congress approved the principle of universal military training; the questions now are how and when we shall translate that far-reaching decision into a positive program. Although the legislation adopted in June, 1951, would seem to have determined the basic issue, the mail coming to my desk indicates that many people believe Congress should reexamine the need for a U. M. T. program. I think the reasons for universal military training are as compelling now as they were six months ago, and it is my hope that with a minimum of delay Congress will approve the broad outline of the program recommended by the National Security Training Commission—a program which is designed to organize the defenses of the nation so that they can be supported in the indefinite period of danger facing us without jeopardizing our economy or impairing the structure of our democratic society.

National defense rests, in the last analysis, on trained man-power. The public must realize this, and understand

that the concept of a "push-button" war is an illusion. No responsible military or political leader can give our people assurance that, should world events force us into all-out war, we would have time to train the necessary forces before hostilities began. Swift mobilization will be required, and unless we maintain enormous standing armies, which might well cripple our economy, the only



Senator Wayne Morse

way in which we can be prepared to meet an attack is by having a reservoir of militarily trained citizens. That is the fundamental reason for a U. M. T. program, coupled with a sound reserve structure.

The hopes of dictators for world domination have always been nourished by the conviction that democracies, with their deep-seated suspicion of large standing forces, will permit their defenses to deteriorate during periods of relative calm. Had we adopted a system of universal military training following the end of World War II instead of demobilizing at breakneck speed, we certainly would have avoided a substantial part of the costs of our recent and projected defense build-up. Moreover, it is not unlikely that the aggressors in Korea were encouraged to launch their attack by the knowledge that the military defenses of the United States had been allowed to dwindle to a fraction of the forces available at the end of hostilities in 1945.

A U. M. T. program will insure that the burdens of defense are shared by all, in the democratic way. When the attack came in Korea, we found ourselves compelled to rely primarily on reservists and members of the National Guard for trained replacements. Thousands of these had served in World War II, and it is grossly inequitable that they should now be undergoing a second major disruption in their lives and careers as the direct result of our shortsighted policy in not preparing younger men to answer the call. In the long-term crisis that confronts us—and the situation is of such gravity and unpredictability that, in the words of General Marshall before the Senate Armed Services Committee last January, we must be prepared for effective action "whether the challenge comes with the speed of sound or is delayed for a lifetime"—we must be capable of responding to periodic military alarms, including all-out war if necessary, in a manner that will least injure our social and economic structure. The tragic experience of the past year and a half, when necessity required the large-scale recall of veteran reservists, is to my mind ample testimony to the need for U. M. T. and a reinvigorated reserve program.

Prompt approval of a U. M. T. program is essential for another important reason. It makes explicit the ultimate duty of citizenship, which has always been implied—the duty to bear arms in defense of the nation. In the past, owing to the unrealistic policy of unpreparedness, the youth of every generation of Americans have gone to war psychologically and physically unprepared. Thousands of needless casualties have occurred because young men have been denied the military training which would give them a better chance to survive in battle. It is only fair that before they are committed to combat these young men should be prepared in military skills and mental outlook to discharge their obligation of citizenship.

Adopting a program of universal military training does not mean that we thereby abandon efforts to achieve an honorable and peaceful settlement of the causes of world tension. We must continue those efforts. But it seems painfully plain to me that we cannot expect to meet the threat to our free society by neglecting our military defenses or hopefully assuming that a policy of unpreparedness will induce the Kremlin to abandon its objective of a world subservient to it.

Realism requires that the free world be prepared to defend its freedom, and a universal-military-training program is an essential step toward that goal.

BOOBY TRAP

BY EDWIN C. JOHNSON

United States Senator from Colorado

EVERY major country that has utilized universal military training has reaped a harvest of poverty and national impotence. Look at Germany, Japan, and France. U. M. T., because it has been oversold by the military, creates a Maginot Line complex. Even the members of the National Security Training Commission in their recent report to the Congress recognize this fact when they state: "We emphasize that U. M. T. . . . could be dangerous if U. M. T. were, for example, to become an excuse for the precipitate reduction of our standing forces."

The present U. M. T. plan provides for a six months' training period and seven and a half years "on call" in the military reserve. General Hershey accurately describes this reserve obligation as a mortgage on a boy's life. During those extremely important seven and a half years a boy's soul is not his own. That "on call" shadow will follow him everywhere with its threat of fouling up any plan he may have for his life.

Under the present Selective Service Act draftees can be forced into the reserves after their regular two-year term is over; that is, they are drafted for two years but must serve six years in the reserves, whereas service in the reserves was formerly voluntary. But the present Selective Service Act expires in 1954; it is not yet a permanent part of the security program of the government. U. M. T., on the other hand, has been justified by the Pentagon as part of the permanent policy of the government in war or peace. It would thus give to the President an enormous reserve, on a compulsory basis, which could be called into service without a declaration of war by Congress.

Every boy should grow up to be what he wants to be. Some will want to be soldiers; others sailors, teachers, lawyers, writers, bankers, mechanics, farmers, or merchants. Congress does not have enough wisdom to interfere with the development of careers. We must cling

to "freedom of choice" if we would have a happy, progressive, successful society.

How can a boy assume the responsibilities of a family, the purchase of a home, an investment in business, a heavy indebtedness which would work out with careful nursing, when he lives under the shadow of U. M. T. for seven and a half years? The young man who wants an expensive, technical education may well hesitate to start his course because of his uncertainty about the future.

The boy who wants to marry and get a job may hesitate for the same reason.

In the early days of the emergency in Korea the professional proponents of U. M. T. played a clever game. The Selective Service Act of 1948 was about to expire. Renewal legislation was prepared in the Pentagon. But when it was submitted to Congress, U. M. T. had been incorporated in it. Congress was prepared to reenact Selective Service but was not willing—at least the House was not willing—to take U. M. T. also. So a compromise was worked out under which a new Selective Service Act was passed with a provision that a commission should be appointed to study U. M. T. The appointment of the commission implied that Congress had somehow approved U. M. T. in principle. This was not the fact. In any case the report of the commission, dated October 29, 1951, is now before the Congress. In the spring of 1951 the United States was caught in an emergency. Selective Service was necessary. It was democratic. It had proved its effectiveness. But the professional militarists, under cover of the emergency, managed to advance the cause of U. M. T. by the provision for appointment of the commission.

U. M. T. is in direct conflict with the fundamental principles on which this country was founded. It prostitutes the principle of free choice and free enterprise that has given the American nation the strength to grow to its present unchallenged power. No matter how one endeavors to dress up this vicious proposal, no matter what fanciful language is employed, under U. M. T. every young man becomes the plaything of the President for eight years. All individual choice and all considera-



Brandel

Senator Edwin C. Johnson

tion of the special aptitudes of American boys are effectively suppressed. Oh, I know the shouts are going up: "The routine of the boys will only be delayed slightly, and after the short period of training they will be permitted to pursue their lives in their own way"; but that is a lie.

The so-called training period is not important; the six months will pass quickly. It may do the boy little or no harm. From his standpoint, it may be of some indirect benefit. But it cannot add one iota to the nation's military strength. Ten years ago General Marshall told the Senate Military Affairs Committee that a soldier required eighteen months of intensive training, with fifteen months the absolute minimum. New weapons, new military concepts, and new military techniques of every description require time to master. War is becoming more specialized, and it requires specialists to manage its complexities. One does not become a specialist in any line in six months. But the six months are only the window dressing on this U. M. T. proposal. The big thing is the seven and a half years "on call." The six months' training is merely to fool parents, who naturally want to believe that the training their boy receives may save his life. It is a booby trap for parents. How the military can keep a straight face when they talk about the six months of training is beyond me. They throw in six

months of monkey business to get a mortgage on American youth for seven and a half years.

Through the years the professional proponents of universal military training have resorted to every conceivable trick to clothe this totalitarian device in the garb of military preparedness and thus make it acceptable to the American people. By using the scare technique they have induced many sincere and patriotic folk to enlist in the cause. Heretofore the American people have recognized U. M. T. for what it is—peace-time conscription, a plan to Prussianize American youth, a scheme to destroy that rich heritage of energy and ingenuity which is the peculiar quality of free men. Panicky citizens who have pledged their undying support to the free-enterprise system now seem ready to deny it to American youth. Confused, frustrated, and hysterical, they now seem ready to abandon their long struggle against militarism.

I submit that the present Selective Service Act is fully adequate for obtaining and training the man-power for the defense of this country. Moreover, I want to make it crystal clear that I am in favor of using the draft act whenever and as long as the conditions warrant drafting American youth for military service. There is nothing beneficial to national defense which we might do under universal military training that cannot be done under the Selective Service law.

Indo-China: The French Must Choose

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, January 17

THE decision to hold the three-power conference on Indo-China in Washington was taken, it has been learned, as the result of a secret communication from M. Pleven to the United States ambassador in Paris. French intelligence, M. Pleven said, had acquired a great deal of information showing that the Chinese Communists had "aggressive intentions" toward Indo-China. According to *France-Soir*, M. Pleven hoped through this communication both to speed up American deliveries to Indo-China and to alert Allied opinion in favor of organizing common defense in Southeast Asia. Although it has been decided to hold a three-power military conference, the British, *France-Soir* declares, are taking the French "disclosures" with a grain of salt, and the Americans have made it clear that they cannot in the present circumstances intervene actively in Indo-China.

It is curious that the Pleven *démarche* to the United States ambassador should have been made when it was;

one detects a strange coincidence with the beginning of the full-dress debate on Indo-China in the National Assembly. Was not the "warning" to the United States about the Chinese menace calculated to produce some new "element" which would help France to find a way out of the Indo-Chinese tangle? M. Pleven must have known what the debate on Indo-China was going to reveal—a practically universal conviction that France simply could not afford to continue the war on the present basis. In 1952 the war will cost between one-sixth and one-seventh of the entire budget. This overwhelming financial argument was reinforced by the clear necessity of "making a choice"; it was beyond France's financial means and military capacity to pursue the war in Indo-China and at the same time build up the large army in Europe which alone would enable it to pull its weight in the future organization of Western defense.

At the end of the three-day debate, it is true, the National Assembly passed by a large majority the appropriation of 326 billion francs for the land forces in Indo-China during the current year, but this sum does not cover the navy or air force, and as in past years some

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supplementary estimates will be required before long. The general mood at the Assembly was that "it couldn't go on like this"; if the credits were passed, it was only because the French army in Indo-China could not be left high and dry without money or equipment.

VIEWS which a year ago would have been considered "defeatist," or "unfriendly to France"—some articles on the subject printed in this journal were so described at the time—were openly expressed in certain quite unexpected quarters; and these remarks corresponded to the general mood much more closely than did official utterances. M. Mendès-France, the most "unorthodox" of the Radicals, once again dwelt on the relative backwardness of the French economy, which made it utterly impossible for France to build up an army in Europe and at the same time carry on the war in Indo-China. If it persisted in this effort, he said, it would plunge into the most disastrous inflation.

I am asking for a change of policy in Indo-China. I have never advocated capitulation, but I have asked and am still asking that every avenue be explored for an agreement with Vietminh. I am told one cannot negotiate with Communists, with Moscow agents. But what else are the Americans doing in Korea? . . . Our ministers now vaguely talk about "internationalizing the conflict" or about entering upon multilateral conversations—which simply means we shall lose what trumps we still have. . . . But the main point is this: as long as we go on losing all these officers and men in Indo-China, as long as we go on spending 500 billion francs a year, we shall have no army in Europe, and only 500 billion francs' worth of inflation, poverty, and fuel for Communist propaganda.

More surprising was the condemnation of the Indo-Chinese war by another Radical leader, M. Daladier, who argued that as long as 7,000 French officers, 32,000 n.c.o.'s, and 134,000 professional soldiers were "marooned" in Indo-China, France would be hopelessly outnumbered in its North African possessions. It was asking for trouble. It was, in fact, inviting the United States to build up Germany as the greatest military power in Europe. M. Daladier did not think it possible to negotiate with Vietnam and did not much believe in the possibility of "internationalizing the conflict," but he wanted the United Nations to negotiate a truce, to be followed by a referendum in each province in which the people of Vietnam "would freely choose the regime they desire." Whether M. Daladier meant that France should withdraw completely from Indo-China if the people so chose or should maintain a few strongholds in the country, whatever the results of the referendum, he did not make clear. But perhaps it was a matter of minor importance to him; what obviously was worrying him most was German rearmament.

Two other opinions should be quoted—those of M. Costes-Floret of the M. R. P. and of M. Palewski of the Gaullists. The former seemed to believe in a "deal" with Peking. Though he was less explicit than at the M. R. P. congress at Lyon last summer, where he proposed a "trade" by which the U. N. would admit both the Bao Dai regime and the Peking government, he still thought France could gain something from an "international settlement" in the Far East covering Korea, China, and Indo-China. The two great weaknesses of his argument were of course that the Bao Dai regime, like the Bao Dai army, is little more than a myth, and that no one in Washington in a Presidential year would be likely even to consider the admission of Peking into the U. N.

M. Palewski advocated "internationalizing" not the peace but the war, demanding that Britain and America take an active part in it, if only with their navies and air forces. This might have sounded a little more convincing but for a striking remark made by a Socialist Deputy, Gaston Defferre, who asserted that when Churchill was last in Paris and was asked what help Britain could give France in Indo-China, he replied, "England did well to get out of India." It was a good story, and *perhaps* true. In any case, it had a dampening effect on M. Palewski's crusading zeal.

THE most curious thing about M. Pleven's rather ill-tempered comments on Indo-China was that they showed no real attempt to answer his critics' two major arguments—that the war was ruining the French economy, and that it was reducing France's political and military weight in Europe. The most that could be read into his speech was that he might conceivably agree to "negotiate with Peking," whatever that meant. He claimed that the French forces had done a magnificent job in Indo-China in the past year, that they were getting stronger every day (in the same breath he said Vietminh, "actively supported by the Chinese," was also getting stronger), and that in a year or eighteen months from now France could reach a settlement "from positions of strength." His glowing account of the Bao Dai army was later debunked by one speaker after another. His warm tribute to the help received from the United States was not impressive, since it is common knowledge that this help has been far below the expectations entertained by the French during the visit to Washington last summer of De Lattre, who for a few short days was written up in the press as "the French MacArthur."

In a series of well-informed articles in the *Observateur* Claude Bourdet sharply criticizes the "official euphoria" displayed by the government; he says that Vietminh is receiving very substantial American equipment from China and has also been buying from the Bao Dai crowd, and that its anti-aircraft batteries are particularly effective. Vietminh has chosen to wage a war of attrition rather

than embark on an all-out offensive because the French are being worn down more rapidly than they—the French casualty figures which he gives are much higher than the official ones. Bourdet also cites some unsavory examples of the friction existing between the French and the Bao Daists, and of the financial scandals reported at Hanoi and Saigon. Indeed, he believes there might be less resistance in Paris to terminating the war in Indo-China if there were not so many rackets in Indo-China—notably the piastre racket, based on the two exchange rates—in which not only numerous individuals in Paris but whole political groups in France are keenly interested.

A still more serious allegation made by Bourdet is that Washington is not really interested in seeing a large French army in Europe. In fact, it may welcome the absence of such an army as an additional ex-

cuse for going ahead with the rearmament of Germany, a much more "reliable" ally. At the same time Washington likes to see France keeping Indo-China warm—just in case. This, Bourdet argues, may be the chief reason for the government's "unimaginative" policy.

Is it not also one of the reasons why the Pleven course is nearing its end, why it will be replaced either by a more determined "war policy" in Indo-China—here the American Republicans and De Gaulle may find some common ground—or by a more determined peace policy? For better or worse, there is a noticeable break-away everywhere in Europe from the Truman-Acheson-Eisenhower conceptions. In the main, neither Britain nor France believes any longer in a Russian invasion, in the urgent need to rearm Germany, or in the advantages of "no East-West trade."

Indo-China: A Vietnamese Speaks

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, January 15

FEW people in America realize what a headache the Indo-Chinese struggle is for the French. It not only threatens France with bankruptcy but it makes little sense from the viewpoint of European security. The officers who constitute the cadres of the French army in Indo-China amount to as many as will be required for the ten divisions France has promised to contribute to NATO. Small wonder, then, that the distinguished economic expert, Pierre Mendès-France, Radical Deputy and French delegate to the International Monetary Fund, should have proposed that the government open talks with the Ho Chi Minh regime. Even better evidence that the French would like a settlement is to be found in the statement by Foreign Minister Schuman that France "would not refuse an accord which would put an end to that conflict under conditions which would be honorable," and in the decision to send a Parliamentary mission to Indo-China to study the situation in all its aspects.

Today it is not so much the French who must be convinced of the desirability of a settlement in Indo-China as official Washington. Above all, Western opinion needs to be informed on the real issues in Indo-China. Unlike the Indonesian Republic, which was in a position to wage an excellent public-relations campaign in the United States, the Vietnam Republic is little known. Recently I had a chance to talk about the war in Indo-China with a remarkable Vietminh leader, educated in England, actively associated with Ho Chi Minh, and now in Geneva for several months' study of the specialized agencies of the U. N. He prefers, on account of his position, to re-

main anonymous, but I can vouch for the fact that he speaks with authority. The following report of what he had to say in answer to a series of questions from me throws light on the situation in Indo-China.

"Since arriving in Europe I have read and heard the most fantastic things about the Vietnam Republic. Most of the people who condemn us as a collection of Communists ignore both the origin of our fight and our purposes. From the very beginning of the Japanese occupation of Indo-China there was a resistance movement which included nationalists of every tendency. As Japanese strength was reduced by the American offensive, we were able to establish several liberation zones in the mountains of northern Indo-China, and when Japan finally collapsed, the resistance movement, under Vietminh direction, seized power in Hanoi and thus the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born.

"People here talk as if there were two real governments, ours and one headed by the Emperor, Bao Dai. But Bao Dai is no ruler. He exists only because the French colonialists forced the hand of the French government, whose more intelligent members wanted a settlement with us. The only juridical claim Bao Dai can put forward is the false theory about his abdication. It is suggested that since his abdication was brought about by force, it has no legal validity and he is therefore the legitimate ruler of Vietnam. The answer to that argument can be found in the language of his abdication itself. Nowhere does it indicate pressure but rather a dignified readiness to make all sacrifices beneficial to the nation.

"We are not fighting Bao Dai and we are not even

fighting France, which after all is a democratic republic, or the French people, who like ourselves are fond of freedom. If they had behaved differently and instead of seeking our destruction by force had really wanted to come to terms with us, we would not be fighting the colonialists either. We are fighting only those who seek by ruse or violence to reestablish their domination.

"Vietnam is not a one-party state, as is so widely assumed. Its government is chosen through popular elections. The constitution is republican, non-socialist. The Parliament is intrusted with the supreme powers of the Republic. The President of Vietnam resembles the President of the United States much more than the French President. But he differs in that he is elected by the Parliament from among its members. He chooses the Prime Minister from the Parliament.

"An important feature of the Vietnam constitution, confirming its democratic structure, is the provision creating the Permanent Committee of the People's Parliament, composed of the president and the vice-president of the Assembly along with twelve permanent and three alternate members elected by the Assembly. In this way parliamentary control is assured in any emergency. For instance, as a consequence of the war the National Assembly elected in January, 1946, is today dispersed, but its Permanent Committee follows the government everywhere and is always consulted before any important decree is issued. Of the twenty-seven posts in the government, six are held by Communists, two by Socialists, four by Democrats, one by a member of the Revolutionary League, one by a member of the Nationalist Party, the others being distributed among independents or representatives of religious groups (two Roman Catholics and one Buddhist). One must remember that one of the first decrees of the government proclaimed freedom of faith, fixing as national festivals both Buddha's and Christ's birthdays. In spite of heavy pressure from the Vatican we have many good Catholics on our side. They know that they have not been and will not be molested in their belief.

"The chief item in the government's broad program is agrarian reform. The Western powers don't understand the feeling of Asia about this. Take Korea. The strongest weapon of the North Koreans and Chinese is not the Russian planes you hear so much about; it is the support of the peasants.

"In Indo-China it is exactly the same. 'To gain the peasantry is the way to become Emperor,' said Mencius, the Chinese sage. Vietnam has followed this maxim. Peasants constitute the great majority of the population. In the strictest democratic conception they ought to receive, and have received, the most attention. From the outset the Republic has taken various measures to improve their lot. Every citizen over eighteen years who asks for it receives seven acres of land belonging to the state,

with the obligation to till them. After two years the land becomes his property. The Republic has also distributed land belonging to French colonialists and Vietnamese traitors. To help the peasants overcome many difficulties of cultivation, the government is granting them ever-increasing financial assistance. Finally the government is encouraging the *hiên diên* movement promoted by certain rich patriots. This movement consists of a kind of emulation among landlords to put their rice fields wholly or partially, temporarily or permanently, at the disposition of a local community, a fighting group, or the nation itself. Cooperatives and the labor-exchange associations—of which there are already nearly 20,000—make it possible for peasants to exchange their agricultural experience and help one another in working the land.

"As for the war, the outlook is not bad. From the start our strategy has been geared to a protracted war, not to an effort to achieve a quick solution. Time is working for us. The war is a terrible burden, but it is still worse for the French, who are obliged to maintain an expeditionary army. Besides, you cannot separate the destiny of Indo-China from the destiny of all Asia, and in Asia the liberation movements are bound to win, sooner or later. General de Gaulle said the other day in Paris: 'One does not make war with the Pentagon and the initials [he was referring to SHAPE] but with the soul and the blood of the people.' Well, he is a reactionary, and if he should come to power he would also fight us, but there is a lot of truth in what he said. You have an example in Malaya, where not more than 10,000 natives, very badly equipped, have for years engaged some 30,000 trained British troops, armed with modern weapons. Our material resources may be smaller, but owing to special circumstances in Indo-China, France's energy and vitality are ebbing while our army and people are each day stronger and more united. The enemy must abandon many a base and retreat to the big towns; we can fight everywhere.

"A negotiated agreement with the French is still possible. France today has relatively few political or economic interests in Indo-China. It remains for reasons of prestige. There are people in France, even in conservative circles, who realize the war is a disaster and who see clearly the weakness and vacillation of Bao Dai. But whether such people will be heeded at this stage seems doubtful. It has been suggested that the U. N. should decide the Indo-Chinese dispute. But international action means intervention by the United States and Great Britain conceived in terms of the global strategy of the Western coalition. This ignores the fact that the Vietnam problem is only part of the crisis of colonialism, and of the resurgence of Asia.

"We are accused of receiving military aid from Communist China, but if we are receiving any aid—I say if—

it would hardly match the aid the United States is giving France to liquidate us. The whole discussion of the threat of 'Communist expansion' seems rather beside the point in Asia, where the one vital business is the effort of the rural masses—half the world's popula-

tion—to throw off the control, the *existing* control, of the colonial powers and wipe out the landlord system through which they are exploited. Until this is accomplished we are not likely to worry too much about 'accusations' of the sort you hear from our opponents."

Chiang's Guerrillas

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, January 15

AMERICAN policy toward Communist China may hinge on the fate of 4,000 malaria-ridden Kuomintang Chinese guerrillas holed up in the mountainous jungles of the Shan states of northeastern Burma. Their veteran commander, General Li Mi, recently made a secret trip to Formosa, via Bangkok and Hongkong, to get supplies and reinforcements. Adequate food, arms, and medical supplies—which must be shipped through Bangkok—can only be provided with open American help. To focus attention on this impending American decision, Peking and Moscow have been publishing ridiculously exaggerated accounts of United States activities. "The American command," Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky declared in the U. N. General Assembly on January 3, "is busy transferring Kuomintang troops from Formosa to Siam and Western Burma. It is preparing large-scale military operations on the borders of the Chinese People's Republic."

Released as Mr. Churchill's ship was approaching New York, the Vishinsky blast seemed a rather obvious attempt to dramatize the differences among the non-Communist countries in their relations with China. One of the most difficult assignments the Churchill-Eden team undertook was to persuade Washington to "freeze" the situation in Asia on the thin chance that it might abandon the Formosa regime after the November elections. By drawing attention to the Kuomintang guerrillas in Burma, Peking and Moscow hope to emphasize not only the gulf between the British government and the Truman-Acheson "moderates" in Washington but the unbridgeable chasm separating British opinion in general from the MacArthurite strategists who want to keep the Communists "off balance" by sponsoring Kuomintang raids on mainland China. Although Li Mi's troops have been described by the Manchester *Guardian* as "the only Kuomintang guerrilla force to achieve any substantial success," they are more likely to win victories in Washington than in Yunnan.

Li Mi is a veteran Kuomintang general who managed

to escape through the Communist lines after his troops had been smashed in a decisive battle along the eastern section of the Lunghai Railway in 1948. He came into the news when the Kuomintang appointed him governor of his native Yunnan and commander of its remaining troops, after its long-time governor, Lu Han, went over to the Communists. In January, 1950, the Kuomintang's last armies on the mainland, the 26th and the 8th, were routed by the Communists in southern Yunnan. About 10,000 troops from these units and the 93d division were pushed back toward the high passes linking Yunnan and northern Burma.

Beginning in March, 1950, the infiltration of Nationalist soldiers in civilian dress became a source of severe embarrassment to the struggling Union of Burma government, whose small, over-extended army could barely hold Burma's major cities and main roads. The northern command could spare only a couple of regiments to police the mountainous border. Thus, while some Kuomintang troops were disarmed and imprisoned and a few were killed, most of them crossed the border into the eastern Shan province of Kengtung, where many Chinese refugees had settled as farmers during World War II.

The bulk of these troops entered between May and June, 1950, just when Burma and Communist China decided to exchange recognition. In order to show its honorable intentions toward the Peking regime, the Burmese government flew two regiments into Kengtung and attacked the Kuomintang troops. They took some prisoners, but most of the Chinese escaped.

That General Li Mi could survive and be reinforced during the next year provides an interesting insight into the shifting network of forces operating in Southeast Asia. He not only received support from pro-Kuomintang elements among the local Chinese and from pro-Kuomintang Chinese throughout Southeast Asia, but with typical Chinese dexterity established relations with some of the autonomous feudal Shan chieftains, who valued his aid in local rivalries. The Burmese government, lacking seasoned troops and adequate transport to defeat him in battle, tried diplomacy. It first explained to the Peking government its military inability to expel the Kuomintang

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troops, and then, having no diplomatic links with Formosa, it asked the United States to induce the Kuomintang regime to withdraw them. At the same time Burma complained to the Siamese government that gun-running was going on across Siam's borders. It became clear that the Siamese government, which had become increasingly pro-American and anti-Communist after it received a \$10,000,000 grant in 1950—it was the first Asian country to send troops to Korea—was placing no restrictions on the activities of Li Mi and his agents and was even allowing him to establish a sort of headquarters in Bangkok. Since Siam also winks at Li Mi's use of the overland route, supplies can now be shipped to him at Bangkok, sent to the railhead at Chiangmai, and then taken by mule track into Burma. The only question is how much direct support the United States has given to this operation. The Burmese have heard planes dropping supplies in the Kengtung area but not been able to learn their nationality.

Last summer news agencies carried the story that three columns of General Li Mi's guerrillas, allegedly totaling about 10,000 men, had thrust sixty-five miles into Yunnan from Burma. From Formosa came the wild report that the General had seized one-third of Yunnan. But in August the guerrillas began to filter back into comparatively hospitable Burma, having lost half their effectives in combat with the Communist forces in Yunnan. General Li Mi's only consolation was that the Chiang government's propaganda had given a temporary shot in the arm to the remaining guerrilla bands in mainland China, fast evaporating as a result of the determined efforts of the Chinese Communists to extirpate "counter-revolutionaries." As the "open season" approached with the end of the rains in December, it became necessary to replenish Li Mi's supplies if his force was not to disintegrate.

WHEN it leaked out that General Li had passed through Hongkong on Christmas Eve on his way to Formosa, Communist China made wild charges about a plot to attack its southwestern borders. These charges were repeated by Vishinsky in a somewhat garbled form in Paris. The Peking New China News Agency listed the flights between Formosa and Bangkok of General J. Lawton Collins, United States Chief of Staff, and other American and Kuomintang Chinese officials and came to an unproved conclusion: "All these activities indicate that under the sponsorship of the United States a new conspiracy is hatching between the reactionary authorities of Thailand and the Chiang gang in Taiwan." The Agency claimed "inside information" concerning a November 13 conference at which Major General William Chase, head of the United States Military Assistance Advisory Groups in Formosa, had said: "Because, at one time, the Burmese government felt uneasy

about the Kuomintang remnant troops concentrating in the northern part of the territory of Burma, the work of reinforcing the bandit Kuomintang troops had to be suspended for a while. Since the government and public opinion of Burma have relaxed their attention on this matter, Washington circles consider that the plans for transporting the bandit troops to this area must be fulfilled in the immediate future." The report added that the Seventh Fleet was to transport 70,000 Kuomintang troops to Bangkok before the end of 1951.

Peking can scarcely imagine that 70,000 troops could be shipped through Bangkok without anyone noticing them. And it probably knows how small a threat Li Mi's guerrillas constitute from a military standpoint. But it may well have wanted to nudge Burma into taking action against the Kuomintang troops using Burmese territory as a base. Above all, the Chinese, like the Russians, have hoped to divide the United States and its allies over the question of China. British diplomats were overjoyed when the Truman-Acheson "moderates" routed General MacArthur and his supporters. But they have been concerned at the tendency of the Washington Administration to take over, bit by bit, the policy of the MacArthurites with regard to China. As long ago as April 14 a "Voice of America" broadcast from Washington said: "It is one of the openest secrets here that both British and American agents have maintained contact with resistance forces in South China from the first days and that aid to such forces has been flowing by various channels for many months." Kenneth Younger, Britain's Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, expressed "dismay" at the allegation, denying there was any truth in it "as far as the United Kingdom is concerned."

The broadcast, however, was never disavowed by the State Department, and its consistency with American policy was indicated by Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk in a speech delivered on May 18 implying United States support for rebels against the Peking regime. Although Mr. Rusk was chided for overstating the American position, a high State Department official explained American intentions in not dissimilar terms to Sebastian Haffner, then Washington correspondent of the *London Observer*. "America intends, in fact," he said "to continue a wait-and-see policy toward the Chinese mainland, watching developments and reserving the right to give diplomatic and material support to any local or national government which might develop out of the present resistance and guerrilla movements."

Under the terms of last autumn's Mutual Security Act the United States was converted from a protector of the Formosa regime to an active ally. The 1952 Mutual Security program grants to Formosa \$300,000,000—a third of the whole Asia allotment—mostly to modernize Chiang's twenty-five divisions. The implications were spelled out in the recent New York statement of Major

General Chase, who described the United States and the Chiang regime as "equal partners, in the fight against the evil of communism." This was the first mention of the possibility of American and Kuomintang forces working together outside Formosa. It is clear that General Chase conceives the ultimate objective of his mission to be the overthrow of the Communist government at Peking. But how much can such an objective be furthered by sending aid to inaccessible Kuomintang guerrillas based in a friendly state (Burma) which recognizes the Peking government?

This is not the only political embarrassment that America's almost solitary support of the Chiang regime has produced. Thomas J. Hamilton, the New York Times United Nations correspondent, has disclosed that the United States delegation in Paris is feverishly seeking a way to deal with the situation which would arise if the Korean war were to end completely and formally. For peace in Korea would remove the rather thin pretext under which the United States Seventh Fleet is guarding Formosa to protect Korea's "flank." If the Korean fighting ends formally and the Chinese Communists then attack Formosa, American participation on Chiang's side would be open unilateral intervention in China's civil war, and would not have United Nations' support or authorization.

For such a move the United States would probably not win the backing of Britain or France. The American delegation, therefore, according to this usually well-informed source, is seeking to have the United Nations establish a trusteeship over Formosa, thus providing a United Nations cover for American naval action to protect Formosa from Communist landing forces. But if this were done it would be difficult for even the pro-American majority in the United Nations to continue to support Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Certainly a United Nations trusteeship could not permit Formosan aid to mainland raids like those of General Li Mi. This predicament may explain why a section of the United States delegation is reported to be opposed to any *formal* peace in Korea except under the currently impossible condition of a united non-Communist state.

American sympathy for General Li Mi's guerrillas contrasts with Britain's recently renewed acknowledgment that the Peking regime cannot be replaced in the near future, certainly not by the Kuomintang. The British know that the Truman Administration could not, even if it wanted to, abandon Formosa in an election year. But if General Li Mi is going to "needle" the Chinese Communists by raids into Yunnan, the Foreign Office would certainly prefer to have no label showing that the needle was "Made in the U. S. A."

Sprague—Conscience of Oregon

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Salem, Oregon

OREGON is the most solidly Republican of all the Western states. This Republicanism is in the blood, and not even a 40 per cent population increase since 1940 has been able to dilute it. Only Oregon, in company with steadfast Maine and Vermont, never elected a Democratic United States Senator throughout Franklin D. Roosevelt's long tenure in the White House. Yet despite its faithfulness to the G. O. P., Oregon is the single state of the Pacific seaboard which has not enacted a loyalty oath or similar test legislation. Although the witch-hunting hysteria has been particularly virulent along the West Coast, in Oregon a person applying for a position of public trust still need swear only the time-honored allegiance to the constitutions of the state and nation.

This happy state of affairs is due in the main to the influence of one man, ex-Governor Charles A. Sprague,

publisher of the *Oregon Daily Statesman* in Salem. Perhaps because he was born in Kansas, Sprague's admirers compare him to the late William Allen White of the *Emporia Gazette*. Sprague is a Republican who has abandoned—as White did—his party's predominant isolationism to support the foreign policy of the Democratic Administration. Like White a tireless defender of civil liberties, Sprague recently rebuked his party for inviting Senator Joe McCarthy to speak in Oregon. "If the Republican Party is to indorse McCarthyism," said this lifelong regular Republican, "it deserves to be laid in a grave both wide and deep. And to win the Presidency by condoning McCarthy's tactics would be to obtain office under false pretenses."

But Sprague salts such forthright opinions as these with an old-fashioned economic conservatism which makes him mistrustful of federal spending, of exotic figures in high office, and of concentrations of power in either corporations or trade unions. Only recently he criticized utility companies and public-power districts alike for waiting for the government to build dams across the Northwest's swift rivers instead of doing the

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, well-known journalist and member of the Oregon state senate, was one of the five Senators who voted against the teacher's-oath bill.

job themselves. He assails his own community when it urges federal economy in the abstract and at the same time asks for local pork-barrel projects.

Sprague is Oregon's most influential citizen. His impact on the everyday affairs of the state far transcends that of Senator Wayne L. Morse, whom Sprague sustains against a host of reactionary foes. People in many parts of the Northwest subscribe to the *Statesman* in order to read the front-page column which the ex-Governor writes daily under the title "It Seems to Me." When the *Chicago Tribune* tried to read Morse out of the Republican Party last November, Sprague immediately came to the Senator's defense. "Morse is a party maverick, to be sure," he wrote. "But in my judgment he is a better Republican than Colonel Robert R. McCormick. The McCormick brand of Republicanism finds expression in blind isolationism, in distortion of facts, and in character assassination after the manner of Senator McCarthy."

Sprague intrudes himself boldly into the local issues that rock Oregon, a field in which Morse always has been extremely cautious. When a Republican state liquor commissioner took a trip at the expense of the Seagram distillery, Sprague at once insisted that he resign, although some Oregon papers which had been indignant about similar transgressions by the Democrats in Washington, D. C., kept silent. Sprague also has hammered constantly at the legalized pari-mutuel racing that makes a folly of police efforts to restrict less lucrative gambling.

IF THE Republicans look westward for a Vice-Presidential nominee, as they may have to do if Taft of Ohio or Eisenhower of New York becomes their Presidential candidate, they could do worse than pick this sixty-four-year-old publisher, often called "the conscience of Oregon." Probably few men would make a stronger appeal to the independent voters whom the G. O. P. must annex if it is not to be a permanent minority party. Young Republicans soon may circulate petitions to put Sprague on the 1952 primary ballot as the beneficiary of the state's convention votes for second place on the national ticket.

A strong religious and moral strain in Sprague often determines his stand. He neither drinks nor smokes, and his paper accepts no advertisements for hard liquor. An official of the Presbyterian church in the United States, he has cited Scripture against local corruption when other leading Oregon Republicans were looking the other way in embarrassment.

Yet Sprague is rarely doctrinaire. He asserted that "Taft can't have intelligence and integrity and have truck with McCarthyism," but he refused to become disturbed when adversaries of McCarthy were unable to round up signatures in Madison, Wisconsin, to a petition upholding the Declaration of Independence. He

felt this was a childish way of opposing a sinister thing like McCarthyism. "The right to petition is guaranteed in our Constitution, and that implies also the right not to petition," he wrote in his column in the *Statesman*. "If 111 people refused to sign the reporter's petition, such was their privilege. That they can do so with impunity is still one of the benefits of our system."

For Sprague, Vermont is a political ideal. "I favor," he says, "sound, honest Republicanism which doesn't let people get pushed around." In his view this is epitomized by such individuals as Senator George Aiken, former Senator Warren Austin, the U. N. delegate, and former Governor Ernest W. Gibson. Indeed, Sprague fought with such ardor against the teacher's oath because he felt its passage in the legislature would challenge his boast that Oregon is "the Vermont of the West," a citadel of tolerance and stability.

The bill for a teacher's oath sailed through the state Senate by a vote of twenty-five to five. The expected Democratic opposition to it collapsed under pressure from a veterans' lobby; Democrats contributed some of the most raucous speeches in favor of the measure. The next morning members of the House of Representatives found a nervous, angular man with sparse hair and rimless glasses pacing the marble corridors like a panther. One by one, the ex-Governor pulled aside legislators who were his friends or acquaintances. "Oregon has not surrendered to hysteria, as have our neighbors in Washington and California," he told these men. "Let's not run down the flag now. Communists can be rooted out of the schools by positive action on each case as genuine proof develops. To subject all teachers to an invasion of their personal and academic freedom would be burning down the house to roast the pig."

And in "It Seems to Me" Sprague added, "Legislation like this is a product of fear. I have more confidence in the good sense of the teachers of Oregon and in their loyalty than to think we have to challenge them. There is no public demand for the bill. There is no situation in our schools which calls for this as a bar to employment of Communist teachers. The House should keep its feet on the ground and defeat this bill." The House took Sprague's advice. The oath bill died in the lower cham-



Alvin Katz

Charles A. Sprague

ber. More than one legislator, just setting out on the rough road of politics, was surprised and flattered to be approached personally by a famous editor and former governor. Several college professors told their classes, half in jest, half seriously, that the events at Salem had knocked into the discard their belief that certain historical developments are inevitable, regardless of the efforts of individuals. There seemed to be no doubt that Oregon would have enacted an oath bill had not one particular man been on the scene.

Sprague's choice for President of the United States would probably be Paul G. Hoffman, the president of the Ford Foundation. Perhaps because of his intense interest in the oath fight, he was profoundly impressed by Hoffman's speech on liberty and tolerance at Freedom House a few months ago. His next preference is Eisenhower—with some reservations. He would like to know a good deal more about Ike's views on important domestic problems. He favors Eisenhower because "his nomination would be a renunciation of McCarthyism and MacArthurism." Sprague once gave this friendly warning to the General: "We may expect that if Eisenhower does say he will accept the Republican nomination he will immediately become the target of the pro-Formosa, pro-Chiang, anti-British, anti-Europe entourage whose white knight is Senator Robert A. Taft."

SPRAGUE was governor of Oregon from 1939 to 1943. One of the conspicuous achievements of his administration was the passage of a forestry code in this lumber-producing state. Bills enacted under Sprague's leadership provided that timber operators must leave a certain number of seed trees per acre and that pines of less than a certain circumference could not be felled. Only recently this pioneering legislation has been praised in a significant new book, "American Forest Policy," by Luther Halsey Gulick.

William Allen White wrote in his autobiography that he was strengthened in "the gymnasium of the woods and field and water." Sprague was trained in the same environment, and perhaps more ruggedly than was possible in level Kansas. Most of the peaks of the Pacific Northwest have felt his crampons. Even the 14,000-foot Mount Rainier is among his conquests. Thirty-six miles from the capital city of Oregon, Sprague and his wife own a chalet-like cabin on the Little North Fork of the Santiam River. They built it in 1945 on public land leased from the Department of the Interior. Sprague chops the wood for the fireplace and takes meditative hikes through the fir forests. He reads avidly, his regular fare consisting of *Time*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *The Nation*, *Reader's Digest*, the *New York Times Magazine*, *Harper's*, *U. S. News*, and *Scientific American*.

Sprague also is a reader of the *Congressional Record*, where he finds, he says, many "unwritten stories." He

confesses that being in politics was "so engrossing a game that I seldom got into the books or magazines that I needed to make me a well-informed person." And he adds that this may be one of the things wrong with American political life today. "Many of the participants become obsessed with rival personalities and with political animosities. As a result they lose sight of the tremendous impact on mankind of the decisions which they perforce must make."

Sprague's newspaper is partisan. But when he moves from candidates to issues, his party tie shackles him only slightly. No paper in the West encouraged Truman more consistently on the entire MacArthur question than the *Statesman*. Of MacArthur's recent public addresses Sprague has written, "His innuendoes are evidence more of the warping of his own mind than of Truman's malfeasance."

Perhaps because he is comparatively unfettered, Sprague occasionally ends up to the left of the Administration in Washington, which of course has its own groove. He has been chairman of an advisory commission on the administration of extremely valuable federal timber tracts in southwestern Oregon, part of an abandoned railroad land grant. A few months ago certain large and influential lumber companies forced the retirement of the regional director, a young economist named Daniel L. Goldy. Sprague championed Goldy and criticized the Interior Department for succumbing to the companies' pressure.

Sprague would probably return to public life only with considerable reluctance. He relishes the freedom of being a private citizen. He types his own letters, rarely making use of one of the *Statesman's* stenographers. When some Catholics canceled their subscriptions because the paper published news stories and photographs of Paul Blanshard speaking at a Catholic school in Mount Angel, Oregon, Sprague took the calls himself and patiently explained that it was the policy of the *Statesman* to print all the news without exception.

A religious man himself, particularly in a philosophical sense, he feels that disregard of spiritual values has led to a worship of money in the nation. Last Easter he devoted his column to Joseph of Arimathea, who asked Pilate for the body of Jesus. Sprague's own desire to be a free spirit and to decide great questions without fear or prejudice shone through the piece. "Most of us," he said, "are prisoners of our class, our creed, our associations. We tend to conform, adapting ourselves to whatever level we move in. Joseph was one of those rare souls who refused to be such a prisoner. The instinct of human charity broke through the restraints of narrow sectarianism. We might almost say that this Joseph was the first Christian. In a Christendom riven by multitudinous and contentious sects he has left too few descendants."

Korea and the "New" Japan

BY LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

WHEN the Japanese peace treaty was signed in San Francisco on September 8, some commentators seemed to feel that the pact might affect the Korean situation to the advantage of the United Nations, at least psychologically. Today, more than four months later, the balance of military, diplomatic, and psychological strength in Korea appears broadly unaltered, and the future of the peninsula remains as unclear as before. But in a deeper sense things are not the same. The peace treaty, the subsequent American-Japanese security accord, and the earlier American mutual-defense pacts with the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand are all part of the background for the gradual introduction of a re-armed and economically revived Japan as a factor in the Pacific. This will necessarily have repercussions in Korea, whether or not the war continues.

Some day, when more of the facts are known, we may be able to assess the impact of the peace treaty and pacts on the Korean cease-fire discussions. Perhaps the effects were slight, in view of the already numerous obstacles to an armistice, but there is some reason to think that the pact decisions and their execution may have stiffened the negotiators and made the proceedings more tortuous. The various pacts—like so many previous actions and counter-actions of one side or the other—further crystallized existing differences in the Pacific and narrowed the possibilities of compromise. This sharpening of the situation was implicit in the encounters between Gromyko and Acheson at San Francisco and in the public exchange of messages between Stalin and Mao Tse-tung on the eve of the conference, reaffirming the close ties between the two regimes and referring to the military guaranties of the Soviet-Chinese alliance.

Apart from its possible import for the cease-fire negotiations, the peace treaty contains clauses relating to Korea. Under its terms Japan recognizes Korean independence, and Korea—that is, in effect, South Korea—is included among the nations with which Japan expresses willingness to negotiate fisheries and commercial agreements and to which it is to extend most-favored-nation treatment. Japan also promises "to give the

United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter. . . ." This clause is important as a reference to Korea, for it commits Japan to continue the aid given the United Nations forces in Korea prior to ratification of the peace treaty. It also furnishes a possible basis for more extensive or more formal Japanese participation in the Korean war at some future date, if the current cease-fire effort should not succeed.

Japan has already played a significant role in the war, not only as the crucial rear base from which the United States and United Nations have operated, but also as a formidable supplier of goods and services. For example, Japan furnished LST crews for the landings at Inchon in September, 1950, and the Japanese have also operated minesweepers off Korea. Most of Japan's help has been in the form of supplies, including machinery, metals, textiles, lumber, and chemicals. Japanese activities have ranged over a wide field, from the repair of damaged weapons and ships to the production of portable bridges, and Japan's metallurgical industries have handled large orders placed by the occupation authorities. From the outbreak of war in June, 1950, through July 29, 1951, American war-procurement orders of goods and services in Japan for the Korean operations totaled \$385,000,000, and the July, 1951, figure of \$53,000,000 was higher than for any other month up to that point. These orders, which continue to flow in, have created a Japanese war boom linked with Korea.

The prevailing American assumption—tinged with an element of doubt—is that a re-armed and economically revived Japan will serve actively in a Pacific front against communism without embarking on new adventures of its own. But some of the Pacific allies of the United States are less certain of this conclusion, and the recent defense pacts with the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand were designed partly to reduce their fears.

The South Korean government has also expressed concern over Japan's future power. Although not invited to sign the San Francisco treaty—on the ground that Korea, as a former Japanese colony, had not been at war with Japan—the Rhee regime commented on the treaty draft last summer. South Korea reportedly asked Washington for the Japanese island of Tsushima lying between Japan and Korea and for a regional security agreement with the United States. It also asked that Japan should not be allowed to arm sufficiently to threaten Korean security. The formula advanced was that Korea and Japan should cooperate equally in Pacific defense. Since South Korea

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was in no position to obtain equality with Japan, this formula was probably in part an effort to strengthen Rhee's bargaining position with Washington and Tokyo. It is clear that, in the midst of more immediate problems, much Korean opinion remains fearful of Japan. This sentiment presumably influenced the official South Korean reaction.

The real nature of Japanese-South Korean relations is suggested by recent conversations in Tokyo between representatives of the two governments. The purpose of the meetings, which began in October under occupation auspices, was to arrange a treaty of peace, amity, and commerce as a basis for the opening of diplomatic relations. The Rhee regime urged speedy discussion of a variety of subjects, but Japan seems to have shown little interest. In fact, the Pusan radio charged Tokyo with a desire to strengthen its position toward Korea by stalling until after the Japanese peace treaty takes effect. One question that is unclear is whether a Korean-Japanese military accord is also intended to result from the Tokyo discussions, which are now in abeyance but are scheduled to resume in February. The South Korean Foreign Minister touched on an aspect of the subject on November 24 when he declared that his government would never permit Japanese soldiers to enter Korea to fight Communists.

At present, of course, Japan can have no power of initiative in Korea, but any government in Tokyo, whether war-minded or peaceful, is certain to be deeply interested in an area so close to Japan. For this reason it may be useful to recall that Japan did not originally swallow Korea at one gulp but absorbed it only after protracted activity. The final act of annexation in 1910 was the product of two successful wars (with China in 1894-95 and with czarist Russia in 1904-05), supplemented by several decades of political intrigue in Korea. The point of these references to the past is not to predict that history will repeat itself but to suggest the importance of viewing a resurgent Japan in terms of decades rather than of the brief, controlled period of the occupation.

A REVIVAL of Japanese economic influence in Asia is involved in the American concept of Japan as the "workshop" of the region. Japan must of course export if it is to live, and Japanese industry can certainly supply much that Asian countries require. But economic influence—for example, in South Korea—could lead to political influence and ultimately to some form of political power. Asian nationalism constitutes a powerful counter-force. But former collaborationists continue to function politically in a number of areas, including South Korea, and it is conceivable that an alignment with a strong, independent Japan in a new "co-prosperity sphere" might seem attractive.

To the extent that Japan revives, it will have an increasingly strong bargaining position in relation to the United States. With more than eighty million people, a massive industry, and traditions of power, it may regard the San Francisco conference as only a small down-payment for its cooperation. This seems all the more possible in view of the weakness of the other Asian allies of the United States, such as the Rhee government, and the demands of the United States for speedy Japanese rearmament.

The conditions that might permit Japan to assume an active role in the Pacific area must be weighed against the many obstacles. The force of Asian nationalism has already been mentioned, and this, of course, includes Korean nationalism in both parts of the divided country. Another obstacle is the continued shakiness of Japan's economy, with the burden of rearmament likely to raise new difficulties. Again, the United States, from which Japan hopes to get more aid, may serve as a check on the disagreeable possibilities in Japanese policy. Whatever may be the ultimate intentions of some of its politicians, Japan is not today the militarized nation of the pre-war period. With respect to the Communist bloc on the continent, its attitude will be influenced by its pressing need for Chinese raw materials and a share of the China market. Japan's leaders and a majority of the people oppose communism, but Communist military power and political influence in Asia are important realities that Japan, with its exposed geographical position and memories of defeat, is likely to bear in mind.

The probability that for the present Japan will be circumspect in its foreign policy—to the extent that control is restored to Japanese hands—was underlined by the decision in Washington not to submit the peace treaty to the Senate in the last session of Congress, but to wait until the 1952 session. It is interesting to note the chief reason given for the State Department's action—the belief that if the cease-fire negotiations failed, the needs of a new Korean campaign would be better met by a Japan that remained an Allied base, as at present, than by a Japan that was, in the words of a *New York Times* correspondent, "a newly independent state struggling to regain her bearings."

In short, the ultimate effect on Korea of the Japanese settlement and the trend toward a Pacific pact is a matter of speculation. The peace and security treaties sharpen existing alignments in the Pacific but are at present no more than declarations of intention still to be carried out. In the long run Japan's leaders may be able to acquire new influence in the East, including Korea. Their opportunities for potentially dangerous activities, however, would be reduced by an early Korean peace, especially if this led to an adjustment of other outstanding issues in Asia.

BOOKS and the ARTS

HENRY ADAMS

The Mind and the Man

BY ELIZABETH STEVENSON

WHO reads letters now? Who writes them even? Yet for amusement, and for learning something about another time in the very atmosphere of that time's gossip, they cannot be surpassed. They beat histories, biographies, and novels for the acuteness of mood or tone. Farrar, Straus, and Young deserve thanks for the Great Letters Series. The third volume, following Keats and Cowper, is a selection by Newton Arvin from Henry Adams's previously published letters.* Here, in this sampling of his social rather than philosophic mind, is a good introduction to him.

The book is organized for the pleasures of reading. The letters are divided into five periods of Adams's life, each section headed by the editor's brief outline of the man's activities during that period. A list of identifications clarifies personal references.

An introductory essay by Newton Arvin summarizes Adams's life in such a way as to help break up the stereotyped image which continues to pass current as the truth about Henry Adams, having appeared recently in its most hackneyed form in "The Magnificent Yankee," in which "Mr. Adams" was a straw figure knocked over at regular intervals to enhance Wendell Holmes—a doubtful service to that robust democrat.

Arvin presents Adams more as an observer than as a prophet. He stresses the variety of his interests and the warmth of his sympathies rather than the blackness of his demonic insights. He shows him off as a letter-writer akin somehow to the very different Horace Walpole—a likeness Adams himself noticed. He exhibits him as the good traveler, enduring hardships when away from home with amazing cheerfulness and nonchalance to search out scenes

* "The Selected Letters of Henry Adams." Edited with an Introduction by Newton Arvin. \$3.50.

which affected his imagination. And in judging some of the crotchets which afflicted Adams and make him difficult to resolve into a harmonious personality, Arvin shows acuteness. He suggests succinctly how personal tragedy could affect historical judgment. He indicates, too, the gradualness of the growth of Adams's pessimism, that slow process by which "Henry Adams moved from the great Unitarian synthesis of his fathers—from its pure, cold, arid, eighteenth-century rationality and optimism—to the mechanistic catastrophism with which he ended."

There are gaps and muffled transitions in the selection of the letters, since the book is a concentrated dose of the character, taste, intellect, prejudice of a man rather than a record of a whole life. The interesting Berlin episode of his youth is omitted. So also is the death of his sister Louisa, that first taste he had of irreconcilable evil. Left out is the crucial trip to Cuba in 1893 with Clarence King. Left out, the pleasing coda to his life—the hunting for and finding of twelfth-century songs in Paris.

Personal as the letters are, seeming to be good, spontaneous, unguarded talk, they do not contain all of Henry Adams. He was very shy of self-revelation. Some of it came out, disguised, in the novels, biographies, and "History." He could be more naked, for instance in "Esther" than in the first-person books, "Mont-St.-Michel" and "The Education." "Democracy" is his political ordeal; "Esther," his own, as well as his wife's, religious plight. And where one might least expect to find it, in the heavily documented, nine-volume "History of the United States," there are passages of lyrical intensity which tell as much about the subjective Henry Adams as any of these letters. One could trace his description of the New England privateers, lightly and dangerously rigged, from the "History" to "Esther," where it turns up again, this time as an image for the character of his heroine, and by private reference an image of his wife, Marian Adams.

But by presenting a fresh culling of letters Arvin has pulled Adams out of the portentous shadows. He has made it easy to listen to him. Reading the letters is like hearing his talk: bold, careless, but cutting to the center of things. "Havana is a gay ruin," he said, catching an essence in two words. "An engine house at night with two or three engines letting off steam and showing headlights" was the sight of a volcano at night in Hawaii. His friend, La Farge, was "a spectacled and animated prism." Stevenson, whom he could not like, was "an insane stork." Theodore Roosevelt, on a day when Adams was out of sorts with him—"a bore as big as a buffalo." The letters have the value of white-hot emotions expressed in picturesque, uninhibited language.

As Arvin says, he was "an ideologue touched with the poetic sense." He was a forever working mind. It is particularly exciting in these letters to see his historical imagination at work. Wherever he could find raw material for this special sense, he would swoop down and point out the connection never before seen; the conclusion never before reached; causes, consequences, and by-products; all expressed with living urgency. The past, in person or scene, seems to have just happened, or to be happening as one reads his works. He spoke, always, of Jefferson as if he had known him personally. He loved Albert Gallatin like a brother. He detested Napoleon. And his distrust of Alexander Hamilton was an intimate dislike.

Places no more than persons could escape his transforming eye. He settled in Washington when it still resembled, as he said, a happy village; yet he saw its future greatness and power. He visited Granada. All he could see there was its past; the fifteenth century surrounded him. In Samoa, "I felt as though I had got back to Homer's time, and were cruising about on the Aegean with Ajax."

He personified Tahiti and all Tahitian history in one image: "I don't mean that the place is gloomy, but just quietly sad, as though it were a very

pretty woman who had got through her fun and her troubles, and grown old, and was just amusing herself by looking on, without caring much what happens. She has retired a long way out of the world, and sees only her particular friends, like me, with the highest introductions; but she dresses well, and her jewels are superb. In private I suspect she is given to crying because she feels so solitary."

In December, 1891, Henry Adams went to the opera in Paris one evening and recorded the experience in a letter to Elizabeth Cameron, to whom he could always write what meant most to him. A hundred years before, his grandfather, John Quincy Adams, had gone to hear a performance of the same opera. He had liked the opera, been haunted by its music, and had come to associate one song, a lament for the abandoned Richard, with his own abandonment by the people in the election of 1828. He wrote down this connection in his journal, with which Henry was familiar.

When Henry, in Paris, went to the revival of this old Grétry opera, he was charmed by the music, and also surrounded by associations. First, he put himself in the person of his grandfather; then he himself, in his own person, was there in that other time, listening to "Richard." "You know," he said to Mrs. Cameron, "what an awfully handsome young fellow Copley made me—with full dress and powdered hair, talking to Mme Chose in the boxes, and stopping to applaud '*Un regard de ma belle*.'"

He had projected himself, through his imagination, into the past; or rather, he had extended the experience of his grandfather into his own life. The trait is illustrative. This intensity of imagination characterized his day-to-day observations. It is this imagination, buttressed by scholarship, which characterizes all his work: his "History," his biographies, the "Mont-St.-Michel," and "The Education." They are works constructed essentially by the shaping art. Such a passage tossed off carelessly to a far-off correspondent who might enjoy the reference exhibits the very generation of ideas.

The mind at work and the material on which it worked: both are here in the letters. The man and his time: the

time presented with the flavor of bias; the man holding back something of himself, yet letting go intimacies he hardly knew he had revealed. If the letters do not have the high pitch and concentration of the books, if they do not show one the intensest Adams, at least they show the basis of development—the raw material from which he shaped the few great works that keep him an honorable thorn in the flesh of over-easy American optimism.

The books are products; the letters, process. But besides exhibiting an interesting mind forming itself, they deserve to be read for themselves. They are amusing in the best way—that is, seriously. They have depth of insight, but at the same time are witty, even about disaster. The great stretch of American history from the Civil War to the First World War had few such observers as Henry Adams. And apparently his pertinence is just beginning. We are more his contemporaries than his own correspondents were. It is as if he were writing his letters to us.

Mr. Acheson Defended

THE PATTERN OF RESPONSIBILITY. Edited by McGeorge Bundy from the Record of Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$4.

IF HUMANITY—and more particularly the American people in an election year—were ruled by sweet reason, the publication of McGeorge Bundy's volume of selections from the public utterances of Dean Acheson might well settle forever the controversy over the merits and fitness for high office of the present Secretary of State. The selections are well chosen, the accompanying commentary is judicious and good-tempered—after reading them, no honest-minded citizen could fail to be convinced that virtually all the charges customarily advanced against Mr. Acheson are groundless. In presenting, chiefly in the Secretary's own words, a most able brief for the defense, Mr. Bundy has performed an essential public service. The record has now been put straight: the case should be closed.

Yet that is not quite the whole story. Besides the fact that the book has appeared rather late—corruption has replaced communism as the most promis-

ing pre-election issue, and the force of the opposition attack has shifted from the Department of State to the domestic failings of the Administration—one may question whether the bulk of Mr. Acheson's enemies are really interested in learning the truth. Essentially their opposition boils down to two things—a conviction that accusing one's political adversaries of "softness" to communism is good politics, and a profound personal dislike. Of the two, the latter is perhaps the more important. For the things about Mr. Acheson that drive his opponents to fury—his intellectual attainments, his good manners, his meticulous speech, and his uncompromising ethical standards, in a word, his personal superiority—are not likely to change. They are the essence of the man. By their mere existence they make nearly all the rest of Washington's political population look puny. And the fact that Mr. Bundy demonstrates the same qualities, that he comes from the same social and intellectual background, may hinder rather than assist him in his task of counsel for the defense.

Hence this reviewer for one regrets that Mr. Bundy should have felt obliged to direct his book primarily at the mass of Acheson-haters. The criticism, I grant, is eccentric and bears no relation to the realities either of politics or of the publishing business. Yet it is only honest to state that as I read on in Mr. Bundy's book, I became increasingly depressed. It seemed to me that both the author and his protagonist were tending to descend to a commonplace level of argument. They were not meeting the attack on ground they had chosen themselves but were simply rebutting a series of vulgar and frequently dishonest charges. It is disheartening—and a grim reflection on the state of American public life today—to hear Mr. Acheson defending his department before a group of newspaper editors in terms reminiscent of a football rally. And particularly so when this selection follows one totally different in character—a lofty, closely reasoned statement of his position on the Hiss case—which indicates what the Secretary is like when he permits himself to follow his true instincts.

And the same is true of Mr. Bundy. The preface—the only part of the book in which the author fully reveals his

own personal attitude—is actually its best part. It is forthright, admirably reasoned, and independent—particularly in the passages in which Mr. Bundy lists his few but significant disagreements with Mr. Acheson. But the rest of the book does not maintain the same level. In the running commentary that connects the selections from the Secretary himself the tone is too cautious and “official,” the style is too bland, and too many crucial questions are skirted or omitted altogether.

Hence to Mr. Acheson’s friends and well-wishers—and the present reviewer counts himself among the latter—Mr. Bundy’s book makes rather strange reading. We are told all the things that we know already, we hear lengthy, sometimes tedious, answers to charges in which we have never believed, but our real questions remain unanswered. We do not get any further light on the things that have been troubling us about the public record of a Secretary whom we greatly admire. We find no comment, for example, on Mr. Acheson’s personal limitations in dealing with Europeans—no reflection of the fact that while his technical preparation within the Department of State is beyond compare, his foreign experience has been extremely limited. (A man who thoroughly understood the skeptical, highly critical realism of a European—or, indeed, of an Asian—would not say as flat-footedly as he does that the United States has no satellites “whose votes we control.” Nor would he speak so confidently of the possibility of organizing “truly independent national regimes” in Eastern Europe.) Some of these statements, of course, may be largely for the record, but if there is any difference between the Secretary in private and the Secretary in public, it does not pierce through Mr. Bundy’s commentary. And when we come to the latter’s statement that the American refusal to recognize Communist China or to vote for its admission to the United Nations was simply due to China’s failure to meet “basic standards of international behavior,” we really begin to wonder who’s fooling whom.

Mr. Bundy frankly recognizes that Secretary Acheson’s Far Eastern policy changed after the outbreak of the Korean war, and more particularly after

the Chinese intervention. But the most dramatic (and to my mind, least justifiable) aspect of that change—the decision to strengthen Chiang’s forces on Formosa with arms and an American military mission—appears nowhere in the record as Mr. Bundy lines it up. Nor is there any hint that at least part of this change may have been a weary concession to merciless needling by the Secretary’s critics. (Mr. Acheson, after all, during the greater part of his secretaryship, has been fighting for his political life.) And the same consideration applies to the chapter on “security and loyalty in the Department of State.” We find no discussion of whether or not Mr. Acheson has occasionally allowed a man under suspicion to be thrown to the wolves—of why, for example, John Carter Vincent was demoted from Berne to Tangier with a cloud hanging over his name and no adequate opportunity to clear it.

But let none of the foregoing be misunderstood. It simply reflects the dissatisfaction of a questioning reader: it is not intended to cast doubt on the record of a great Secretary of State, and one, furthermore, whose actions have more frequently proved to be “right” than those of almost anyone else around these days. Mr. Acheson has suffered political martyrdom: his public career is a living illustration of his own warning that “evil” and “degradation” follow when “shrewd men . . . play on the minds and loyalties and fears of their fellows.” It is good that Mr. Bundy has set the record straight. And it is also good to know that in the Republican Party—of which Mr. Bundy, surprisingly enough, is a loyal member—there are men of his intelligence, political independence, and breadth of human understanding. H. STUART HUGHES

Coaches and Coronets

OIDA. By Eileen Bigland. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$3.75.

IN EVERY epoch since the widespread distribution of books, there has emerged a genre of writing—fiction, usually—which lies somewhere between the serious literature at the center and the masses of record and mere newsprint at the periphery. Its products are distinguished by a common subject matter rather than any individual quality,

and since they exist in response to some deep social or psychological hunger, they enjoy an extravagant range and intensity of appeal. Thus the Gothic romance, with its possessed, irrational hero and its haunting threat of the unknown in human experience, came as a relief to the eighteenth century’s insistence on the all-sufficiency of reason and consciousness. A hundred years later the detective story, with its omniscient hero who always knew the answer, imparted authority and security to a generation of readers becoming less and less sure of everything it had taken for granted. Similarly, the rapidly urbanizing America before World War I found in an idealized cowboy and his wide-open spaces a nostalgia-image for the freedom it had lost; and today, when the earth gets smaller in every morning’s paper, science fiction has emerged to describe new worlds to get away to.

A century ago, when British society was still a three-layer cake of dukes, business men, and chambermaids, the romance of high life was born. There had always been memoirs by persons of quality, but they concealed more than they revealed, and though Disraeli’s novels were the first to deal familiarly with the private lives of peers, they were relatively discreet. It took the young lady who wore her hair like Alice in Wonderland and called herself Ouida to give the lending-library world what it was really waiting for. Her first story was called “Dashwood’s Drag.”

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and was published when she was twenty. It was instantly popular, and its successors went on appearing for the next forty years. If Ouida's portrait of life among the coaches and coronets was less than documentary, if Kensington Gore and Belgravia had never known such recklessly gaming younger sons or lustroously evil countesses as hers, no matter. It was enough that in the pages of "Strathmore," "Under Two Flags," and "The Two Viscounts," the world at large could finally find out the wardrobe details of a duke's daughter, what a guardsman's dressing table looked like, and best of all, to what shockingly headstrong ends a titled head would go to get what it wanted.

So Ouida was read by millions, and with the fortune she made before she was thirty, she set up her notorious salon at the Langham Hotel. Here, surrounded by hot-house flowers, Longfellow, dozens of dogs, gold-braided guardsmen—who *smoked* in her presence—and as much blue blood as she could lure, she became not only the scandal of London but a figure more fantastic than any in her books. "Ouida in green silk, sinister, clever face, hair down, voice like a carving knife," said William Allingham; "*elle était toujours affreuse*," said the Duc de Dion; "curious, uppish, a little terrible, and pathetically grotesque," said Henry James. In her later years she settled in Italy, where her inane lawsuits—if her dog bit you, she sued—her shameless pursuit of royalty, and her lavish receptions kept her the rarest eccentric in Florentine society for decades, and where finally, in 1908, she died in poverty.

Theatrical, megalomaniac, entirely unrestrained by any self-knowledge, Ouida could not be the subject of a dull biography. Miss Bigland's is lively and full of detail, and if it tends to gush and fictionalize a little too much, this is not inappropriate in connection with its subject. Properly, the novels are treated only in relation to their author's career, though in a prefatory note Miss Bigland does protest the influence of her heroine on not only Furbank and Edith Wharton but Galsworthy, Dreiser, and even D. H. Lawrence. This is surely, affectionate and harmless as it is, playing that parlor game called Tradition and Individual Talent a little too earnestly.

ROBERT PHELPS

Year's End

THE GOOD SOLDIER. By Ford Madox Ford. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

AEOLIA. By Ilias Venezis. Translated by E. D. Scott-Kilvert. The University of Denver Press. \$2.75.

FANCIES AND GOODNIGHTS. By John Collier. Doubleday and Company. \$4.

BEST STORIES FROM NEW WRITING. Selected and with an introduction by John Lehmann. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

MR. BELUNCLE. By V. S. Pritchett. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

VOYAGE TO WINDWARD: THE LIFE OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. By J. C. Furnas. William Sloane Associates. \$5.

KATHERINE MANSFIELD'S LETTERS TO JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY. Alfred A. Knopf. \$6.50.

SEVERAL of last year's books, important or generally assumed to be important, have not, so far, been mentioned in these columns. They demand a closer examination than it is now possible to give them, but they should be commented on, if only in brief.

Ford Madox Ford's "The Good Soldier" was first published in 1915. Ford thought well of it: "I have always regarded this as my best book—at any rate as the best book of mine of a pre-war period." One of his friends remarked, acutely, referring to its tight structure and careful organization: "It is the finest French novel in the English language." It is not about soldiering, but scrutinizes the complicated relationships within a quartet composed of a wealthy American couple and an only slightly less wealthy English couple as they move from watering-place to watering-place in what now seems the halcyon Europe of the decade before 1914. It lacks the scope and the passion of the Tietjens series, in part because Ford's concern with form requires that the narrator be a rather imperceptive man to whom the moral horrors which surround him become only slowly apparent. Yet it is more satisfying than most contemporary fiction. Ford took his art seriously, and his seriousness shows, though it never oppresses.

According to Lawrence Durrell's note to "Aeolia," the Greeks consider Venezis

one of their two greatest contemporary novelists. "Aeolia" is no novel but a charming series of childhood recollections of life in Anatolia before the Greek diaspora of 1914. These sketches do recapture a vanished and complex agrarian society in which—the sense of this fact is one of the delights of the book—myth and magic were as important in daily life as crops and the weather. The last scenes, when the author's family abandons its farm just before the Turks arrive, achieve a real pathos from which most writers today would shrink.

One should not read John Collier's omnibus of forty-nine short stories, "Fancies and Goodnights," all at once. What the jacket calls "these weird and fantastic" tales must be taken at widely separated intervals. Then one may not notice that even those which once seemed admirable are confections relying on the merely grotesque or macabre for subject matter and on new twists to the trick ending for plot. Their cleverness is overwhelming.

In contrast, the stories selected from the fifteen years of John Lehmann's English periodical, *New Writing*, bear rereading very well. They have great variety. Christopher Isherwood is represented by The Nowaks (one of "The Berlin Stories"); George Orwell by a fine fragment of autobiography, at once symbolic and first-rate reporting, *Shooting an Elephant*; and Rosamond Lehmann by a deft period-piece, *The Red-haired Miss Daintreys*. The contributions of Elizabeth Bowen, William Sansom, James Stern, and Denton Welch are all very good, though not as good as other stories they have written. And there are stories by seventeen additional "new" writers which are always more than competent, avoiding the contemporary American evils of slickness and the recording of simple sensitiveness.

Since I admire V. S. Pritchett's remarks on fiction, I wish I could admire his novel. "Mr. Beluncle" is an amusing full-length portrait of a rascal, a get-rich-quick operator of the London suburbs. It is beautifully written; the characters come fully to life. Numerous signs indicate, however, that it is meant to transcend these excellences. Indeed, they obtrude themselves. Yet it is difficult to tell what "meaning" the book is supposed to have. An anonymous

reviewer in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, surveying all Pritchett's novels, suggested that each one gives the sense of a design or a purpose abandoned or forgotten halfway through. This judgment applies admirably to "Mr. Beluncle."

"Voyage to Windward," J. C. Furnas's long life of Robert Louis Stevenson, has every appearance—new material, full detail, the extirpation of ancient heresy—of a standard biography. Unfortunately it is written in a slightly old-fashioned and windy journalese. The facts about Stevenson and Mr. Furnas's seemingly excellent and fair assessment of them must be approached through sentences and diction which constantly offend the eye and ear.

I find it impossible to read all 701 closely printed pages of Katherine Mansfield's letters to John Middleton Murry. When Mr. Murry first edited these letters in 1928 he abridged some and omitted others; he also included many letters to other people. Now we have her letters to him, complete and unrelieved. Their relationship, with its many rejections, reversals, and resump-tions, is presented in all available detail, from her side, at least. Readers enamored of the quarrels and calamities of authors will like this book. It is first-rate in the snatches—sometimes only a sentence or two—when Katherine Mansfield was not worrying about the state of her soul or about how she felt or did not feel toward Murry. An old woman, a summer night, a fall of rain—these she could turn into a series of lovely fragments delightful to contemplate. Her sensibility brought something new to English writing, though I doubt that she was as important an artist as the editorial comment assumes. But the rest, that is, roughly, three-quarters of the book, is painful without any of the expected rewards of pain. Even if one reminds oneself regularly that Katherine Mansfield was often a sick woman, the epistolary "scenes," the long-drawn-out analyses of feelings which are often not clearly understood despite the clarity with which they are stated, the chronicle of a life which was largely a pilgrimage to some shrine impossible of access grow, in short time, embarrassing, then annoying, and then tedious.

ERNEST JONES

A Precious Brew

JAPAN IN WORLD HISTORY. By G. B. Sansom. Institute of Pacific Relations. \$2.

THE Japanese have an expression, *nani mo gozaimasen ga*, which loosely translated means something like "I haven't anything at all to offer you and what I have is awful stuff, but"—please eat heartily, drink my beer, take over my house, etc., etc. To a people steeped in the lore of super-salesmanship this is ridiculous. Who will drink your beer if you tell him it is no good?

Since "Japan in World History," a composite of lectures delivered by Sir George Sansom in Japan, is saturated with the psychology of *nani mo gozaimasen ga*, it will not appeal to an American audience. The usual reaction will be, I think, "Well, this is certainly not Sansom at his best." Admirers of the fluent style, the deft touches of humor, the bold and sweeping intelligence characteristic of the author's "Japan: A Short Cultural History" and "The Western World and Japan" will be disappointed. They will find this book rambling, repetitious, sometimes unconvincing. They will be annoyed by the excessive humility: "I have no right . . . to pose as an authority on Japanese history. . . . We [foreigners] must think ourselves fortunate if Japanese historians will take the trouble to instruct us . . ."; "I ask your pardon"; "[my] rambling observations"; "these crude reflections." They may even be offended by an "excusing" of Japanese past blunders—for example, Yamagata's institution of the evil practice of reserving the posts of War and Navy Ministers to officers on the active list.

Nevertheless, this book provides us an opportunity to observe in action a man who knows Japan and the Japanese as few Westerners know them, making a contribution—very small, he would say—to the restoration of good relations between Japan and the West. He emphasizes as particularly important in this task the building of individual freedom, liberal scholarship, and general tolerance in Japan, in whose defense the Japanese failed so miserably during the 1930's.

His way of doing this is most interesting, and surely discomfiting to those who have advocated and practiced "high-pressure" methods of "reeducat-

ing" the Japanese. For there is no high pressure in Sansom. He is no high priest of democracy pontificating virtue to those who failed. As an Englishman he admits to citizenship in a country with a long democratic tradition, but he refuses to be smug on this score. Western democracy, he feels, owes as much to luck as to wisdom. "Quarrelsome, violent, disorderly people," goaded by food shortages out of feudalism into capitalism and trade, unable to organize themselves because neither king nor barons nor clergy nor merchants proved strong enough to impose one will on an entire country, finally arrived at a "defective and partial tolerance," "the only hope of understanding between nations as between persons."

The Japanese, not being so peculiar or so isolated as Westerners have thought, came a long way in this direction. That they did not come farther may be due more to their strengths than to their weaknesses—a prevailing sense of duty, the lack of religious strife, no desperate need for trade, the "miracle" of Tokugawa order and discipline. At any rate it was not due to any lack of political sense or capacity or virtue in the Japanese people. Sir George finds

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no people better fitted for "cultivating the arts of peace," endowed as they are with courage, determination, industry, a high regard for duty, and a strong aesthetic sense. "The great tradition of humanism is not a monopoly of Western thought." Obviously totalitarianism—or democracy—could have happened anywhere, to any people.

Thus does Sir George Sansom, without arrogance or insult, hand his Japanese audience the cup of freedom and tolerance and ask them to drink deeply. They should understand, even if Americans do not, that this brew is precious in inverse ratio to the humility with which it is presented.

HILARY CONROY

Books in Brief

THE WORLDLY MUSE, AN ANTHOLOGY OF SERIOUS LIGHT VERSE. Edited by A. J. M. Smith. Abelard Press. \$3.50. Mr. Smith, not as well known as he ought to be this side of his native Canadian border, is a bright gay poet who has here brought together many different kinds of bright gay pieces to form an altogether delightful anthology. Too bad this one could not have had a little more pre-Christmas publicity. Hardly to be recommended as Lenten fare, but comes the springtime and a few friends having birthdays, you could hardly find a happier present; it would also be a very good gift for yourself, any time.

NORTH WITH THE SPRING. By Edwin Way Teale. Dodd, Mead. \$5. Mr. Teale, well known as a writer and naturalist, here describes how he realized a common dream: following the spring from Florida northward to the timber line. A strenuous man as well as a lively and exceptionally well-informed one, he made a journey of seventeen thousand miles, and took the trouble to climb mountains, penetrate swamps, and talk with natives all along the way. He tells us informally about what he saw, and being versed in the whole field of natural history, he is always ready with the facts or the parallels which will explain what everything means. Anyone planning such a trip will find him an indispensable guide, and for those of us who cannot go an

imaginary trip in his company is the next best thing. Birds, beasts, plants, and insects are duly noted, as well as those grand features of the landscape which are all the ordinary traveler is aware of. Like Thoreau, Mr. Teale is always amazed to discover "how much is going on" in any field or wood. There are also expert photographs by the author.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

VERY few attempts have been made to revive the plays of Eugene O'Neill on Broadway. Many of them were commercially successful as well as highly esteemed, but there has always been a minority which refused to admit that O'Neill's virtues were genuine or that they would long seem so.

The company at the City Center has now opened the question with a first-rate production of "Anna Christie," and the result is strong evidence on the side of those who have sturdily maintained O'Neill's claim to be, of all American playwrights, the one most likely to last. In the *Times* Mr. Atkinson remarked that though this particular play is perhaps not its author's best, it is certainly better than any new play current. This is an obvious fact, and, what is possibly more important, a capacity audience was delighted with it.

There is of course an unimportant sense in which every old play—even a classic—is "dated." In that sense Aeschylus and Shakespeare are "dated." Their techniques are no longer currently practiced; they reflect once current intellectual and emotional preoccupations where the emphasis is not quite ours. In fact, a classic might be defined as a work of art which has become superficially dated while remaining essentially valid. The important thing is that its conformity to a mode should be only an incidental rather than a fundamental cause of its original popularity. And that proves to be precisely the case with "Anna Christie." If it had been written today by a playwright of O'Neill's gifts it would not be precisely what it is. Thirty years ago tales dealing with the dregs of society were coming into fashion. A heroine who had served her

time in a bawdy house seemed a more romantic and possibly a more significant figure than she would seem today. Yet in watching a performance of this particular play one is hardly aware of this aspect of it. It is simply an absorbing tale and genuinely "strong," not merely something which seemed so because it was the sort of thing called "strong" at a particular time.

The present production is excellent not merely in the playing of the individual parts but in its whole conception. The very fact that O'Neill's plays are full of violent emotions directly presented always tempts to overplaying, and the temptation is probably even harder to resist in the case of a revival which may seem to present the problem of "putting over" a dated play. Wisely, this production is subdued rather than overemphasized, and the result is to give full effectiveness to the strong colors of the script itself. Celeste Holm gives a quiet, relaxed performance of Anna; Art Smith, a very effective one in the difficult role of her father; Kevin McCarthy, a really outstanding interpretation of Mat Burke, the flamboyant Irish "playboy of the Western world" who finds himself called upon to face a near-tragic dilemma. It is no secret that O'Neill's dialogue is his weakest point and that it is sometimes difficult to make it seem convincing as real speech, but I have seldom seen any production of any of his plays which succeeded better in making that dialogue fit the mouths of the characters who speak it.

As one watches the play unfold again one realizes clearly enough both why it was one of the most popular of its author's works and why he himself always resented the fact. What he obviously wanted to write was a tragedy about the sea as one embodiment of the irrational force to which the most imposing human beings fall possessed and willing victims. What happens is that the simpler story of a man's relation to a woman takes over. It is in this man and this woman, not in the metaphysical idea, that the audience becomes interested. The father's last denunciation of the sea passes almost unnoticed because Anna and Mat have become reconciled. Thus what was intended as a mystical tragedy becomes a love story with a happy ending. In other words, "Anna Christie" is a lesser work than

O'Neill wanted to write, but it is also one which probably pleases its audiences better. Perhaps these audiences are right as well as wrong.

"PAL JOEY" in revival has been dressed up with dance numbers and elaborate settings, but the additions are appropriate as well as smart and the basic line has not been changed. Vivienne Segal plays the part again of the older woman. She is the star of the show, and her singing of "Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered" is as good as ever. So is the song. Helen Gallagher as Gladys the night-club girl is the second star. Harold Lang dances his part well, but he is simply not Pal Joey. Though he tries hard he never loses the air of the male ingenue, the innocent, well-brought-up youth who strives to please. I'm afraid a real Pal Joey would look upon this impersonation with a quizzical and irreverent eye. M. M.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

BACH'S St. John Passion is beautifully sung by the Robert Shaw Chorale, Collegiate Chorale, and soloists conducted by Shaw (RCA Victor). The performance is reproduced not only with beauty of sound but with admirable balance and clarity, except in one instance where the chorus can't be heard clearly behind the solo bass. I question Shaw's reason for using English instead of German: neither for all the singers nor for all the listeners is this a performance "to affirm and quicken a faith," requiring that the story be "carried in the living language of the singer and listener" (and does the use of Latin make the Mass less effective in affirming and quickening the faith of Catholics?). Also, as a mere lay listener I find myself questioning a few details of the performance—the solemnity of Pilate's "Behold the man!"; the driving tempos of some of the chorales. And as a mere lay listener I am as usual moved not by the arias (except "Es ist vollbracht") but by the recitative and arioso passages, and most of all by the choral portions—especially the magnificent opening chorus and the chorales.

Bach's Cantata "Ein feste Burg"

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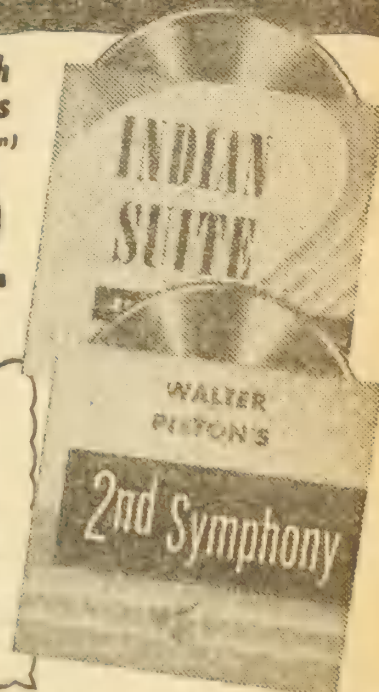
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(Bach Guild) also has impressive choral passages, including another magnificent opening chorus, and in addition an engaging soprano aria. His Easter Oratorio (Bach Guild) has a buoyant and radiant opening Sinfonia and closing chorus and a good Adagio for oboe and strings, but longer stretches of uninteresting solo singing. The performances of these works by the Vienna Akademischer Chor, soloists, and a chamber orchestra under Prohaska's direction are excellent.

After the beautiful music by Vivaldi that I know the unfamiliar oratorio "Juditha Triumphans" (Period) is disappointingly uninteresting; but there is more interesting life in his "Dixit" (Period). Both works are excellently performed by Italian soloists, chorus, and orchestra under Angelo Ephrikian's direction.

The same musicians give us equally good performances of a group of fine pieces by Monteverdi: "Laudate Dominum," "Ut Queant," "Beatus Vir," and an unidentified work that follows "Beatus Vir" (Period).

Another disappointment to me is the group of Purcell works—"Te Deum," "Bell Anthem," "Jubilate" in D, and "Oh Sing Unto the Lord"—that are not made more attractive by the Purcell Performing Society of Cleveland directed by John Reymes King (Allegro). A

sustained organ note between the words "His pasture" and "O go your way" in the "Jubilate" seems incorrect.

The same group—whose members are not good enough for solo singing, but sound better together except for the shrillness of the sopranos—is heard on a record, Sacred Music of the Seventeenth Century (Allegro), in several beautiful pieces by Orlando Gibbons, a few moderately interesting ones by Matthew Locke, and some uninteresting ones by Peter Philips.

Byrd's Mass for five voices (Allegro) is lovely, though less impressively so than the one for four voices that I reported on last year. Perhaps the difference is in the less lovely vocal sound produced by the Nonesuch Singers of Bristol, England, under Roland Dale Smith's direction—the sopranos being shrill. On the same record are a few pieces of Byrd's keyboard music, most of them not very interesting, and played by John Reymes King on the organ, which doesn't seem to be the best instrument for the purpose.

On another record, Choral Masterpieces of the Renaissance (Period), the Nonesuch Singers sing two fine sacred pieces by Victoria and a couple of less interesting ones by Josquin; the French Circle Choir of Bristol, a good chorus directed by P. R. Banham, sings a few charming French secular pieces; and the Open Score Society, a chorus of men and boys that is good except for the altos, is directed by Francis Cameron in a beautiful sacred piece by Byrd, a couple of good ones by Farrant, a couple by Gibbons that are fair, and an uninteresting one by Redford.

Victoria's Masses "Quam Gloriosum" and "O Magnum Mysterium," of which the first is the more impressive, are sung by the Welch Chorale, whose sopranos are not good (Allegro).

I would skip Buxtehude's Missa Brevis and other pieces, the singing of the Hastings Chorale whose sopranos are shrill and tenors are coarse, and recording which produces a strong hum (Allegro).

Benjamin Britten's early "Te Deum," sung by the Washington Cathedral Choir of men and boys, and his later Hymn to St. Cecilia, sung by the Chamber Chorus of Washington, are more engaging than his Ceremony of Carols, sung by the boys of the Washington

Cathedral Choir (WCFM). The solo boy soprano voices are not agreeable; otherwise the singing under Paul Callaway's direction is good.

A mere listener like myself to a work like Alban Berg's "Der Wein" can say only, as I did in my review, that the performance seems good. It takes someone like the reader who has written me about that statement to feel able to assure me "that the performance of 'Der Wein' is quite bad. I know the work intimately, have analyzed it, and have followed the recording several times with the score. As in Janssen's recording of the Suite from 'Wozzeck,' a great many points fail to come through clearly which are important for the music to make any kind of sense; there is pointless editing (as in the 'Wozzeck' recording, where some thirteen measures of the last section are missing); and Miss Boerner manages to sing the correct notes of the opening phrase, but from there on it is catch-as-catch-can to the point of singing wrong words (*seinen* for *meinen*, etc., etc.)." My correspondent, a composer who is a practitioner of the twelve-tone technique, also comments on Alfred Frankenstein's explanation of the twelve-tone-row procedure of Berg's piece, which I found insufficient, and his analysis of its structure, which I found questionable, contending that they "can be little else, since Frankenstein's lecture is based not upon his own observations of what is actually taking place in the music, but upon René Leibowitz's 'questionable' and 'insufficient' books." As for the music itself, in which I found no expressive relation to the words, my correspondent, an admirer of Berg's powers and certain of his works, thinks "Der Wein" is "dull and completely unsuited to the text and the medium."

CONTRIBUTORS

ELIZABETH STEVENSON is the author of the "The Crooked Corridor: A Study of Henry James" and is now at work on a biography of Henry Adams.

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Letters to the Editors

Progressive Education Condemned

Dear Sirs: In commenting on your recent series Battle for Free Schools, I should like to point out that, like many other issues of the day, that of "progressive education" suffers from clear-cut definitions and postulations. . . . In discussions with teacher colleagues, who consider themselves champions of "modern education" or "progressive education" I am cavalierly assured that the Activity Program as now practiced is not really *the* Activity Program; that when they, the progressives, speak of the Core Curriculum, they do not mean the "thing" which is now masquerading as such; that we do not now have in our schools an even reasonable facsimile of what they intended.

In this manner the proponents of progressivism have made themselves invulnerable. The weaknesses revealed in the implementation of their program are attributed to forced deviation from the ideal, while the good points arise in spite of conservative teachers and inadequate supplies.

Let there be no mistake about it. I am very much concerned with a professional problem. If, as some of the progressives charge, criticism of their program plays into the hands of the enemies of the public school, we have to take this calculated risk. It is more important to have a sound educational program than to present a united front to the enemy.

The heart of the progressive doctrine is "Consider the whole child." However, as long as this ideal means all things to all teachers, we will continue to have perfect agreement on the desirability of change, but little or no agreement on the direction of change.

We, of the "traditional" camp, postulate the indispensability of the fundamental skills. Without the essential learning tools the child is helpless and compromised, and the boast of "keeping him happy" becomes a grim joke. It seems gratuitous to state that no one objects to a well-integrated child enjoying his learning experiences. The traditional teacher might be characterized as one who insists the schools exist primarily for learning. To the best of his ability he makes the learning experiences happy ones. The "modern" teacher, on the other hand, is willing to

sacrifice learning to keep the child well-integrated and happy (sometimes with the consoling thought that learning may come later). Here I too am guilty of oversimplification, but obviously I cannot develop the full thesis in this letter.

Unless and until the progressives can successfully integrate the fundamental skills into their program, the program is educationally unsound. I am aware that some of the progressives claim that their products are well-versed in the essential tools, even superior to the traditional product. However, there is daily evidence that runs counter to this claim.

One of the stranger aspects of the whole controversy is the fantastic charge that progressive education makes for regimentation and statism. My criticism is that with their excessive emphasis upon the individual's progress, the progressives willingly sacrifice the interests of the larger group. It is a common experience today to have in a class a pupil retarded by one or two years in arith-

metic slowing up the progress of the class as a whole, all for the purpose of keeping the child with his age group.

This leads logically to the doctrine of "no failures" and, ultimately, to 100 per cent promotion. With one wasteful stroke the elementary school has freed itself of all troublesome problems. That the problem reappears in aggravated form in the high schools doesn't seem to trouble the progressives in the elementary grades at all. Unless a miracle occurs to galvanize high-school teachers into spirited action, the fundamental skills may become college subjects.

Brooklyn, N. Y. CHARLES SALKIND

Shippers' Costs

Dear Sirs: Aleine Austin in her article The Revolt Against Joe Ryan, which appeared in your December 1 issue, points out the difference between our contract and that of the International Longshoremen's Association on the East

A MOTHER writes from Sing Sing's DEATH HOUSE:

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TIME IS SHORT — Get the Facts Now!

In a pamphlet published by the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, Mr. William Reuben, a crusading journalist who "broke" the Trenton Six case, has cast grave doubt on the government's case against the Rosenbergs. The Rosenbergs may never see another winter if their appeal is denied.

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Coast. But from this she draws what seems to me the erroneous conclusion that it costs more to do business on the West Coast and that, therefore, "the employers have everything to gain by maintaining the *status quo* on the Eastern docks."

It is difficult for us to lay hands on cost figures for the industry. However, a California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on San Francisco Bay Ports has just issued its final report, in which are presented the following figures for stevedoring costs:

Port	Loading	Discharging
Philadelphia	\$5.69	\$6.12
New York	5.28	6.00
Norfolk	4.81	5.85
Baltimore	4.44	5.92
San Francisco Bay	4.30	4.95

According to this report stevedoring costs in San Francisco are lower than those for any one of the four major East Coast ports shown, both for loading and discharging.

I would conclude that despite what are probably the lower labor costs on the East Coast, shippers actually are stuck for a higher cost owing to the loading racket and other similar added costs. This is not to say that East Coast employers have everything to gain by tossing out the racketeers and substituting a decent set-up such as we have on the West Coast. I am simply trying to set the record straight.

In general, the article is a good one.

It might have been useful to analyze the composition of the fact-finding board which is now holding hearings in New York. I believe that such an analysis would have shown that the cards are stacked against the strikers in the board as well as elsewhere.

LINCOLN FAIRLEY, Research Director,
International Longshoremen's
and Warehousemen's Union
San Francisco, Cal.

An Appeal for Struik

Dear Sirs: As *The Nation* so well remarked in its excellent article of November 24, Honor Thy Informer, by Joseph E. Garland, a fire has indeed been started in the native state of the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. The case of Professor Dirk J. Struik, internationally known mathematician and a member of the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for twenty-five years, has aroused his fellow-citizens to take decisive action on his behalf.

Professor Struik, as *Nation* readers know, has been indicted, under a 1919 state law never previously invoked, for allegedly advocating the violent overthrow of the governments of Massachusetts and of the United States. Believing this indictment to be a potential threat to freedom of expression, we, the undersigned, have joined with over forty others—professors, clergymen, and other citizens of Massachusetts—to form a defense committee whose pur-

pose is to raise funds for Professor Struik's legal defense.

Costs of the trial alone are expected to run into many thousands of dollars. The need for funds is therefore urgent and must be met through private contributions. We appeal to all freedom-loving people to give to this cause as generously as possible. Contributions may be sent to Mrs. Mary M. Leuc, 258 Mt. Vernon St., West Newton 65, Mass., or to Dr. George Sarton, 5 Channing Place, Cambridge 38, Mass.

GEORGE SARTON, Chairman, Struik Defense Committee; WARREN A. AMBROSE, BART. J. BOK, WALDO FRANK, DANA McCLEAN GREELEY, WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, MARK DE WOLFF HOWE, WITHOLD HUREWICZ, KIRTLEY F. MATHER, PHILIP M. MORSE, RALPH BARTON PERRY, NICHOLAS SLONIMSKY, NORBERT WIENER, JOHN WILD, MARY M. LEUC

West Newton, Mass.

Hannah Bloom Commended

Dear Sirs: Your readers may be interested to know that recently the liberal caucus of the Los Angeles Democratic County Central Committee passed unanimously a resolution which read in part

Whereas, in *The Nation* magazine for December 29, 1951, there appears an article by Hannah Bloom in which it is revealed that Alexander Schullman and A. L. Wirin, having proclaimed a continuing of their struggle for justice for all, are being attacked and pilloried by many forces, among these being organizations whose own rights have in the past and will in the future be concerned, and for which they should be commended rather than censured, now

Be it resolved that the liberal caucus of the Los Angeles Democratic County Central Committee does hereby extend deserved recognition and commendation to Alexander Schullman and A. L. Wirin as the principals, and to Hannah Bloom and *The Nation* for disseminating the information as a great service to the public.

ROBERT S. MORRIS, JR.

GEORGE M. COWELL

Los Angeles, Cal.

CORRECTION

The remarks on the Vatican appointment attributed to Mrs. Roosevelt in an editorial in last week's issue were of course made by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., as reported in an A. P. story of October 21. Our apologies to Mrs. Roosevelt for the error.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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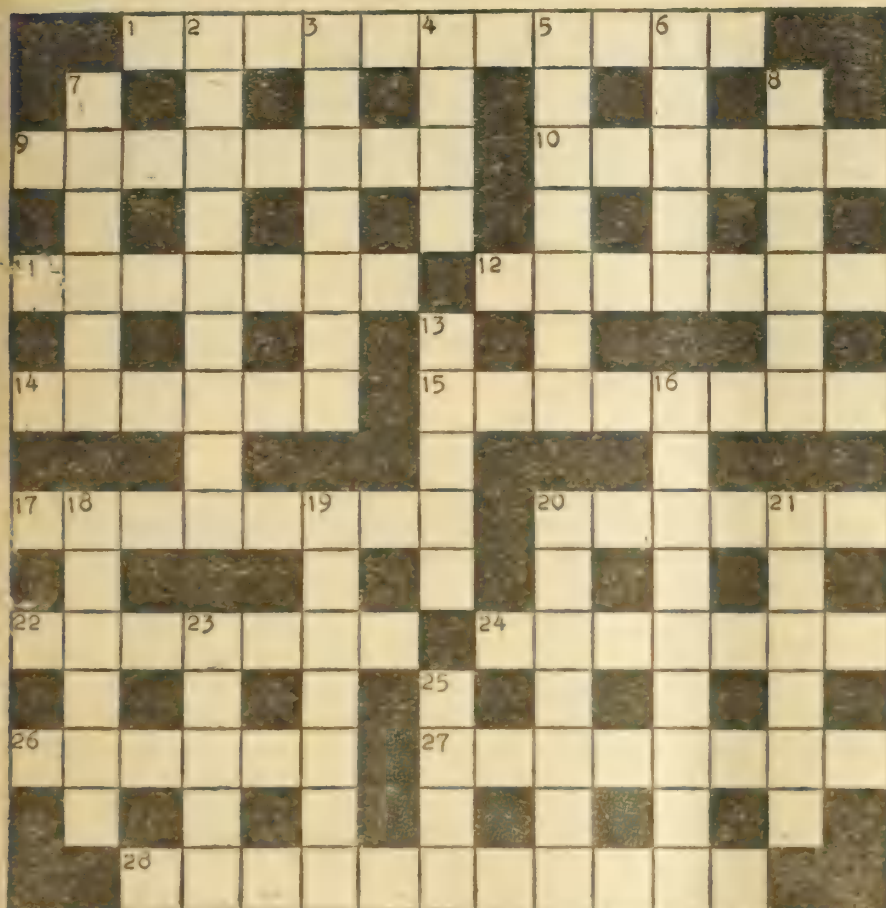
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1/26/52

Crossword Puzzle No. 449

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Indiscriminate mixture. (11)
- 9 An old saying to judge, perhaps. (5, 3)
- 10 Proving that art and sex can be mixed in colossal movie productions. (6)
- 11, 12 and 15. Implying the celestial origin of light? (7, 3, 4, 2, 6)
- 12 See 1.
- 14, 22 and 27. Implying it takes copper to produce reflections? (1, 5, 3, 4, 3)
- 15 See 11.
- 17 Regular attendant of the early G. O. P. (8)
- 20 Increase with this produced Cotton. (6)
- 22 See 14.
- 24 Pens. (7)
- 26 Secure way to make things safe. (6)
- 27 See 14.
- 28 It certainly isn't the heavenly quality of the snails there! (11)

DOWN

- 2 Hobo mountain (covered with rye)? (4, 5)
- 8 Applied to life, it's sweet and tune-ful. (7)
- 4 Held together in all directions. (4)

- 5 You do 23 by decapitation, so dig for it. (7)
- 6 Fetish. (5)
- 7 Fold one's tents? (6)
- 8 Trade in the first thing you pick up in a suitcase. (6)
- 13 Kept by one who establishes his own dateline. (5)
- 16 Compresses. (9)
- 18 Is Barrymore one extremely ill sorted? (6)
- 19 This is rich! (7)
- 20 A short day goes almost immediately in bad weather. (7)
- 21 Turns inside out. (6)
- 23 It comes back with accuracy, if you take the car out. (5)
- 25 Recognized by you and others as a tale of sorts. (2, 2)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 448

ACROSS—1 WASHTUBS; 5 BUFFER; 9 PROVERB; 10 KINDRED; 11 RACCOON; 12 NITRATE; 13 SCOTCH AND SODA; 15 NEUTRAL CORNER; 21 LISTING; 22 COW HAND; 23 STERILE; 24 UXORIAL; 25 WATERY; 26 STATUTES.

DOWN—1 WIPERS; 2 SCONCES; 3 TREM-OLO; 4 BUBONIC PLAGUE; 6 UNNOTED; 7 FARRAGO; 8 RED CEDAR; 10 KANGA-ROO COURT; 14 AN OLD SAW; 16 UP-SWEPT; 17 RAINIER; 18 NEWPORT; 19 REALIST; 20 ADULTS.

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Alternative to War—*Broadus Mitchell*

THE *Nation*

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DATA FOR THE SENATE

Japan: Recovery and Reaction

BY T. A. BISSON

Economic Consequences of Mr. Dulles

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

*

“Bombs Bring Us Together”

The N. A. A. C. P. Meets in Jacksonville

BY STETSON KENNEDY

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Cooperative Hospital

Elk City, Oklahoma

A LAW suit pending in the District Court of western Oklahoma brings into sharp focus inherent differences between a prepayment plan for medical services and the fee-for-service theory of most private physicians. Brought by the Farmers' Union Hospital Association against the Beckham County Medical Society, the suit is the climax of twenty years of struggle among the doctors serving the 20,000 people of the area.

The Farmers' Union Hospital Association operates the Community Hospital in Elk City, a typical plains town of some 8,000 people. A cooperative venture, the hospital was started over twenty years ago by Dr. Michael Shadid. A prepayment plan was the essential difference between this hospital and other hospitals in the country at the time. As it has evolved, a family owning a \$100 lifetime membership in the hospital pays dues each year according to the number of persons in the family, the maximum being \$40. For this, members receive free medical care whether or not they are patients in the hospital or clinic, as well as certain discounts on dental, laboratory, and X-ray work, on room and board in the hospital, and on nursing.

The Community Hospital stands as the first successful attempt to combine prepayment of medical bills with group practice of doctors in an organization financed and operated by the patients who use its services. This idea was so foreign to the thinking of most physicians in 1930, and is today, that they have been fighting the plan all the years of the hospital's existence.

Elk City and the surrounding territory late in 1929 was a grim place. Merchants along Main Street were little better off than the tight-lipped farmers who came to their stores asking again for credit. If illness hit these people they often found themselves wiped out financially. Doctors, what few there were, had patients living thirty to forty miles from their offices. Many farm families actually had no access to a physician's care; to consult a specialist they must go to Oklahoma City or Amarillo, Texas, a hundred miles away.

Seeing these conditions, Michael

Shadid, a Syrian-born doctor who had been in the area for twenty years, became obsessed with an idea. He wanted to establish a cooperative hospital where members could pay in advance for illness and therefore budget their medical expenses. He was encouraged to go forward with his plans by a group of progressive farmers and was later given additional support by the Farmers' Union in Oklahoma.

Beginning with a small one-story building and 300 member families, the Community Hospital-Clinic has grown in a little over twenty years to a well-equipped seventy-five-bed hospital, with a new adjoining out-patient clinic building containing thirty examining rooms, X-ray machines, a laboratory, a blood bank, a pharmacy, and a polio ward. The staff consists of seven physicians and two dentists. There are now 2,600 member families.

From the very first Doctor Shadid realized he would get no help from other local doctors. As his plans progressed and the hospital became a reality, their indifference changed to bitterness and then to a professional boycott. Soon after the hospital opened its doors, the Beckham County Medical Society, of which Doctor Shadid had been a member for many years, dissolved and some months later formed again without him. No other member of the hospital's staff has since been admitted to the county society, membership in which is a prerequisite to membership in the A. M. A. Staff doctors have also been barred from postgraduate courses because they were not members of their local society.

The Community Hospital has always had difficulty in obtaining doctors because of the boycott, but the local society has never brought any charges against the quality of the medical care given by the hospital. What the society objects to is the dues plan and the payment of salaries to staff doctors.

Medical economics, as well as the art of medicine, has undergone great changes in this century. Until 1900 both were represented by the "family doctor," an individual enterpriser who undertook to treat all types of human ills. He gave his services to his patients as they needed it and collected what they could afford to pay. But this simple

economic system became inadequate as the art of medicine advanced. The vast accumulation of knowledge caused the growth of specialists who developed great skills in a limited field. Now a patient may find it necessary to consult several doctors during the course of one illness. He may have to make use of technicians, laboratories, and hospitals. The old financial arrangement has been continued, however, and for each service the patient receives a separate bill, the sum total of which may leave him in debt for years. The Community Hospital has combined all these services under one roof and offered them on a prepayment plan.

Unfortunately it did this years before the idea of medical insurance was generally accepted. Today there is nothing startling about the prepayment plan on which Dr. Michael Shadid founded the first cooperative hospital in the country. Blue Cross and similar schemes are known to everyone, and most physicians have come to accept the idea of medical insurance in some form. Nevertheless, the boycott against the Community Hospital has continued, as a penalty, doubtless, for being a pioneer in the field. The younger doctors on the staff have suffered from this boycott, and it was largely in their interest that the Farmers' Union Hospital Association, which operates the Community Hospital, finally brought suit against the Beckham County Medical Society.

The American Medical Association, which has long been the champion of the fee-for-service plan, has been fighting the Community Hospital since its inception. The association's attitude is based on the idea that the doctor will, in part at least, have been removed. The role of the American Medical Association will be more clearly defined as that of the guardian of medical standards and ethics, not of medical economics.

JANET HARRIS

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FLAMES that spread through Cairo last Saturday was not lost on the commentators of press and radio. There has been much talk since then of how to quench the "fires of nationalism" so as to protect the Suez Canal and the safety of the Western world. But the blaze may have done more than destroy foreign-owned property and demonstrate the lawlessness of the mob. For while it consumed the faded, Victorian-Oriental grandeur of Shepheard's Hotel—as perfect a symbol of the end of empire as could well be devised—it also illumined the whole Middle Eastern scene, making visible broad political contours which have been obscured by detail, by emphasis on treaty rights, and the safety of the Canal. Seen from Washington, the blaze clearly revealed, for instance, that no defense strategy based on Africa—no ports or bomber bases, no pacts—will be worth their weight in sand while nationalist passions run unappeased. It revealed, too, the uselessness of trying to secure these things through deals made with compliant governments: the rulers themselves are in equal danger from the flames. Finally, it revealed the folly of continuing to support the desperate, rear-guard efforts of imperialism in retreat—in Egypt, but in Tunisia too, and presently in Morocco, to mention only its African battlefield. *

THE WAY IS NEITHER PLEASANT NOR SAFE, though hardly more ugly or dangerous than the way of the French in Tunis or the British in Ismailia. It involves acceptance by the Western Allies of certain facts that cannot be altered by force or money or reason. It means recognizing nationalist rebellion and deciding to work with it, even though it is directed against the West. What Britain did with timely wisdom in India, Britain and France will have to do in North Africa, and under much less favorable circumstances, for once the mob is in the streets any pacific gesture looks like capitulation. But experience has shown in India and Israel how fast hatred disappears when the "oppressor" turns friend, and the same change could take place in Egypt. Counsels such as these may be written off in Washington as unrealistic, jeopardizing security and surrendering to open violence. To urge such a course on an ally is doubly difficult. But what is the alternative? Force to the limit? Full-fledged

war against Egypt? War spreading across North Africa? It would seem as though no outcome could so completely wreck the grand strategy which our policy is designed to support.

✱

SENATOR KEFAUVER'S ANNOUNCEMENT that he is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency and will campaign on the "paramount issue" of peace will be greeted with enthusiasm by all voters anxious to have as wide a choice as possible in the 1952 election. Senator Kefauver is an excellent politician, with a good sense of timing, a rough-and-ready realism, and the all-important will to win. Thanks to his boldness, it seems likely that the democratic situation will be clarified far enough in advance of the convention to make possible a significant test of trends within the party. If it had not been for Senator Kefauver, President Truman would probably have remained noncommittal as long as possible. Now there is a real stir of activity at Blair House, and much talk that Governor Adlai E. Stevenson may be induced to become a Truman-blessed candidate. In Senator Kefauver, Governor Stevenson, and Justice William O. Douglas the Democratic Party has three potential candidates well above the level of leadership represented by Mr. Truman and more acceptable to liberal elements within the party. We hope that Governor Stevenson and Justice Douglas will follow Senator Kefauver's lead and give their friends a chance to support them.

✱

LAST WEEK WE SUGGESTED THAT JUSTICE Douglas was available as a possible Democratic nominee. This view has been circumstantially confirmed by the Justice's bold and challenging talk to the Overseas Press Club in New York on January 24. "We are looking disaster in the face," he warned. "You can win Asia with affection, but you can't buy Asia with dollars or get it with guns and bullets." In direct criticism of the State Department, Justice Douglas charged that it had identified itself "with forces that are against the great masses of people in these countries." Calling for assistance to the Asian masses "at the village level" and for measures to improve their living standards by 1 or 2 per cent, he said: "We must make Point Four an entering wedge of an American management revolution. . . . Unless we stop the Communist tide that way, we are going to drift

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by Frank W. Lewis

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into a situation where the political balance will get into Communist hands. . . . All they have to do is to wait and they will win by a default." The United States, he insisted, had missed a great opportunity when it sent Premier Mossadegh home empty-handed: if we had given him support we would have made "every little goatherd in Persia love America." Asked to comment on the significance of recent happenings in North Africa, Justice Douglas replied: "I would certainly tie my kite to some of those Moroccan fellows rather than the French." Finally, to round out this fine talk, he declared, in reply to a question, that he thought Winston Churchill was responsible for our rebuff to Mossadegh. After this speech all we can say is that if Justice Douglas is not available for the nomination, then the art of communicating political intentions has been given a new twist.

✱

THINKING HAS ALWAYS BEEN SUSPECT IN high places, and with some reason, but when it is banished from the schools then the citizens should, we think, sit up and take notice. A case in point is the recent action of James T. McGeough, principal of East High School in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, suspending the charter of UNESCO Thinkers, a student club formed to study the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Mr. McGeough moved promptly when he read in the pages of the Providence *Visitor*, official publication of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rhode Island, that UNESCO may be under "atheistic control." This horrid possibility arises from the fact that a scholar assigned to prepare a history for UNESCO is, in the *Visitor's* opinion, an "atheist." When his attention was called to the fact that UNESCO enjoys the official support of the United States, McGeough retorted: "This is a Christian country, and do you think it is a good thing for students to be involved with an organization that denies the existence of God?" It is pleasant to be able to report that McGeough's bigotry has met with the firm opposition of Monsignor Frederick G. Hochwalt, general secretary of the National Catholic Educational Association, who not only defended the "high moral tone" of UNESCO but reminded its critics that the preamble and constitution were largely the work of Jacques Maritain, noted French Catholic philosopher. McGeough, a former teacher and athletic coach in the school system, is said to owe his appointment to the local Democratic machine, which, as *The Nation* reported last summer (June 16), tells the Pawtucket school authorities what to do.

✱

ROBERT A. (MR. REPUBLICAN) TAFT, THANKS to his gyrations on the subject of McCarthyism, is rapidly forfeiting the reputation he once enjoyed as a forthright and upright man, concerned about the

decencies of public life, and is revealing himself as just another politician. In March, 1951, he disgusted many of his former admirers when he said that "whether or not Senator McCarthy's charges went too far, an honest government would have probed them to the bottom." Last October he seemed to be having second, and better, thoughts. "I don't think," he said, speaking of his Wisconsin colleague, "that one who overstates his case helps his case." But now, hunting delegates in Wisconsin, he has slipped again. "Certainly McCarthy's investigation," he assured a meeting at Beloit on January 21, "has been fully justified by repeated dismissals of employees of doubtful loyalty, by revelations regarding the insincerity of the State Department's Loyalty Board, by the dismissal of Service, and by other evidence." And to show his own complete surrender to the spirit of McCarthyism, Mr. Taft went on to make the fantastic charge that "this Administration has been dominated by a strange Communist sympathy," a revelation which will certainly be news to the Kremlin. At Beloit, according to a *New York Times* reporter, Mr. Taft's references to McCarthy were greeted with mild applause; at Monroe, where he repeated them the next night, the audience was silent. Perhaps McCarthyism is not such a winning card even in Wisconsin.

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INCIDENTALLY WE LEARN FROM *NEWSWEEK* that the Loyalty Review Board is worried about the leaking of its secret minutes to Senator McCarthy. Apparently some member of the board, instigated by the Senator, is committing the very offense for which the board recommended the dismissal of John Stewart Service—the disclosure to an unauthorized person of classified information. We hope Mr. Taft will investigate.

The Budget

THE budget for 1952-53 submitted by the President to Congress on January 21 takes the nation still farther into the financial stratosphere. Expenditure is set down at \$85,400,000,000—about two-and-a-half times Britain's total national income, as the *London Times* points out. Revenue is estimated at \$71,000,000,000 on the basis of present taxes, so that although this sum exceeds any war-time tax bill, we still face a prospective deficit of \$14,400,000,000.

As soon as these monstrous totals were made known, the air of Capitol Hill rang with the sounds of knife-sharpening and ax-grinding. This, however, is an annual ritual which it is difficult to take very seriously, since one Congressman's pet economy usually turns out to be another's "pork." Moreover, very little analysis of the budget is required to show that drastic surgery is impossible without drastic revision of the whole de-

fense program—a fact Congress shows little inclination to face.

Of the proposed total expenditure \$65,100,000,000, or about 76 per cent, represents the cost of the "major security program, including foreign aid and atomic development." All other government functions, including some "defense-connected" projects, will take \$20,300,000,000, almost a billion dollars less than in the current fiscal year. Just about half of this total is required for interest on the public debt and for veterans' services and benefits—the first an untouchable item, the second hardly less so. That leaves about \$10,000,000,000 for everything else—general administration, tax collection, the Post Office, social welfare, agriculture, development of public resources, rivers and harbors, and so forth. If all these functions were abolished—and even Senator Byrd hardly goes to such lengths—we should still be in the red.

Of course Congress may succeed in trimming the deficit to some extent, but if it does, the probability is that it will cut in the wrong places. In an election year, for instance, it is unlikely to turn down the President's request for larger appropriations to support farm prices, although agriculture would seem well able to prosper without government aid under present circumstances. On the other hand, proposals for more expenditure on public health and more aid for education, for which a strong case can be made on the basis of the appallingly high percentage of selective-service rejections because of physical unfitness or illiteracy, may well be turned down in the name of economy.

Many Congressmen are promising to scrutinize sharply defense as well as civilian expenditures, and undoubtedly they can find fat there which can be trimmed. But at best they will save millions rather than billions. For one thing, most of the money that will actually be spent in fiscal 1953 has already been appropriated, and on July 1 industry will have in hand orders for military equipment totaling some \$60,000,000,000.

Thus even if Congress decided to cut down the defense program, it would find it difficult to diminish appreciably total expenditure for the coming fiscal year. But it can influence expenditures in future years by giving careful consideration to the Pentagon's plans for expansion of the armed forces which the President endorsed in his message. These plans call for an air force of 143 wings—48 more than at present authorized by Congress—an army of 21 divisions instead of 18, and a navy of 408 "major combatant vessels," with 16 carrier air groups against 392 vessels and 14 air groups. It is the duty of Congress to review these proposals and decide whether such an enlargement of our forces is in fact vital to security. For once it approves this Pentagon blueprint, it will find it has lost all control not only of the current budget but of those for several years ahead.

Arab Refugees: A Long Step Forward

THE United Nations resolution on Arab refugees is a long step in the right direction—provided the intentions of the U. N. Works and Relief Agency are brought to practical realization.

For the first time since 1948 the emphasis has been shifted, by the resolution, from relief to resettlement. A fund of \$250,000,000 was voted of which \$200,000,000 will be used for reintegration and \$50,000,000 for relief; it is to be raised by voluntary contributions of member states. The refugees are to be settled in the countries where they are now found, and a number of projects, agricultural and industrial, will be undertaken as part of the economic-reintegration program. A time limit of three years is set for accomplishing the resolution's objectives.

Whether this is the final word on the Arab-refugee problem remains to be seen. Well-wishers of the project have reason to be concerned about several aspects of the resolution as adopted.

First, there is its reiterated emphasis on the right of the refugees to repatriation—which means in Israel. There is no chance whatever that this can be brought about, since the former homes of the Arabs are occupied by Jewish immigrants. In any case a fundamental contradiction exists between voting a fund of \$200,000,000 for resettlement and insisting, under Arab pressure, on repatriation. Insistence on repatriation could give a wholly tentative character to the reintegration program.

Second, the resolution provides that reintegration shall take place in the countries now sheltering the refugees. This means that countries with comparatively small economic resources will bear the principal burden, while countries with large possibilities will play either no role or a minor one. Iraq and Syria, given the necessary funds, could most easily absorb the refugees since both countries are underpopulated, but they will not be expected to take many—a regrettable fact from the standpoint both of the refugees themselves and of the economic future of the two countries.

Iraq, for example, with some 4,000 refugees, is not included in the plans of the U. N. Works and Relief Agency. Yet this country, with the richest natural resources of any Middle Eastern state, must double its population through immigration in order to develop them. The International Development Advisory Board has expressed the view that Iraq alone could absorb all the Arab refugees were its possibilities developed. Second in its capacity to absorb immigrants is Syria, where only 80,000 refugees are to be found. Syria needs at least 3,000,000 more settlers to develop its land alone.

Under the present U. N. plan Jordan, with a refugee population of some 465,000, and Lebanon, with

170,000, will carry the principal burden, though they have far more limited resources than either Syria or Iraq. The economic fate of some 200,000 refugees on the narrow land strip of Gaza, held by Egypt, is problematical if the present proposals are literally adhered to.

The third question is: Will the refugee population at the end of the three-year period be able to stand on its own feet, considering current conditions in the Middle East, unless plans are made simultaneously for developing the area and raising the living standards of the native population? There is no provision for the latter under the present scheme.

In our judgment the proposal submitted to the United Nations in December by a group of nineteen distinguished Americans, since joined by 131 other leaders of American opinion, offers at once a more practical and a more imaginative solution. It eliminates the basic contradiction in the U. N. plan by demonstrating the impossibility of repatriation and the necessity of permanent resettlement. It proposes resettlement in countries which would themselves benefit by receiving the refugees. It opens large vistas of opportunity for economic development and improved living standards. It makes the permanent solution of the Arab-refugee problem a joint responsibility of the international community, the Arab states, and Israel. Under this plan an expenditure of \$300,000,000 is proposed for resettlement and of \$500,000,000 for developing the natural resources of the countries involved. Such bold and imaginative planning seems necessary if friction is to be minimized and stability increased.

It is shocking to find the delegates of Syria and Iraq still openly urging, without challenge, a "second round" against Israel in the very council chamber where the refugee fund was voted. Even more disturbing is the vacillation of the State Department. The United States will have to contribute at least \$50,000,000 a year for the next three years to this \$250,000,000 fund. It should be clear to the State Department that the Arab world, for all the growing nationalism and xenophobia in the Middle East, is not yet able to stand on its own feet. It needs financial and technical aid which only the Western world and particularly the United States can provide. But it knows how to bargain for what it wants, while we seem to minimize the value of what we have to offer; the habit of selling ourselves short still persists. It was up to the United States to say firmly that it wished to see a final solution of the Arab-refugee problem, that it was prepared to assure the necessary funds for a solution which would also benefit the native populations, and that it would withhold its aid unless the Arab states stopped making a political football of the problem. The United States should still take this position if it wants the money to be appropriated to serve both the refugees and the ends of peace in the Middle East.

Japan: Recovery and Reaction

BY T. A. BISSON

AS JAPAN throws off direct occupation controls, the outlines of two broad developments grow steadily clearer. A vigorous economic comeback is under way, and at the same time democracy and the public welfare are being sorely buffeted. The reactionary trend should cause no surprise. When, some years ago, the occupation authorities shelved the reform program as a luxury, they willed the result we are now witnessing. More recently General MacArthur's successor applied the finishing touch.

On May 3, 1951, the fourth anniversary of the adoption of Japan's democratic constitution, General Ridgway authorized the Japanese government "to review existing ordinances issued in implementation of directives from this headquarters, for the purpose of evolving through established procedures such modifications as past experience and the present situation render necessary and desirable." Thus four months before the conclusion of the treaty, which some observers had hoped would underwrite at least the basic occupation reforms, General Ridgway in effect invited the Japanese authorities to scuttle reforms that had become "inappropriate."

Since Japan is still controlled by a set of bureaucrats and business men indistinguishable from the pre-war lot, the invitation was eagerly accepted. The great difference between the present ruling coalition and that which governed the country before the war is the absence of the militarists. Even under a treaty that places no limits on Japan's rearmament, some time must elapse before the militarists can come back in a big way. A large Japanese military establishment is not in the offing unless the United States is willing to pay for it. Next year's estimates include an expenditure of 315 billion yen—37 per cent of the total budget—for military purposes. Of this Japan's contribution to American military costs will take 180 billion yen (\$500,000,000); the rest will be spent on its own armed forces.

Japan is able to sustain this sizable military expenditure for two reasons. The United States-Japan payments agreement effective July 1, 1951, transformed previous occupation costs of 100 billion yen into a much-reduced domestic charge of 35 billion yen (Japan's military contribution) and a nice credit of \$160,000,000 (United States payment to Japan for facilities provided American forces). No less important is the current high level of

economic activity and foreign earnings. Unlike Britain, Japan added to its foreign-currency holdings in 1951. On March 31, under the weight of heavy import charges, the Japanese reserve fell to \$447,000,000 as against \$519,000,000 at the end of 1950. On August 31 it had risen to \$590,000,000, on September 30 to \$667,000,000, and preliminary figures for October indicated \$730,000,000 or better.

A year or two ago few could foresee that Japan would emerge from the occupation era paying its own way. Both policy and accident have contributed to the result. In 1949, after far too long a delay, the occupation authorities finally compelled the Japanese leaders to adopt an economic program that stopped inflation and insured maximum returns from large imports of aid from the United States. In mid-1950 the Korean war brought a steady stream of American dollars into the country. In mid-1951 imports from the United States ended and Japan stood on its own. How well it is succeeding in supporting itself may be gathered from the accompanying table.

At first glance it may appear that Japan slipped badly in 1951, but this is not so. The trade totals are far larger, in spite of much smaller aid imports. Imports had to be increased early in 1951 to compensate for a lag in the last half of 1950. By July this excess was paid for, and trade figures for later months show a continuing positive balance.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN-EXCHANGE ACCOUNT
(in million dollars)

	1950 Jan.-June	1950 July-Dec.	1951 Jan.-June	1951 July-Sept.
Exports	300.1	472.7	653.9	323.0
Invisible trade (net) ..	51.6	152.2	323.2	207.4
Total	351.7	624.9	977.1	530.4
Imports	287.3	358.2	987.0	398.2
Balance	+64.4	+266.7	-10.1	+132.2
U. S. aid imports	213.0	148.0	75.0	0.0

Korean war procurement largely accounts for the striking gain in Japan's invisible trade receipts. But normal merchandise exports stand at more than twice the 1950 level. Since July the \$160,000,000 annual United States payment—not included in the foreign-exchange account above—has further strengthened Japan's foreign-exchange position.

While the end of the Korean war would place a strain on Japan's dollar-payments position, its ability to earn dollars in other ways is improving. If invisible

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trade receipts are estimated at \$700,000,000 for 1951, about \$300,000,000 will be earned on non-procurement items, the major sources being foreign spending in Japan and steadily growing receipts from shipping. The American forces in Japan will continue to pay \$160,000,000 annually, on a conservative estimate, for various Japanese facilities. Payments for Japanese goods and services directed to Korean reconstruction will be in dollars. Continued moderate increases in Japanese exports to the United States may be expected unless tariff barriers are raised.

Japan can also save dollars by shifting imports away from the United States. The new sterling-payments agreement with Britain forces Japan to spend all sterling balances in the sterling-area, and Japanese trade officials are looking for sterling-area imports to replace purchases of American goods. China would provide a more substantial alternative; Japan's 1951 trade gains were achieved without benefit of China, either as market or supplier. Lack of Chinese coking coal and iron ore, nearby and therefore cheap, has severely handicapped Japan's iron-and-steel industry. Higher steel costs are spreading into the machinery, metal, shipbuilding, and other trades, leaving textiles to carry an undue share of the export burden and thereby intensifying competition with Lancashire. Japan is well aware that its foreign trade can hardly be increased—even in 1951 it was less than half the 1934-36 volume—if trade with China fails to develop on a considerable scale.

MERELY to maintain the trade position gained in 1951 is not enough. Living standards are below the pre-war level, and the population is multiplying rapidly. In 1953 Japan must face added charges of some 50 billion yen on such items as renewal of foreign-bond service, reparations, and compensation for Allied nationals' property losses. Above all, its economy needs a large infusion of new capital. A severe power shortage in the fall of 1951 showed that the high industrial production was pressing on the fuel and power output. Coal mines have been newly equipped only in part. The electric-power industry, recently returned to private ownership, is in poor shape.

It is clear, then, that further increases in Japan's foreign trade are necessary if pressing requirements are to be met. But meanwhile the Japanese leaders give no indication that their domestic economic policies are devised with a view to the general welfare. On the contrary, they have consistently manipulated government policies in the interest of their own narrowly based group.

In 1950 industrial production, along with farming, forestry, and fisheries, was nearing 1934-36 levels. Population was at 120 per cent of the figure for those years, and the living standard at 82 per cent—the urban stand-

ard, however, was only 73, the rural standard being 93. During the first six months of 1951, though industrial production was soaring far above the pre-war level, the urban living standard fell to 67 per cent. Profits rose steeply during the same period in cotton spinning, chemical fiber, and some other industries, though not in basic industry. In August official staple food prices rose 18 per cent and electricity rates 30 per cent, with further increases expected in gas and water rates and in the official prices of salt and sugar. When a tax cut was promised as an offset, the *Nippon Times* (August 7) said editorially: "If tax cuts are to have any real meaning, they must be made on the foundation of a stabilized economy which will not wipe out their benefits."

Joseph M. Dodge, the occupation's financial adviser, on being hurriedly recalled to Japan last fall seems to have made much the same point to Finance Minister Ikeda, who is reported to have "talked back" sharply. One result, however, was an announcement by the government that it would postpone the projected measures to decontrol rice and other food staples which had called forth embittered comment in the Japanese papers. Editorials argued that the urban family, with rationing abolished, would pay still higher food prices, and that the gain to the millions of small farmers would be problematical—they would have to sell their meager surpluses at harvest time, and the rice dealers would reap the benefits of price fluctuations. While Mr. Dodge sought to deal with the Finance Minister, the head of SCAP's Labor Division, Robert T. Amis, was deploring a swing "toward the right" in labor relations marked by coercion of workers into company unions and denial of collective bargaining.

Their confidence now fully restored, Japan's business leaders have become quite frank about occupation reforms. Reporting an interview with Ryutaro Takahashi, who entered the Yoshida Cabinet on July 4 as Minister of International Trade and Industry, the *Nippon Times* of July 6 said: "He called the anti-monopoly law passé. It needs to be changed, he added, as there is no more use for its restrictive provisions under the present economic society. . . . Another regulation, he said, which might just as well be junked is the trade-association law." He told Japanese business men, the paper continued, to "prepare themselves for a return to the international market. To attain this end he asked for all-out attempts to trim costs."

Occupation-sponsored labor legislation is due for a thorough overhauling. Foreign traders might do well to follow the revision of the Labor Standards Act. The president of a Japanese chemical company has said: "If real improvement of working conditions is desired, it will be necessary to give some flexibility to the application of the law. Some lowering of standards, too, may

be needed" (*Oriental Economist*, May 26). Abolition of the Labor Ministry is scheduled for 1952.

The land reform has already been seriously undermined. The Yoshida Cabinet destroyed the law's chief protective features when it voided the price-and-sale restrictions on farm lands. In the opinion of the *Nippon Times*, this "could very easily lead to a revival of the former system of large land holdings controlled by a few individuals." The same editorial (September 25) noted that former landlords have "lost some of their excess holdings, but they are comparatively well-to-do and are taking a leading role in the affairs of their villages." Under the free-market conditions now being so rapidly restored, many of the new farm owners may find they hold their land on short tenure—for the period that an agricultural crisis can be staved off.

SIGNS are no less ominous in the political sphere. A projected control law applying to the press, demonstrations, general strikes, espionage, and illegal organizations has raised a loud outcry, but the Diet is expected to pass it. *Nihon Keizai*, a conservative paper, commented editorially on September 25: "Excessive control might lead to revival of a fascist or ultra-nationalistic trend. Democratic labor or social movements and any opposition to the government are liable to be suppressed in the name of the control of Communists."

Under a new Ministry of Public Security which, with its special-investigation force, marks a long step toward revival of the Home Ministry abolished in 1947, a centralized national police force will be reconstituted along the old lines. The move became a certainty last fall when

hundreds of local communities, discouraged by their inability to raise adequate funds—lucrative tax sources being controlled by the center—voted to give up their autonomous police forces. *Tokyo Shimbun*, while admitting (July 26) that more effective police enforcement would result, nevertheless deplored "creation of a centralized police system which might help cause a relapse into the police state of the past." If control of education is also returned to the center, as is probable, two big gashes will have been torn in the occupation-sponsored fabric of local self-government.

Around 1947-48, when the occupation turned from reform to recovery, the point was made that democracy could not grow in an impoverished country. True enough, and the occupation might have acted even earlier to mitigate the hardships suffered by an inflation-ridden populace. But did the argument mean that democracy would be the natural fruit of economic recovery, no matter under whose auspices it came? It now appears that there was nothing automatic about the result. For economic revival to bring democracy it was necessary that the economic program should be in democratic hands and used to strengthen, not jettison, political and social reforms. Otherwise one might well ask: economic recovery to what end?

A strong statement by President Truman that the United States stands behind the reforms introduced under the occupation would help to stem the tide now running in Japan. Such action is necessary if the good-will generated by the constructive measures of the occupation is not to be lost at a time when it is desperately needed to bolster American prestige in Asia.

The Economic Consequences of Mr. Dulles

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

REFERRING to discussions of "grave problems affecting our two countries in the Far East," the communiqué issued at the close of the Truman-Churchill talks said: "A broad harmony of view has emerged . . . for we recognize that the overwhelming need to counter the Communist threat in that area transcends such divergencies as there are in our policies toward China."

Among these "divergencies" was one that had been causing not a little discord in exchanges between the State Department and the Foreign Office—a difference of opinion about future relations between Japan and China. The British thought that this question had been settled last summer when in the course of negotiations on the Japanese treaty John Foster Dulles and former Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison reached an agreement to the effect that Japan was to be left free to de-

cide whether it would recognize the Peking government or Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist regime or neither. However, when Mr. Dulles visited Tokyo in December he apparently strongly urged Premier Yoshida to negotiate a treaty with Chiang. According to Frederick Kuh, Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the British ambassadors in both Tokyo and Washington protested that these pressure tactics violated the Dulles-Morrison agreement. As a result, the question was put on the agenda for the Truman-Churchill talks and was threshed out in detail by Secretary of State Acheson and Foreign Secretary Eden.

Mr. Acheson asked that the British agree to allow the Chinese Nationalist government to sign the Japanese peace treaty for Formosa. Mr. Eden demurred on the ground that the long-term interests of the Western

powers would be served best by permitting the Japanese to decide the matter for themselves—in other words, by honoring the previous Anglo-American agreement. Thereupon Mr. Acheson apparently produced a clinching argument that must now have an ominously familiar ring to British diplomats: unless Chiang was brought into the picture, the Senate might refuse to ratify the Japanese treaty.

The reluctant acquiescence of the British is confirmed by a letter from Premier Yoshida to Mr. Dulles released in Tokyo on January 16. Dated December 24 and apparently held back pending the Washington talks, this letter declares that the Japanese government has no intention of concluding any bilateral agreement with Communist China but is willing to sign a treaty with the Nationalist government of China—"applicable to all territories which are now or may hereafter be under [its] control"—reestablishing "normal relations between the two governments in conformity with the principles set out in the multilateral treaty of peace."

We shall probably be told that this decision represents a free choice by the Japanese government, but any such assurances must be taken with ample salt. As long ago as August 30, according to the Associated Press Washington bureau, Mr. Dulles told Senators who were troubled by the omission of Nationalist China from the list of governments invited to San Francisco that in due course Japan and Nationalist China would make a separate pact. In Tokyo recently he probably had only to hint that failure to take action of this kind would imperil United States ratification of the treaty. The Japanese government, anxious to recover its sovereign status and still dependent on American financial aid, could easily see the wisdom of helping the State Department appease the Senate.

WITH both Britain and Japan persuaded to toe the line, the die has been cast. Let us consider some of the probable consequences.

There will undoubtedly be repercussions in England when Parliament reassembles on January 29, and some blunt questions will be put to Messrs. Churchill and Eden. They will be reminded that during the debate on the Japanese treaty on November 27, Peter Thorneycroft, president of the Board of Trade, assured the House for the government that there was no reason to suppose that the United States government would "do otherwise than leave it to the Japanese government to decide on its own relations with other governments." The same point was stressed by Herbert Morrison, former Foreign Secretary, and Kenneth Younger, former Minister of State, who had represented Britain in the negotiations preceding the treaty. Japan's freedom of decision in regard to China, said Mr. Younger, had been made clear at San Francisco. "Since then I have seen

suggestions that some people in the United States would like to make the United States' ratification of the treaty dependent on a prior decision by Japan to recognize the Chinese Nationalist authorities. I hope no such situation will arise. The long-term relations between the two most important countries in Asia must be left to them exclusively."

There are two reasons why so much emphasis was given to this issue. In the first place, the British government has never agreed with Washington about China. It considered—and apparently still does despite the change in its political coloration—that excommunication is a futile policy. It does not like Mao's regime, but it recognizes Mao as the de facto ruler of the Chinese mainland, and it is not prepared to place any bets on a discredited Chiang Kai-shek who is wholly dependent on American subsidies. It believes the effect of American policy has been to cement relations between Peking and Moscow and fears this cement will be hardened by a Japanese treaty with Chiang, which Peking is bound to treat as a hostile move.

The second reason why Britain wished Japan to settle its own relations with China was economic. Britain and Japan have long been commercial rivals in Southeast Asia, and British merchants dread the return of the full force of Japanese competition. A number of members of Parliament, particularly those representing Lancashire textile areas, opposed the treaty because it did not contain restrictions on Japanese production and controls designed to prevent "unfair" competition. The British government agreed with Washington that it would be unwise to hamper Japanese trade in this fashion. On the other hand, it did not wish to see Japan prevented from selling goods to mainland China, its natural market and nearest and cheapest source of raw materials. With that outlet blocked, the result would be redoubled pressure to sell Japanese manufactures in Southeast Asia to the detriment of British trade. However, if the Japanese were allowed to make their own choice, the British thought the clear advantages to be derived from trade with China would induce them to keep open the channels by refraining from permanently antagonizing Peking. Consequently, British defenders of the Japanese treaty sought to soothe its parliamentary critics by making much of their understanding with Washington. Now those critics will have the right to complain that the large majority favoring the treaty was secured on false information.

Many Americans, no doubt, will consider the British attitude selfish and immoral, but two things must be kept in mind. In the first place, Britain's need to expand its exports is desperate: if it fails to do so, it faces national bankruptcy and a catastrophic fall in living standards. Moreover, with an increasing proportion of its metal industries, the mainstay of its export busi-

ness, diverted to rearmament, it must depend more on sales of textiles, pottery, and other consumer goods—exactly the lines in which Japan derives an advantage from its low labor costs.

Again, Americans should not forget that they are quick to resent Japanese competition in their own commercial bailiwicks. In fact, now that Japanese china, glassware, sewing machines, toys, and other specialties are returning to the American market in growing volume, cries of "unfair competition" and calls for higher tariffs or quotas or both are loud and numerous. Shipping interests are demanding steps to check the revival of the Japanese merchant marine, although a larger fleet becomes an economic necessity as Japan is forced to reach for more distant markets. On the West Coast there is strong agitation against rising imports of Japanese tuna fish, and the House of Representatives has already been persuaded to pass a bill imposing a 3-cents-a-pound tariff on frozen tuna. What line, one wonders, will Senator Knowland of California, who has actively sought to block Japanese trade with Communist China, take on this measure when it comes before the upper house?

In opposing such attempts to limit their opportuni-

ties in the American market, Japanese business men will certainly stress the point that they are being forced to sacrifice much more substantial interests in the China market. For the time being, criticism may be subdued, because Japan, as T. A. Bisson explains on page 101, is now enjoying a boom based on American procurement of goods and services for the Korean armies. As a result, Japan's dollar reserves are increasing despite a deficit in normal trade with the United States. Even so, the purchase of food and raw materials from America at much higher prices than the same goods would cost in China is a serious handicap to Japanese industry. For instance, Manchurian coking coal, recently imported in comparatively small amounts, has cost about \$20 a ton. American coking coal, which is being bought in large quantities as a substitute, costs at least 50 per cent more, owing chiefly to heavy freight charges. When the present abnormal flow of dollars into Japan is stemmed, premium payments of this nature will be very difficult to bear. We should not be surprised, therefore, if before very long the Japanese say to us: "At your behest we have cut off *our* noses to spite Mao's face. What are you going to do to stop us from bleeding to death?"

"Bombs Bring Us Together"

BY STETSON KENNEDY

Jacksonville, January 22

THE terrorists' bomb which on Christmas night killed the militant Negro leader Harry T. Moore at Mims, Florida, and subsequently caused the death of his wife has galvanized Negro leaders all over the South to dedicate themselves to achieving the democratic goals for which Moore gave his life.

On January 19 and 20, 200 delegates representing 100,000 members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in fifteen Southern states met in Jacksonville and adopted a fighting "declaration" which may profoundly affect the future of the South. Florida was deliberately chosen, as one delegate put it, because "bombs do not frighten us; they bring us together."

Addressed to "the world at large, to the South, and to Florida in particular," the Jacksonville Declaration, while adopted in the name of Harry T. Moore, scored

STETSON KENNEDY, author of "Palmetto Country," has discussed the bombing outrages in Miami and the murder of Harry T. Moore in Mims in previous articles.

"the new technique of lynching as exemplified in the killing of Samuel Shepherd and the wounding of Walter Irvin" in Eustis. It pledged the N. A. A. C. P. to continue the fight for: (1) the right to security of person against the organized violence of lawless mobsters or irresponsible law-enforcement officers; (2) the right to vote as free men in a free land; (3) the right to employment opportunities in accordance with individual merits; (4) the right of children to attend any educational institutions supported by public funds; (5) the right to serve unsegregated in the armed forces of the country; (6) the right to travel unrestricted by Jim Crow regulations; (7) the right to go unmolested among fellow-Americans as free men in a free society.

The *Florida Times-Union* of Jacksonville devoted all of two inches to the conference. On the same day this paper gave a full column to the rantings of the "Reverend" Lloyd King, who in a nation-wide Liberty Network broadcast emanating from Leesburg charged that a "racial-hate organization" (the N. A. A. C. P.), was "stirring up trouble in Florida."

The fighting spirit of the delegates was an inspiring

thing to see. As was to be expected, it was strongest in the young and the workers, but there were notable exceptions. One laborer said to me, "The trouble with this organization is that the business people who are on top don't reach down often enough to help the workingman in the ditch." On the other hand, William P. Milner, business manager of a funeral home in Bartow, declared on the floor, "As business men who get our money from little people we ought to be willing to spend some of it to help justify our position as leaders." Roy Wilkins, national administrator of the N. A. A. C. P., addressed the delegates as "laborers, workers, and even business men." But the number of limousines parked outside bore testimony that the leadership continues to be weighted with business and professional men who refuse to step aside. Wilkins was heard to say later, "If everybody over forty-eight would drop dead, we young folks would solve this race problem overnight."

THE most violent militant was A. J. Clements, Jr., a Charleston attorney, who roared, "To hell with these social gradualists, these time-not-rippers who say to take it easy! I'm not willing to follow any man who wants to go easy for me winning my freedom!" Mrs. A. W. Simpkins, state secretary from South Carolina, declared, "Like Atlas, we must reach down and touch the earth to gain new strength." The women delegates had been noticeably denied leadership status but displayed exceptional ability from the floor.

Something new in "Southern revolts" broke out when Kelly M. Alexander, vigorous N. A. A. C. P. president for North Carolina and a member of the national board, called upon the conference to "take a look at the list of our national board and see how inadequately represented the South is. As the chief battleground of the struggle the South needs and is entitled to more representation on the policy-making level; we're no Charlie McCarthys!"

As a non-partisan organization, the conference confined itself to attacks upon hate-mongering Dixiecrat politicians. But informal talks with delegates in the corridors revealed that a profound disillusionment with President Truman has set in. Most of the delegates I questioned felt that American Negroes had bet on Truman once too often. Accustomed as they are to broken promises Negroes are as bitter about the "scrap of paper" known as Truman's civil-rights program as they were once convinced of its sincerity. I could not find a delegate who was at all impressed with the wrist-slapping FEPC which the President hastily appointed after federal authorities had failed to make arrests or invoke jury probes in the Florida terrorism.

Wilkins outspokenly placed the real blame for the terrorism upon the governors of Georgia, South Caro-

lina, and Alabama. He also referred to the racist fulminations of certain Southerners in Congress. "It is their inflammatory remarks which lead the little imitation Talmadges to conclude that they can go out and bomb and kill with impunity," he declared.

With the Jacksonville police chief and the Duval County sheriff sweating it out in the audience, J. M. Hinton, N. A. A. C. P. president in South Carolina, said: "It's a peculiar thing how the police can always track down every Negro bootlegger and numbers writer, but whenever a Negro is killed by white men they rush in and say 'tell us the story'; and then they close the book. You may be sure that if a white family had been bombed to death, the next morning they would have had a hundred Negroes in jail—any hundred." Pointing out that the white people of America should be delighted that fifteen million Negro Americans are eager to cooperate in building a real democracy, Hinton declared: "The future of this world no longer rests in white hands—it is being decided in India, China, Japan, and Africa."

In the same militant vein delegate Lawson of Savannah, a youthful member of the national board, asserted: "Just because Jackie Robinson has been admitted to the ball barks, and Ralph Bunche and Marian Anderson have crept through a crack in the wall, doesn't mean that we're all satisfied. We are standing before the wall of segregation and we will not be moved until it comes tumbling down! If the Talmadges and Russells do not have sense enough to get out of the way, it will just have to fall on their stupid heads! Harry Moore is dead because some of us have not stood up." Wilkins hit this nail on the head again when he said, "Too many white people in the South—and nation too—embrace the formula: 'Uncomplaining Negroes plus unchallenged whites equal peaceful race relations.'"

QUITE properly the conference stressed political action as the basic means of combating terrorism, discrimination, and segregation. A committee composed of the N. A. A. C. P. presidents in fifteen Southern states was set up to correlate the job of doubling the number of Negroes registered as voters. "We must fight for our political rights on the local level," Mrs. Simpkins insisted. "You can't hit a man unless he is close to you. While it's a fine thing to be able to vote for President, we need to help elect the sheriff and chief of police too." The Reverend Mr. Mann, vice-president for Georgia, described how he had successfully overcome fears by inaugurating a "Meet Me at the Courthouse" campaign, in which he called upon every member of his congregation who would meet him at the courthouse the next morning to register to stand up and be counted. Almost all who promise follow through, he said. A minister from Montgomery, South Carolina, told of

launching a registration drive. Officials in his state identify Negro registrants by putting a small "n" after their names, and this Jim Crowism is being turned against itself by the N. A. A. C. P. chapter, which consults the books to determine which Negroes have qualified. Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham *Daily World*, reported that some Alabama counties open the registration books only during the plowing season and that in others the registrars often go fishing on registration days. A delegate from Richland County, Georgia, said that a Talmadge henchman had locked up the books "pending further legislation."

When one of the Arkansas delegates extolled the N. A. A. C. P.'s organization of his state on a city and county basis, without any white representation, Attorney Clements retorted, "I resent the presentation of that kind of plan to this kind of organization. The N. A. A. C. P. opposes segregation, and yet some of its chapters still go in for segregated political action."

Rebuilding Shattered Korea

BY WALTER SULLIVAN

Paris, January 21

NO COUNTRY has ever been more completely laid waste by war than Korea. So states J. Donald Kingsley, who has been assigned by the United Nations to repair the damage. Before the war the Korean Peninsula was one of the three most intensively industrialized areas of the Far East—the others being Japan and Manchuria. Korea under the Japanese had the biggest complex of chemical industries in non-Soviet Asia, submarine shops, and many other large manufacturing enterprises. Today these industries are totally ruined.

The loss of life has been appalling. United Nations experts estimate that one out of every nine men, women, and children in North Korea has been killed. The maimed are seen everywhere. High on the U. N.'s list of requisites for Korean reconstruction is a factory to make artificial limbs. In South Korea roughly 5,000,000 people have been displaced and 600,000 homes destroyed. Official reports describe 100,000 children as "unaccompanied." Two-thirds of them are wandering on the highways facing Siberian winds and winter snow.

There are small consolations. Since ground fighting

WALTER SULLIVAN, *New York Times* correspondent in Korea in 1950, is now in that paper's U. N. bureau. This is the third of a series of articles on the problems of peace in Korea. Next week Yongjeung Kim will discuss the internal political difficulties, and Owen Lattimore and W. McMahon Ball the international aspects of a settlement.

"We have got to act purely as citizens in a democracy."

Much attention was devoted to the problem of increasing N. A. A. C. P. membership, but no one suggested that this might be directly related to program. In the conference's host city of Jacksonville, with 112,000 Negroes, there are but 250 N. A. A. C. P. members, and no N. A. A. C. P. office is listed in the telephone directory. Mrs. Ruby Hurley, national organization chairman, frankly argued that the new drive should not be intrusted to the established membership committees of the branches, which she said "are in the habit of doing nothing all year." She even told of finding branch presidents who had not yet opened their N. A. A. C. P. Christmas-seal packets for 1950. No very promising method of gaining new members was suggested.

Yet all in all, the South-wide N. A. A. C. P. meeting called as a memorial to Harry Moore was an impressive affair; its undercurrents were strong and its promise for the future was great.

for the past six months has been confined to the vicinity of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, other areas have been granted a breathing spell, and under the pressure of military requirements the transport system has been patched up. It may even be more efficient than before the war, what with temporary bridges, highways widened or straightened by American bulldozers, and the port of Pusan dredged by the United States army engineers. Grounds for hope are also found in the plans of United Nations relief and rehabilitation experts, who expect to spend \$250,000,000 in the first year after the army turns the job over to them—perhaps even more now that transport recovery has made the Korean economy more capable of absorbing aid.

But numerous questions darken the future. When will the army let go its hold on the South Korean economy? When will the complementary economics of North and South Korea be reunited? Will the South Korean regime allow ineptitude, corruption, and runaway inflation to block recovery? Will peace really come to Korea with a cease-fire, or will Syngman Rhee's government be shaken as before by guerrilla activity and internal dissension?

Korean unity now seems a long way off. It may not come until the end of the cold war. Meanwhile the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) has no plans for sending aid to North Korea, though there is nothing in writing that forbids it to do so. UNKRA was conceived at Lake Success more than a year ago on the eve of General MacArthur's ill-

fated "home-by-Christmas" offensive. In the discussions in the Economic and Social Council the Soviet Union favored a relief program in whose formulation "Korean representatives" would take part. Its views were not accepted, and it opposed the final plan for Korean reconstruction. This plan assumed that most if not all of Korea would be under United Nations control. U. N. relief machinery was expected to move north gradually, taking over from the army. UNKRA's directive provides that its area of operation shall be determined by what is technically the highest United Nations authority in Korea—the U. N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK). UNKRA has been informed by UNCURK that it can operate in areas under the administration of the South Korean government. Presumably it will also be allowed to work in the strip north of the Thirty-eighth Parallel but south of the new cease-fire line.

THE "Statement of General Policy" guiding UNKRA is in many respects similar to the regulations governing American post-war aid. Inspection by U. N. personnel of warehouses, distribution facilities, and records is stipulated. Korean authorities are required to publish the source of the aid, keep records, and make whatever reports are demanded by UNKRA. It was because of such provisions that the Eastern European countries first rejected Marshall Plan aid. The Democratic People's Republic in North Korea would probably also refuse to comply with them.

The division of the Korean Peninsula will make the task of reconstruction more prolonged and expensive, as the American representative on the Economic and Social Council pointed out at Lake Success last year when unification by military means seemed near. The South has more rice paddies than it needs; the North an excess of power plants. The rail and highway networks were built for a unified country. There is still some talk of exchanging southern rice for northern power if the deal can be arranged, but otherwise it appears that the division along the cease-fire line will be unbridged, the Western nations caring for the South and the nations grouped around Moscow aiding the North.

United Nations planning is entirely in terms of South Korea's needs. The capital loss due to war damage south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel cannot be estimated with accuracy, but J. Donald Kingsley, head of UNKRA, puts it at close to two billion dollars. Priority, according to the UNKRA directive, must be given "to the provision of basic food, clothing, and shelter for the population of Korea and measures to prevent epidemics."

Of the millions of Koreans displaced in the fighting, probably a majority, anxious to salvage what they can of their property, have drifted back to their burned-out homes. Still uprooted are the 150,000 peasants evacuated

from a twenty-mile belt behind the front lines. The countless ruined villages are the most terrible and universal mark of the war on the Korean landscape. To wipe out cover for North Korean vehicles and personnel, hundreds of thatch-roofed houses were burned by air-dropped jellied gasoline or artillery fire.

The countryside has been almost stripped of wood, but clay, mud, and straw for rebuilding the villages are at hand. The needed machines, generators, rolling stock, mining equipment, and livestock must be shipped in. Roughly 200,000 draft animals have disappeared in the past eighteen months, most of them slaughtered for food by soldiers or refugees. The absence of oxen seriously impairs food production, and UNKRA wishes that 20,000 new animals—mostly oxen and breeding stock—could be imported before spring planting. In many areas the irrigation system on which rice cultivation depends has been badly damaged; where the ditches are still sound, there may be no water because the pumping stations get no power. Fertilizer, formerly Korea's chief import and necessary to rice production, is in extremely short supply.

ORIGINALLY UNKRA was not to start its program until the army said the fighting was over, but last July, in view of the prolongation of the war, it obtained General Ridgway's consent to a limited amount of work. While relief remained in the hands of the Eighth Army's Civil Assistance Command and the army also continued to rebuild railways, electric-power systems, and other facilities important to its operations, UNKRA was allowed to send in a small team of experts for long-range planning, high-level technical assistance to Rhee's government, and certain other projects approved by the army. The shifting masses of refugees—sometimes a million on the move at one time—are still an army problem. Almost the entire population of Seoul fled when the fighting drew near. In their absence half the homes, three-quarters of the office buildings, and more than 80 per cent of the factories were leveled. Now the former residents are pouring back by the thousands and setting up shop in shanty towns, presenting a serious problem for a city without water or lighting utilities.

The army did not consider the refugee problem critical as long as the refugees were orderly, out of the way, and not a health threat to the troops. United Nations officials say that within that framework the army has done a good job. There have been no major epidemics. About 6,000 refugees are in the emergency hospital at Seoul, some with smallpox, some with typhus, but scattered outbreaks of these scourges have been checked. Health teams stationed along highways have inoculated the tide of humanity and dusted them with DDT. A third of these medical workers are from specialized United Nations agencies and the Red Cross. Most of the rest belong to the army medical corps; there

are some civilians and Scandinavian volunteers. The army has also been handling several of the biggest jobs undertaken by E. C. A. before the war—for example, the distribution of fertilizer, cotton, and lumber.

Once fighting has stopped, the army is supposed to turn over the relief job entirely to the U. N., but there are indications that the brass may not consider the combat phase permanently ended by a cease-fire. U. N. relief officials anticipate American military occupation for a considerable period but hope the army will loosen its grip on the economic structure of the country and let civil agencies take over. They feel that the change-over from military to civilian control must be abrupt and complete. The U. N. must have freedom to use the ports and railways and be given custody of relief supplies now stockpiled in Korea or en route. Otherwise, it is argued, there will be a dangerous gap in relief services.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty faced by the relief program in Korea is inflation. As a brake on spiraling costs the E. C. A. required Rhee's government to deposit in a "counterpart fund" sums equivalent to the value of all relief imports. This is also required by UNKRA, but inflation is as much a danger as before. "We are ground between two millstones," a relief official complained recently, "the army and inflation."

Mindful of E. C. A. experience in South Korea, the U. N. General Assembly a year ago spelled out in bald terms what the government must do. Adequate measures, it said, must be taken by the Korean authorities to see that relief was effectively employed. "Special attention should be given to measures to combat inflation, to sound fiscal and monetary policies, to the requisite pricing, rationing, and allocation controls." There should also be "prudent use" of Korean foreign exchange and, the directive added hopefully, "efficient management of government enterprise." (Kingsley said recently that he hoped some of South Korea's state-owned industry could be reorganized on mixed public-private lines or into co-operatives.) Relief was not to be used as a political weapon. "All classes of the population shall receive their equitable shares of essential commodities without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief." The directive also declared that the program was intended to strengthen Korea's political independence and must not be used "for foreign economic and political interference in Korea's internal affairs."

UNKRA's problems are parallel in many respects to those faced by UNRRA after World War II. A number of former UNRRA employees are now in UNKRA. Kingsley served for some time as head of the International Refugee Organization. These men believe that, given a free hand, they can put the Korean economy on its feet in five years. At present they are trying to get permission from the army to undertake the most urgent tasks—cattle imports, restoration of the fishing fleet,

dredging of small harbors, building of power plants, schools, and housing, and care of orphans. Kingsley believes that the first-year allocation of \$250,000,000 for his agency will permit restoration of roughly half the damage to utilities, fisheries, and transport, 40 per cent of the damage to forests and agriculture, and 18 per cent of the damage to industry and mines.

THE relief program will play a vital role in the country's political future. As in the period before the war, South Korea is bound to face keen economic competition from North Korea. Though the destruction is probably greater in the North, the North Koreans can be expected to work fast, and they will undoubtedly receive aid from China and the U. S. S. R. In addition, the spirit of the workers, the elimination of corruption, and the Spartan governmental discipline will give a strong boost to recovery.

American officials in Seoul conceded before the outbreak of hostilities that North Korea had far outdistanced South Korea in economic achievements. The South was forever floundering in inflationary crises, rice shortages, and a drastically unfavorable trade balance. In North Korea on the other hand, exports were in excess of imports, prices were stable, and industry was expanding at a steady pace. The lead of the North certainly represented more than that region's initial advantage in industrial development. The shops at Inchon, seaport of Seoul, where submarines were built under the Japanese, hardly turned out a dinghy under the South Korean government. The morale of South Korean workers was undermined by the activities of the Taehan Youth Corps and the police. The tuberculosis rate in some factories was put officially at over 80 per cent, and American advisers complained that skilled miners could not be trained because their life expectancy was only about two years.

Although the United States has spent hundreds of millions to bomb, burn, and lay waste Korea, Congress refused to approve the \$162,500,000 pledged by the United States toward the first-year relief fund of \$250,000,000. Instead, it allocated \$50,000,000 or less of unexpended E. C. A. funds, and even this sum is not yet available to UNKRA. Canada, with its far smaller resources, has given \$7,000,000. The attitude of some Congressmen seems to be: "We protected them from aggression, let someone else do the relief job." Others argue that the money will be wasted by corrupt and inefficient South Korean officials. These are not valid reasons for skimping on our aid. To the same degree that the United States assumed responsibility for the fighting, it should undertake the reconstruction. To fail in this respect will only strengthen the lingering memory among the people that much of the devastation was caused by American arms.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE most rewarding thing about "Winds of Morning" by H. L. Davis (Morrow, \$3.50) is its evocation of Western country, morning, noon, and night. In comparison, both the plot and the characters seem rather inconsequential, and the action which held me to the end was the progress of a bunch of scruffy horses from a settlement cluttered with fences and railroad tracks to open country, where they would have room to run. The time is early spring, and Mr. Davis has written a fine documentary of the land and the season.

The principal character, Old Hendricks, has possibilities to begin with. He is one of the original settlers of the region but has been away for years, having skipped the country to get away from his progeny. As the book opens, he has returned to look things over, both the country and the people. He has fallen into the job of herder of the horses, for his keep; when their owner throws up title to the bothersome animals, Old Hendricks comes into possession of them. In the course of the trek to the high country Hendricks intervenes in the affairs of various people—most of them related to him in one way or another—and always for their good. The conception is sound enough but smugness creeps in, the wise old-timer turns into a mere do-gooder, and Old Hendricks tends to become an old bore.

The young deputy sheriff, Amos Clarke, who accompanies Hendricks and is also the narrator is a likable chap and pretty convincing—except that one never quite credits, though one is grateful for it, his astounding capacity for summoning up a landscape, complete with sights and sounds and the quality of the air itself. Amos, that is to say Mr. Davis, also has a wonderful command of Western images and sayings. They sometimes give the impression of having been a little too self-consciously laid in, but for the most part they lend strength and distinction to the writing, and their tangy, often puckering flavor lingers like the taste of a chokecherry.

IN "CHOSEN COUNTRY" (Houghton Mifflin, \$4) John Dos Passos invokes the American past to explain the present and to intimate the future of his two main characters, Lulie Harrington and Jay Pignatelli. Once again he uses the device of parallel panels. In this case the lives and backgrounds of the progenitors of Lulie and Jay are interpolated at length while the main story waits. This device always seemed to me an irritating substitute for integration and still does, but the "prolegomena" are extremely well done. Indeed, the history of the first Pignatelli and his wife, Katherine Jay, is the best part of the book, and these two people have a stature and substance that young Jay and Lulie never achieve, just as the historical characters in the short biographies of "U. S. A." had more life than the contemporary fictional characters, especially the fictional men in that book. But the characterization in "Chosen Country," of men as well as women, is in general more successful, and the reason, I think, is that it is ridden by no single thesis—in "U. S. A." it was the single over-all conception of our society as a money civilization—to which the fates of the characters have to conform. "Chosen Country" is therefore richer in that unpredictability of behavior and event which creates the basic suspense of good fiction.

From the title one might expect that Dos Passos had gone in for patriotism of the cruder sort—especially since his disillusionment with the radical hopes and activity of his youth has been well advertised. As it turns out, the title is rather arbitrary. The point of the story, as I read it, is that this is not so much the country his characters have chosen as the country they happen to inhabit and are therefore irrevocably involved in. The book is infused, to be sure, with a love of country and of place—it is somewhat similar in this respect to Mr. Davis's "Winds of Morning." But then this element has always been palpable in Mr. Dos Passos's books even when they were most critical of what was going on in his country. Dos Passos recounts, as part of the experience and education of

young Jay, the story of his own thirty years' war—the principal episodes of left-wing politics, of enthusiasms and betrayals—but his mood is more historical than polemic. Finally, the story ends happily, with Jay and Lulie resolving to make "this wilderness our house," but the "message" seems to be not that this country is perfect but that its very variety, infinite and as yet unordered, offers reason for hope as well as inducement to despair.

Alternative to War

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM ON TRIAL. By Fritz Sternberg. Translated from the German by Edward Fitzgerald. The John Day Company, \$6.50.

STERNBERG'S analysis of modern history not only makes the street cries of world politics seem shallow but casts doubt on the penetration of many who pass for informed statesmen. His well-stocked and fertile mind draws lessons from the continents and the centuries. He gives enough facts, from a wide range of sources, to permit the reader to judge of his conclusions, but primarily this is a work of interpretation. It bundles up in a single volume much that the author has thought and said in a life of learning, observation, and conscientious report.

The superiority of the book lies in the thesis that world events can best be understood in the light of the development of capitalism, including for many countries, but not for the United States, imperialism. Yet Sternberg does not so much enforce a doctrine as use it to illumine the paths he treads. Though he is alarmed at "the danger that a large part of the industrial apparatus of the world will be destroyed, . . . the danger of a long period without history, the danger of a decline into barbarism," he is far from concluding that "things past redress are now with me past care."

He feels that the only chance of checking and ultimately quieting the mortal antagonism between the two world powers—the U. S. S. R. and the United States—lies in building "a pro-

gressive, democratic Socialist Europe." United and reconstructed, these countries would be industrially and militarily stronger than Russia, "and yet would have not the slightest reason or desire to attack her." This Europe, combining economic progress with political and personal liberty, would be a "third force" between the present two. If given time, it could infiltrate the Soviet Union with principles of individual freedom and beckon the United States along the road of cooperative institutions. A demonstration, in a United Europe, "that a democratic Socialist society can exist and maintain itself" might prove that "the totalitarian Soviet State is not the inevitable alternative to the capitalist system."

This is not a novel prescription, but the author, by elimination of any other solution, and by positive support, invests it with new meaning. The book, however, is anything but hortatory. It is rather the solemn and feeling testimony of a European (now American) who has abundant means of knowing whereof he speaks. BROADUS MITCHELL

New Forms in Art

ABSTRACT PAINTING. Background and American Phase. By Thomas B. Hess. The Viking Press. \$7.50.

SEASONALLY," the author writes in his foreword, "new abstract painters appear with unfamiliar forms, created with new ideas, deriving from living traditions. That such appearances recently have been made in America, and in fact that they constitute one of this country's major contributions to contemporary culture, is the subject of this book."

The eighteen painters selected for discussion are, without exception, of expressionist persuasion. Eleven of them were grouped by Ritchie, in the catalogue of last season's American Abstract show at the Museum of Modern Art, as Expressionist Geometric (Tobey, Hofmann, Motherwell, Tomlin, Reinhardt) or as Expressionist Biomorph (DeKooning, Gorky, Baziotes, Brooks, Rothko, Pollock). A twelfth (Balcomb Greene) would surely have been similarly grouped if he had been represented by a recent example of his work; likewise the remaining six (Tworkov, Gatch, Bloom, Gottlieb, Kline, Vicente),

if they had been represented at all. While I am not happy about classing abstract painters by double abstractions—and Hess is too much interested in the individual artist to bother with such matters—these citations will indicate the direction that the most interesting abstract painting has been taking.

Ritchie's catalogue was limited to a survey of the earlier history of abstract art in America and the grouping mentioned above; the present book bravely embarks on criticism, a criticism which is based on enthusiastic interest. Supplemented by over one hundred reproductions, including twelve color plates of excellent quality, this is an important contribution both as an estimate of the painters and as the debut of a discerning, witty, and courageous critic.

In his lively introduction Hess intimates, without falling into clichés, that abstraction is as old as art itself and that the enduring value of any art lies primarily in its formal values. But he is sometimes dogmatic and, I think, wrong when he denies any artistic worth, in past art, to "species of subject . . . or the moral, political, or subconscious motive of the artist." Is Masaccio's moral grandeur irrelevant, then, and the thematic astringency of Piero? We do not need to pick the bones of Renaissance art to make it intelligible.

The second section, called Background and Paris, sets the stage for the third, called Foreground and New York. These are of equal length: everything considered, the balance of emphasis seems to me to be about right. The inevitable but indispensable survey of European developments is full of bright observations. Bonnard is not so much a belated Impressionist as "an Expressionist of pleasure—as great and heroic a position as is being one of pain." Chirico achieves a "waxy" light. Mondrian's forms are so firmly established that "one of the ironies of modern art will be the refusal of a child in 1982 to see anything in a Mondrian but the façade of a famous building."

I note, in passing, that much of the fine criticism that Hess lavishes on the European precursors is firmly grounded in a sympathetic acceptance of their subject matter and its implications.

In the final section (Foreground and New York) Hess turns perversely general, though he includes enough biog-

raphy to distinguish individuals and an adequate account of their artistic development to date. The over-all estimates are incisive and sensitively written, but I miss the trenchant analysis of individual paintings which marks the earlier section. My disappointment is not unlike that produced by Greenberg's book on Miró—the criticism sets a fine, heady momentum up to the point of climax, and then unaccountably wobbles.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Turkey and Iran

THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY AND IRAN. By Lewis V. Thomas and Richard N. Frye. Harvard University Press. \$4.25.

THAT the Middle East has become an area vital to the American national interest, few will any longer contest. That this has been wholly a post-war manifestation, many are prone to overlook. That the United States policy of containing the U. S. S. R., as applied to the Middle East, has failed, almost everyone by now is convinced.

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about which most Americans, in and out of government, have acquired either a body of misconceptions or an emotional partisanship. Neither is helpful in developing an informed public opinion, without which even policies maturely conceived may founder. In post-war Washington, however, there has been anything but mature reflection on the Middle East, and in the wake of the current Iranian and Egyptian crises and the lingering Arab-Israel tensions ■ sense of frustration emanating from Washington has overtaken ■ growing segment of the public.

Turkey and Iran are the only Middle East countries which abut on the U. S. S. R. They are—or should be—of equal concern to the United States and its Western allies in the cold war. Nevertheless, the first major break at the European end of the Western wall of containment along the extended periphery of the Soviet orbit begins at the Turkish-Iranian frontier. The question immediately arises as to why Turkey has been absorbed into the Western defense arrangements and Iran has not. It is to answering this question that Thomas and Frye essentially address themselves in their respective sections on Turkey and Iran.

Still their book, like all the others in Harvard's American Foreign Policy Library series, is not limited to United States interests in and relations with the

countries under review. Thomas and Frye competently and succinctly describe the geography, natural resources, demographic trends, and cultural forces, and then admirably outline the history of Turkey and Iran. Within this context, which forms the bulk of the volume, the authors evaluate the problems and prospects of American responsibilities and policies toward the two Moslem lands. This mechanical treatment is perhaps inevitable, for until a decade ago Turkey and Iran lay entirely outside the sphere of United States national interest.

American missionaries, it is true, have been active in the two countries for well over a century. Until Pearl Harbor, however, the Department of State reflected our isolationist policy toward Europe and western Asia by scrupulously eschewing any entanglements in this Moslem region.

Even during World War II, when Turkey and Iran for the first time were thrust upon Washington's attention, no long-range American programs emerged. The United States government tended to regard Turkey—like the Arab lands to the south—as falling within the British sphere of influence, and such American policy as was articulated aimed primarily at shoring up British defenses and "incidentally [at] exploiting Turkey's neutrality in our own interests." In the case of Iran, United States policy centered on expediting the transport of lend-lease supplies to Russia.

In the final months of World War II and the early post-war period Turkey and Iran became the objects of Soviet aggression, as the Kremlin attempted to chip off the Shah's northwestern provinces and obtain a controlling interest in an Iranian oil concession, and laid claim to bases in the Turkish Straits area and to the northeast districts of Kars and Ardahan. While the United States contributed to the defeat of Russia's immediate designs, it was only with the Truman Doctrine, observes Thomas, that Turkey came into its own in American strategic thinking.

Precisely because the Turkish government and people were united in their hostility to the Soviet Union was there established an immediate identity of purpose between Ankara and Washington. Thomas also notes that American policy did "not involve us in important differences with our English-speaking

allies." This was so, he might have added, because Britain enjoyed no special status in Turkey, and American intervention, by keeping the U. S. S. R. out of Turkey, was helping Britain to shield its elaborate interests and privileges in the Arab world from direct contact with the U. S. S. R.

American economic and military grants earmarked for Turkey amounted to some \$700,000,000 by 1950. In sharp contrast, American aid to Iran in resisting Soviet pressures in 1946-47 consisted exclusively of diplomatic and moral support. This was indeed indispensable to Tehran in thwarting Russia, and United States prestige reached its height in the fall of 1947, when, with Ambassador Allen's advance public indorsement, the Iranian *Majlis*, or legislature, rejected the provisional Soviet-Iranian oil agreement. Thereafter, despite promises of substantial economic assistance, less than \$15,000,000 were allocated to Iran, the bulk of it in the form of credits for the purchase of American war surplus.

Frye tells us that even the Shah, Iran's most persistent advocate of close relations with the United States, finally "criticized the slowness and meagerness of American aid." This Frye believes to have been ■ capital American failure. While he does not explain the reasons for Washington's parsimony, these may be inferred from his analysis of Iran's ambivalence to the U. S. S. R., the existence of the well-organized and growing pro-Soviet Tudeh Party, and the dependence of Iran's economy on Russia. Even more important was the presence of the British—a factor which entirely escaped the author's notice—who through the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company not only exerted powerful pressures on the Iranian government but resented American meddling. On the other hand, Frye lucidly presents the Iranian viewpoint in the developments leading up to the oil crisis in the spring of 1951.

A summary chapter, written jointly by Thomas and Frye, would have enhanced greatly the value of the study and brought into sharp focus the effects and implications of the contrasting United States policies in Turkey and Iran. Despite this omission the book is a must, for it provides a sound introduction to American problems and responsibilities in these two Moslem lands.

J. C. HUREWITZ

ARTHUR MILLER, Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Death of a Salesman*, has joined other famous writers for *The Churchman* with a moving story of a father who *did not* betray his son—the inspiring human story behind the sordid legalities of the Melish case.

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Release of Energy

THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL.

A Chronicle of Economic Mobilization in World War II. By Eliot Janeway. Yale University Press. \$5.

HISTORY may be a fable agreed upon, but until the fable takes final shape the deep moans round with many voices. The bits and pieces which will some day make up the story of "the war effort" of the 1940's are still coming in, and the latest contribution is Eliot Janeway's brilliant and often exasperating "The Struggle for Survival."

Mr. Janeway sees some things very clearly, and he pounces on one truth which ought to go into all textbooks on American government: a President who has large affairs to direct does not need to be a good administrator—is, indeed, probably much better off if he is no administrator at all.

As Mr. Janeway abundantly demonstrates, Franklin Roosevelt was an excessively bad administrator. From the start of the struggle with the Axis, the administrative set-up in Washington was terrible, and F. D. R. was forever making it worse—brightly, airily, and for the best of reasons. But Roosevelt was also one of the greatest of Presidents. He saw what had to be done and he got it done expertly, caring not a fig for administration but relying, as Mr. Janeway aptly says, on "the unorganized momentum of American democracy." It could probably be argued—as the author comes close to doing—that great leadership in the White House succeeds, not in spite of administrative ineptitude, but in large part because of it. After all, Hoover was the Great Administrator.

In any case, Mr. Janeway examines the steps by which government was organized to create a victorious war economy—the forgotten War Resources Board, the NDAC, OPM, and SPAB, the War Production Board, and all the rest. The virtue of his book is that he makes clear what was so very hard to see at the time—that the real job was to take the wraps off and release "the anonymous energies of the millions behind whose momentum Roosevelt followed." The machinery was bad and much of it was atrociously operated, but the work did get done—faster and better than the wildest optimist would have dared to hope.

To an extent this study is excellent. What makes it exasperating is what can only be described as the streak of *Time-Life-Fortune* omniscience that runs through it all. Mr. Janeway is never in doubt; he never has to peer through a glass darkly. He can see unbroken patterns everywhere: the fathomless designs of Justice Frankfurter, the devious plots of Harry Hopkins, and the diabolically benign machinations of F. D. R.

Actually, it was never quite that simple. Also, Mr. Janeway is preoccupied with his pet villain, Donald Nelson, for whom he can find no adequate denunciation. If the military finally took control, if reconversion was halted, if greed and reaction finally steered the nation blindly into a post-war era where a world was waiting to be remade—if these deplorable things happened, as indeed they did, Mr. Janeway can see no reason but Nelson's incompetence, duplicity, shortsightedness, and timidity. Really, there was more to it than that.

As a minor matter, Mr. Janeway's fondness for phrase-making now and then betrays him—as when, describing the defense boom as a step in the Roosevelt revolution, he remarks that "it saw Negroes move about in their own Cadillacs, farmers in their own airplanes, hillbillies in their own shoes, and the rich in their own kitchens." That may be fine in the slick-paper magazines, but it hardly belongs in a history.

And it is history to which Mr. Janeway is contributing. His contribution has value, but it needs to be read with a good deal of reserve.

BRUCE CATTON

Verse Chronicle

COLLECTED POEMS." By Marianne Moore (Macmillan, \$3): Here be, as the old maps say, jerboas and pangolins, the plumet basilisk, the tuatera, the aepyornis and the apteryx, pin-swins and wood-weasels, a host of curious specimens, animal, vegetable, and mineral; also artifacts, and quotations from Montaigne, George Shiras III, Alphonse de Candolle, Dostoevsky, Richard Baxter, Xenophon, and many, many others, famous and obscure. Here are also precision and wit, a passionate interest and a reserved manner, irony, craft, an elaboration that counterpoints

succinctness, a muting of music and rhyme that sets off the occasionally imperious tone, the *ne plus ultra* of Alexandrian poetry. And do not make the mistake of thinking there is no emotion. Take probity on faith? A rare experience in our time. It is offered us here, and we should be grateful. (At a bargain price, too; for the earlier presentations are some of them out of print.)

"The Third Eyelid," by Frona Lane (Alan Swallow, \$2), continues the promise of this house to present in its New Poetry Series interesting "first collections" in compact form. As a matter of fact, Miss Lane carries the compactness pretty far, relying, for effects of wryness and terseness, on omission of articles and considerable use of the imperative mood. Her work with snapshot and flash bulb, as in *Clothes-Line* and *a Balcony*, or *Niobe-Night*, is more successful than her attempt at mural painting, as illustrated by the last poem in the book, *Ritual of Purification*, which is *over-italicized*, and *OVER-CAPITAL-*

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IZED. A pleasant little poem, *Family Letter*, shows what Miss Lane can do by way of variety when she is not being too ambitious.

"First Love, and Other Poems," by Edwin Rolfe (*The Larry Edmunds Bookshop*, Los Angeles, \$2.75), testifies, with elegiac eloquence, to the author's devotion to the people of Spain, his memory of their heroes, whether native or volunteer: there are chants in praise of Chaplin and Dreiser. Mr. Rolfe's range extends from a controlled sadness, with a good deal of reservation in the statement, as in, for instance, *Recruit*, to the Latin rhetoric of the next to the last poem in this collection, *Elegia*, which seemed as authentic in its first appearance, the Spanish translation made by J. Rubia Barcia, as it does in Mr. Rolfe's own English.

Speaking of Spain, if anybody cares to remember, the *Beloit Poetry Journal* has issued as Chapbook No. 1, in paper covers, priced at \$1, the "Romancero Gitano" of García Lorca, translated by Langston Hughes. There is an introduction by Robert Glauber, and some illustrations (pretty horrible) by John McNee, Jr. It is high time that these fifteen ballads, Lorca's greatest work, were presented as the unit they are. Mr. Hughes's translations are scrupulous and careful, perhaps even a little too modest;

through close fidelity to the line of the text, he sometimes verges on prosy statement, whereas a bit more freedom, a greater concern with line music and resonance, would have come closer to the spirit if not the letter of the original.

In lighter vein, we have "Green Fingers, and Other Poems," by Reginald Arkell (Harcourt, Brace, \$2). These are about gardening; their author has won laurels as the creator of a quaint character known as Old Herbaceous. I am, I suspect happily, unfamiliar with the antics of this citizen, but if he reflects at all the author's verse tendencies, he is, I conclude, soapily sentimental and cute enough to puke a buzzard.

Readers interested in the Vassar days of Edna St. Vincent Millay might do well to inquire of the *Vassar Alumnae Magazine* whether reprints of the memorial essay, *Vincent at Vassar*, by Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, are available to the general public. Professor Haight was Miss Millay's Latin teacher and friend, and this memorial essay is tender and loving without being excessively saccharine. It is also copiously, and charmingly, illustrated, with photographs of the poet that range from school days in Camden, Maine, to the time when she returned to campus as a distinguished alumna reading her poems.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

THE STORY OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION. By Raymond B. Fosdick. Harper. \$4.50. During the last half-century the philanthropic trusts established by the Rockefellers have expended nearly a billion dollars for public welfare, particularly health and education, and for the most part the money seems to have been spent with the same shrewdness and foresight that characterized its accumulation. This excellent book by a former president of the Rockefeller Foundation describes the underlying principles on which these world-wide philanthropies have been based, the techniques of selecting and carrying through the programs, and the results in terms of social betterment and human progress. The senior Rockefeller said, "A man should make all he can, and give all he can." Reading this book one is convinced that, on balance, the world benefited from his success in both endeavors.

THE MARSHALL STORY. By Robert Payne. Prentice-Hall. \$5. Another book—and this time a good one—by that fabulously prolific young Englishman now teaching in Alabama who already is the author of forty volumes on the most diverse and unrelated subjects. Written in haste, as all Payne's books must be, and without first-hand knowledge of its subject, it is nevertheless a lucid, readable, and objective study of General Marshall's life, character, and accomplishments, with an especially interesting section on how and why the General was tripped up in trying to solve the Chinese problem.

THE GREAT RASCAL. By Jay Monaghan. Little, Brown. \$4.50. The subtitle reads: "The exploits of the amazing Ned Buntline, king of the dime novelists, Buffalo Bill's promoter, soldier, sportsman, Western trader, roué, political manipulator, adventurer extraordinary." Judson (Buntline was his pen name) was a hare-brained complete rascal of the last century whose ways of making money were almost as numerous as those of Panurge, and no more scrupulous. Mr. Monaghan's research was thorough, his style is journalistic, his book a slight but interesting addition to the history of low life in America.

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Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

THE SHRIKE" (Cort Theater) is a rather odd sort of play which begins where Strindberg's "The Father" leaves off. It begins, that is to say, with the arrival in a psychiatric ward of a man whose wife has managed to get him sent there, and it then goes on to the point where he is finally discharged in her custody. This means, so the implication is, that he is right back where he started from, since any time that he rebels against her authority she can have him committed all over again. The total effect is, nevertheless, not quite so Strindbergian as this sounds, because the play turns out to be approximately one-third melodrama, one-third "documentary," and one-third protest against official mis-handling of our mental invalids. The author may possibly have read Strindberg, but he has obviously been more influenced by such things as, say, "The Snake Pit" and Mr. Kingsley's pioneer documentary "Men in White." The end result may be a rather grisly sort of entertainment but entertainment after a fashion it is certainly intended to be, and there is a fair chance that it will be accepted as such by a satisfactorily large audience. After all, no other age since the Elizabethan has been so interested as ours is in the madman, and no inconsiderable part of the vast current literature about psychiatry has been marketed as good light reading.

It is as documentary melodrama that this play succeeds best. All the scenes take place in one or another of the wards of a city hospital, and the first, which begins when the victim of attempted suicide by phenobarbital is rolled in and the machinery of the hospital begins to move, is tense and arresting. Presently the wife comes in all tears; the husband finally recovers consciousness; and gradually one begins to realize that the wife is a villain, that she has driven her husband to desperation, and that, consciously or unconsciously, her persistent intention is to get him back into her clutches. The psychiatrists, who appear to be remarkably stupid and more fanatically committed to the social, sexual, and matrimonial

proprieties than one has been led to think psychiatrists usually are, never get to understand what the audience soon sees very clearly; they cooperate beautifully with the villainess; and the victim does not get out until he decides to play the hypocrite. He tells the doctors what they want to hear, stages a reconciliation with his wife, and then is left at the final curtain desperate with the realization that he will never be a free man again.

José Ferrer, who generally plays sane men rather wildly, plays this madman with subdued effectiveness, and there is also a skilful presentation of the hypocritical wife by Judith Evelyn. The trouble with the play is that the documentary interest wears out early in the second act and that the hopelessness of the victim's situation is never entirely convincing; so that the whole is not quite real either as tragedy or as social protest. The present reviewer is no lawyer, but he hopes he is not wrong in believing that the commitment in the wife's custody is not unlimited either as to duration or as to the powers which it confers. An old *New Yorker* cartoon showed a lawyer explaining to an indignant lady that she cannot get a divorce exclusively on the ground of insubordination, and I fancy that the point is relevant. My advice to the husband would be to bear up as well as he can for a year or two and then to move into his own apartment. I doubt that he could be summarily sent back to an insane asylum without a hearing or that at such a hearing inability to get along with his wife would be considered sufficient and prima facie evidence of certifiable madness. In other words, the hero of this play is in rather a tough spot, but the author does not succeed in convincing me that it is quite so bad as, for melodramatic purposes, he asks us to believe that it is.

As for the title, which is never referred to in the course of the play, one may explain for the benefit of non-ornithologists that a shrike is a small bird which kills rodents and sometimes other birds, which it either eats immediately or hangs up for future use on a thorn or a barbed-wire fence. I suppose the fact that one would never suspect from its appearance that it has any such bloody habits is the reason for the im-

plied comparison with the wife in this play. Even so the appropriateness is not too striking.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE newest recording of Bach's great Passacaglia for organ (MGM) provides another disappointment. Carl Weinrich plays the work straightforwardly on the organ of Princeton University Chapel; and it must be the acoustic defects of the chapel that cause the opening statement of the theme to come off the record with a counterpoint not written by Bach, and his own lines of counterpoint often not to be clear in the variations and fugue. There is a similar lack of clarity in the A minor Concerto after Vivaldi on the reverse side.

On the other hand Robert Noehren's performances of Bach's Canonic Variations on "Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her" and Chorale and Variations on "O Gott, Du frommer Gott" on the organ of Grace Episcopal Church in Sandusky, Ohio (Allegro), come off the record with admirable clarity. The first piece is one of the matured Bach's ex-

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ercises of prodigious technique with no interesting musical results; the second, which he wrote at the age of seventeen, is engaging, with a remarkable and moving chromatic slow variation.

Clearly reproduced also are Helmut Walcha's performances of Bach's Schübler Chorale Preludes on the St. Jakobi organ in Lübeck, and five other Chorale Preludes on the Schnitger organ in Cappel (Decca). Of the Schübler group the best-known, "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," is the most impressive; of the others I find "An Wasserflüssen Babylon" beautiful and "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein" engaging, but "Fuga sopra il Magnificat," "Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her," and "Valet will ich dir geben" less interesting. The performances are good.

Fernando Valenti's harpsichord play-

ing seems to me the finest, in its treatment both of the instrument and of the music, that is now to be heard, and lends interest to two otherwise uninteresting works of Bach—the Toccata in D minor and the Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro in E flat—that are on one record with the fine Toccata in E minor (Allegro).

The Haydn Piano Sonata No. 46 issued by the Haydn Society is the one that EMS issued as No. 43, and one of his best. Virginia Pleasants plays it with effective tempos, clarity, sensitiveness, and repose—as against the more turbulent pianistic brilliance of Rosen's EMS performance, No. 49, on the same Haydn Society record, I find uninteresting. And I would skip Soulima Stravinsky's performances of six other Haydn sonatas, most of them uninteresting (Allegro).

Friedrich Gulda's performances of Beethoven's Sonatas Opus 110 and Opus 27 No. 2 on one London record and Opus 106 ("Hammerklavier") on another are like the one of Opus 111 at his first recital in New York—remarkable for the accuracy and beauty of sound with which his clearly outlining conceptions of the music are executed, but with those outlines lacking the intensification and projective force that maturity may bring, and with the works lacking the strength that Beethoven's music should have. The inadequacy is greatest in Opus 106, least in the tranquil opening movement of Opus 110. And I should mention that Gulda's unusual treatment of the repeated A in measures 5 and 6 of the Adagio of Opus 110 doesn't work for me. The piano is well reproduced; but in addition to the audible hall resonance peculiar to London recording, the side with Opus 110 produces on my machine a pounding noise which it does not produce on a machine with limited bass.

Schumann's "Carnaval" (Columbia) is played well by Gyorgy Sandor; the recorded sound is glassy, and metallic in loud passages. The less familiar "Faschingschwank aus Wien" (Vanguard), played well by Jacqueline Blancard, I find uninteresting; and the Brahms Variations on a Theme of Schumann, on the reverse side, even more so.

Chopin's Ballades (Allegro) are played well by Leonid Hambro; even with bass enormously stepped up the

piano sound is shallow (Casadesu's performances are even better, and are better reproduced). The Nocturnes (RCA Victor) are played by Rubinstein very beautifully in the traditional mannered style. Firkusny's performance of the great Sonata Opus 58 (Columbia) is something to skip.

Debussy's Etudes (REB) offer elaborations of the various elements of his piano style—most of them interesting only in that respect, a few engaging and impressive as music. They are played well by Charles Rosen.

With Henry Cowell's performances of a number of his piano pieces (Circle) comes a separate little record with his spoken comments on them, which would be more useful printed on the envelope. Cowell has devised ingenious ways of manipulating the strings of the piano directly to produce the sound of a harp, the wailing of a banshee, and other things of that kind; but the pieces achieve nothing of interest beyond their approximations of the sounds of the harp, the banshee, and so on. And I find myself not interested much more by the pieces whose substance is produced by the normal method of depressing the keys.

A reader thinks I gave a slightly misleading impression, in my discussion of the New York City Ballet's repertory, with the phrase "the inferior ballets of other choreographers." He points out that while these ballets are inferior to Balanchine's, "one, 'Illuminations,' is quite fine, and at least three others, 'The Duel,' 'Cakewalk,' and 'Mother Goose,' are slight but respectable—i. e., not the actually shoddy stuff that you find in other companies."

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ROLFE HUMPHRIES, *The Nation's* poetry critic, has recently published a verse translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

PERSONALS

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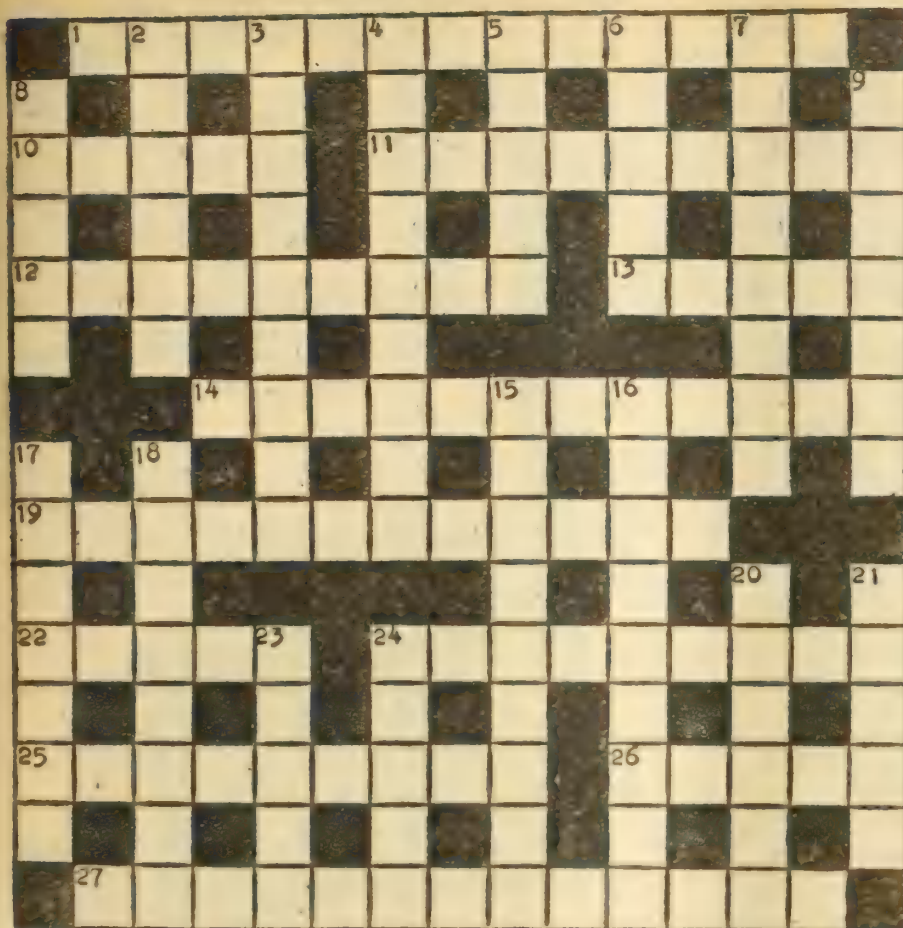
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Crossword Puzzle No. 450

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The life of a car? (13)
- 10 Deep in the Sierra Nevadas. (5)
- 11 S, M, T, etc.—any one! (3, 6)
- 12 Not paying the penalty for being twice guilty? (9)
- 13 Die; it's unnecessary with 11. (5)
- 14 Standing Pat? Not with too much of this! (5, 7)
- 19 One seldom sees them playing by themselves. (12)
- 22 Looks sullen like 8, in a way. (5)
- 24 Scolded too much? (In too high a class.) (9)
- 25 Made out of fancy material? (Panama hats—the A-minus sort.) (9)
- 26 Indian and many white brothers find dinner there! (5)
- 27 Smothered in a blanket, by the sound of it! (4-2-3-4)

- 6 A stake's supports. (5)
- 7 Crusoe's exclamation on seeing Friday's footprints? (8)
- 8 Spout beer or holy water from it! (5)
- 9 Certainly doesn't charge ahead! (7)
- 15 A little bluing might help to make one. (9)
- 16 An opinion to bury. (9)
- 17 Catch the fuel! (7)
- 18 The goal of Rightists? (8)
- 20 People that get it on the house don't necessarily get swindled. (Unless someone gyps 'em?) (6)
- 21 Anthony's family needs a change! (5)
- 23 Stuffed dates. (5)
- 24 A man, alternatively his offspring. (5)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 449

ACROSS:—1 PROMISCUITY; 9 BENCH SAW; 10 EXTRAS; 11, 12 and 15 MATCHES ARE MADE IN HEAVEN; 14, 22 and 27 A PENNY FOR YOUR THOUGHTS; 17 PLAY-GOER; 20 MATHER; 24 INDITES; 26 RES-CUE; 28 EARTHLINESS.

DOWN:—2 ROCK CANDY; 3 MYSTERY; 4 SEWN; 5 ONEARTH; 6 TOTEM; 7 DE-CAMP; 8 HANDLE; 13 DIARY; 16 AN-TRINGS; 18 LIONEL; 19 OPULENT; 20 MONSOON; 21 EVERTS; 23 YUCCA; 25 ET AL.

DOWN

- 2 Did one of these have his house cave in? (6)
- 3 One might by tossing out the first question. (4, 5)
- 4 Do asinine people come from here? (9)
- 5 Held up and teased. (5)

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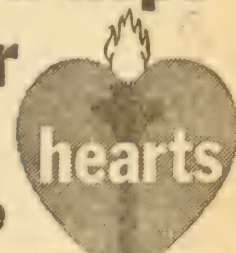
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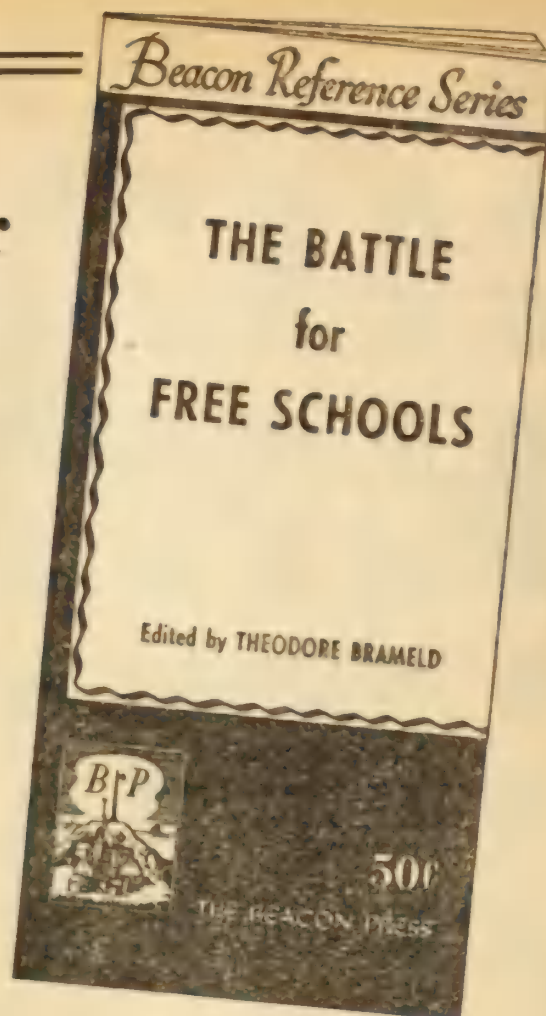
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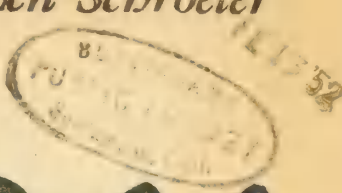
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Force and Violence in Illinois—*Len Schroeter*

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NUMBER 6

The Shape of Things

HAROLD L. ICKES, IN SPITE OF SOME ILL health in recent years, was vigorous and effective almost to the day of his death. His articles in the *New Republic* were shrewd, salty, and penetrating. He followed events with unflagging attention, and when you talked to him you always sensed the long knowledge that lay behind his most casual comments. Not that his judgments were infallible. Far from it. Often infuriatingly wrong-headed and arbitrary, he would stick to his position with a passion worthy of a better cause. But when the better cause came along you could count on Harold Ickes to fight for it without any concern for his own interest or convenience. Republican Spain, for example, had no better friend in America; and his opposition to the policy of conciliating Franco was expressed with an open contempt for the expediencies of cold war and the threats of the witch hunters. Ickes's eminence as Secretary of the Interior is unchallenged. Not only did he enforce the standards that ruled out the possibility of new Teapot Domes; he also established so firmly the doctrine of public control over public resources that it will be hard, we believe, for any succeeding Secretary to abandon it altogether. Throughout his years in office he was not so much a good administrator as a dynamic leader who imbued his subordinates in the multifarious bureaus and divisions of the monstrous department with a new sense of direction, a social and political goal. His resignation was a misfortune for which the President was plainly responsible, but it gave Mr. Ickes a few years of freedom to devote to his family and a wide variety of personal and public interests. His going will leave a big gap in American life, for Harold Ickes was one of those rare persons who could be fought or followed but never for a moment ignored.

✱

REPORTS FROM LONDON CONFIRM ANDREW Roth's account of Chiang's Guerrillas in our issue of January 26. On January 19 the *Observer's* crack correspondent, Rawle Knox, cabled from Rangoon that "one of Chiang Kai-shek's best battalions from Formosa has recently reinforced Kuomintang General Li Mi's 93d Division in [northeastern] Burma, according to indisputable authorities"—meaning, apparently, the British embassy. "There is indisputable evidence that Americans are helping the 93d Division. Two Americans accom-

panied it in its ignominious offensive last autumn, and when retreat followed, a Thai [Siamese] police helicopter was sent to evacuate them from Mongnyen. It crashed and was burned by its crew; the two Americans walked out into Thailand. . . . Over Kengtung town [in north-eastern Burma's Shan States], Constellations are frequently seen flying at about 10,000 feet. . . . Misdirected parachute drops have been found, which include American small arms manufactured since the war. Surrendered Kuomintang men say they have been helped into Burma by an American organization in Bangkok. . . . There is quite sufficient evidence . . . to show that an independent American agency is helping Kuomintang troops and material through Thailand to Burma, a maneuver for which, in present Asian circumstances, foolhardy is a temperate word." Reports of this kind help to explain John Foster Dulles's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 21 in which he said that to produce "a change in China . . . will require determination to promote freedom and independence in Asia, and *action consistent with that determination as opportunities arise*" (italics ours). ✱

IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT THE ATTACK ON free schools should eventually be directed at a college. This is the prime significance of the recent attempt of the Hearst press, aided by Allen Zoll, Louis Budenz, the *American Legion Magazine*, *Counterattack*, and a local Legion post, to breach the walls of academic freedom at Sarah Lawrence College. The attack follows the familiar pattern of the razzle-dazzle campaigns launched against the public schools in Pasadena, California, Englewood, New Jersey, and a score of other communities since 1949. "Charges" are irresponsibly aired; then a local group "demands," under direct threat of financial reprisal, that the institution deliver up certain heretics; finally, to give the campaign meaning, the public threats are neatly synchronized to give the impression that they represent mass opposition rather than the ravings of a small group of fanatics egged on by self-seeking organizations and institutions. In this instance the plot has failed because the trustees of Sarah Lawrence have declined to be placed in a defensive position. In a fine statement the trustees declared: "An educational institution must teach its students to think for themselves by giving them the knowledge upon which to base judgments. . . . In carrying out this responsibility faculty

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members are expected to deal candidly and honestly with controversial questions. Teachers who meet the test of candor, honesty, and scholarly integrity may not be deprived of any rights they hold as citizens of this country, including the right to belong to any legal political organization of their own choosing. . . . The idea that a member of the faculty should take intellectual or political dictation from any quarter is alien to everything Sarah Lawrence stands for. Prejudiced or politically inspired teaching would quickly reveal itself, and would be rejected by the students and by the whole college." If the trustees stand by this statement, there will be no rout of freedom at Sarah Lawrence.

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THE FBI WAS GIVEN A TASTE OF ITS OWN medicine in Hawaii when the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union broadcast over Station KHON the recorded conversation of two FBI agents with David Thompson, the union's educational director. Calling at Thompson's home, the agents tried to persuade him to help them convince Jack W. Hall, a union official now under indictment for violation of the Smith act, to become a government witness. Unknown to the agents, a tape recording was made of the interview. With remarkable frankness the agents offered a variety of "deals," including a reduction in the number of counts in the indictment against Hall, if he would "go along" with the government. The agents scoffed at the notion that the persons indicted in Hawaii for violation of the Smith act constituted "a clear and present danger" to the security of the islands. "They just don't rate," one of them said; "they would make poor Communists in the lowest cell in California." It is too bad that the playback of the recording could not have been heard over a national network or at least by a Congressional committee. If this is a fair sample of the political police activities of the FBI, it is high time Mr. Hoover was asked a few questions.

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NOW THAT EVERYBODY IS INVESTIGATING everybody else it is no surprise to find Frank E. McKinney of Indianapolis, so recently chosen by President Truman to help purify the Democratic Party, himself the object of an inquiry in connection with the bankruptcy case of Frank Cohen's Empire Tractor Corporation. The trustees of that defunct company want to find out whether its failure was caused in part by the huge, quick profits paid to Mr. McKinney and his friend Frank M. McHale, Democratic National Committeeman from Indiana. They also want to know whether those profits can be recovered and turned over to the company's creditors. In an effort to protect the reputation of his new National Chairman, Mr. Truman has refused to make available the report on the Empire Ordnance Company, a related

Cohen enterprise, made by the Truman committee in 1942. The President said it is "not in accord with our American traditions" to parade the names of individuals before the public "for scorn or ridicule without regard to their guilt or innocence." These are praiseworthy scruples. But Chairman McKinney's name is already before the public, and enough questionable doings have been connected with it so that the full facts can only help him—unless they are still more questionable. Readers who recall Irving Liebowitz's article, Frank "Midas" McKinney, in *The Nation* of December 29, will agree that evasive tactics will no longer serve the Democratic National Chairman, or the President.

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MEANWHILE, MR. GABRIELSON, MCKINNEY'S Republican counterpart, and Mr. Boyle, his Democratic predecessor, are in trouble too. Both have been accused by the Senate investigating subcommittee of dubious conduct in connection with several RFC loans. But Mr. Gabrielson at least has found a champion. Senator Joe McCarthy, whose feeling for the niceties and scrupulous regard for the rights of the accused are well known, entered a lone dissent from the subcommittee's report. His comment should be included in all future collections of McCarthiana. "The report, in my opinion," he said, "must stick strictly to the facts as proven and not indulge in supposition."

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THE RECENT APPOINTMENT OF LUIGI GEDDA to head Catholic Action in Italy is proof that the Vatican is getting ready for a showdown with the anti-clerical elements in the Christian Democratic Party. Gedda is the man who in 1948 organized the Catholic "Civic Committees" which turned out the Christian Democratic vote and coincidentally made Catholic Action, the temporal arm of the church, very influential within the party. He is an extreme conservative who has consistently urged closer cooperation between the Demo-Christians and the extreme right. When the appointment was announced, Monarchist and neo-Fascist legislators promptly expressed approval. A Demo-Christian spokesman limited himself to declaring that his party would not become subservient to church policies, but it is evident that a real fight for control is in prospect. The Vatican newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, in an angry editorial aimed at refuting the criticism which both the left and the center have leveled at Gedda, declared that "all these influences are fanciful" since "Catholic Action is not a political organization or a political party." The *Osservatore* denied that the church was applying any pressure to the Demo-Christians, although in the same breath it declared that there could obviously be no division of policy between that party and the clergy. The first indications of how successful Gedda has been will come in the spring, when

thirty-three provinces, mainly in southern Italy, will hold administrative elections. If Gedda and Catholic Action succeed in forcing the Demo-Christians to collaborate with the Monarchists and the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement, the result might not only split the government party but confirm the victory of political clericalism.

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ALGER HISS, CONVICTED OF PERJURY TWO years ago by the second of two juries to hear his case, has moved for a third trial based on newly discovered evidence. The motion is supported by affidavits strongly suggesting that the famous Woodstock typewriter, which figured so prominently in the trials, may have been a specially built or fabricated machine and not the machine that Hiss once owned. Its serial number indicates that it was built in the second half of 1929, whereas the admitted Hiss letters and the Chambers documents appear in a typeface that the Woodstock Company had abandoned at the end of 1928 or early 1929. The motion also relies on sworn testimony by Lee Pressman, formerly chief counsel for the C. I. O., which directly contradicts Chambers's testimony that Hiss once belonged to a Communist "apparatus" that included Pressman. Pressman's statement was not available at either trial, since he had not then decided to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Of great interest also is a wealth of new evidence cited to prove that Chambers had broken with the Communist Party and gone into hiding at a date which would make it impossible for him to have been a pillar of the Communist espionage system late in the spring of 1938. The motion contains, in addition, two affidavits from witnesses who, without qualification, contradict the testimony of the "surprise" witness, Edith Murray, whose testimony was largely instrumental in bringing about the conviction of Hiss at the second trial. Both trials were conducted in a social, if not a courtroom, atmosphere that was highly prejudicial; it is to be hoped, therefore, that this motion for a new trial will be weighed with the greatest care and objectivity.

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AN INVESTIGATION OF BLACKLISTING practices in the radio and television industries by the Federal Communications Commission was proposed in these columns on December 1, 1951. We are now pleased to report that the Author's League of America has instructed its president, Rex Stout, to ask the commission for a hearing on the blacklisting of writers and others by radio and television licensees. In view of the great public interest in the question and the clear threat which blacklisting offers to American institutions, the FCC should grant the request. Properly conducted, such a hearing could dispel "the black shadow of fear" from television and radio studios.

While the Supreme Court Pussyfoots

FACED with an opportunity to strike a final blow at segregated public schools, the Supreme Court has not only dodged the issue but in effect ruled that the right of Negro children to equality of education must be vindicated in each school district of the South. The nub of the ruling in the Clarendon County, South Carolina, case is that the court prefers to force the admission of Negroes to "white" schools on a case-by-case basis rather than rule that the "separate-but-equal" doctrine is a contradiction in terms.

In recent years the Supreme Court has gradually broken down the pattern of segregation in the tax-supported graduate and professional schools of most of the border and a number of Southern states. Last year the N. A. A. C. P. decided to strike at segregation in the public schools. Negro parents in Clarendon County brought suit in the federal district court, asking that their children be admitted to the regular "white" school on the ground that segregation is *per se* unconstitutional.

Over the vigorous dissent of Judge J. Waties Waring, the special three-judge court sitting on the case decided that segregation was constitutional but that the Negro school in Clarendon must be made "equal" to the white. School officials were accordingly ordered to report back within six months on the steps taken to achieve this objective. In the meantime, however, the petitioners appealed to the Supreme Court, which has now ruled that the lower court should have considered the report of the school officials—a ruling which will delay final decision on the crucial issue until well after the November election. As Justices Black and Douglas pointed out in dissents, the Supreme Court had all the information needed for a judgment if it had been willing to pass on the question of segregation itself. For if the court had faced this issue, it would not have mattered whether the Negro school was equal or even better than the "white."

When the case again comes before it, the Supreme Court will doubtless order Negro children admitted to the schools of Clarendon County; but the victory will be a narrow one indeed since it will be based solely on conditions of inequality found to exist in that one county. If the fight against segregation must go on until Negroes have captured every educational hedgerow, it will continue for many summers. It was for this reason that Governor James F. Byrnes hailed the decision as a victory for the South.

Apparently the Supreme Court—Justices Black and Douglas dissenting—intends to kill Jim Crow by as many pinpricks as there are school districts in the South. If this is its strategy, then we should like to go on record as saying that the court is likely to provoke a great deal

more trouble than if it were to decide, once and for all, that segregated schools are unconstitutional. The facts recited in Len Schroeter's piece on page 124 indicate clearly enough that while the Supreme Court pussyfoots, the opposition is exploding bombs and blasting away with shotguns. By temporizing with these forces, the court only encourages further resistance and thereby arrests the pace of social progress. Further reprieves are pointless: Jim Crow is dying, let the final blow be struck!

Mr. Butler's Tourniquet

LAST week Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Richard A. Butler, brought forward the second installment of a Tory austerity program calculated to make his fellow-countrymen look back longingly to the spacious days of Cripps. Two months ago Mr. Butler announced a reduction in import licenses for European goods, particularly foodstuffs, intended to cut imports by £350,000,000, together with the halving of tourists' foreign-exchange allowances. Now imports from other areas are to be reduced by £150,000,000, and the tourist allowance is again cut in half, bringing it down to £25 annually, not more than enough for an economical week in Paris.

Supplies of home produced as well as foreign goods are to be restricted. Quotas of most kinds of hard goods, including bicycles, radios, television sets, vacuum cleaners, and other household appliances, are to be a third less than last year. This will free capacity in the metal-working industries for export orders and defense, as will the proposed severe restriction of all non-essential building and investment in plant and machinery. It is also expected that these measures will lead to some unemployment and thus assist recruitment in the undermanned defense industries.

The reduction in the supply of goods available to British consumers must be matched by measures to cut down purchasing power if it is not to create new inflationary pressures. To this end Mr. Butler announced a cut in civil-service personnel and the modification of the National Health Service by the imposition of a small uniform charge for each prescription supplied and of fees for dental work, hitherto free. But these are obviously small beginnings; a much heavier attack on spending power is likely when Mr. Butler presents his budget on March 4, five weeks earlier than usual.

In the House of Commons the Labor opposition replied to the government's proposals with a motion of censure which declared that the new austerity program was "inadequate, inappropriate, and unjust" and urged that there could be "no confidence in a government whose present policy is in such marked contrast to the optimistic statements on which it was returned to

power." That was a legitimate debating point, since when the Tories wooed the electorate with visions of fewer controls and more food, they were well aware that Britain's tottering balance of payments would not permit any thing of the sort. However, the Labor Party's spokesmen were handicapped by the fact that, like the Tories, they were committed to giving priority to rearmament. Had a Labor government been returned to office it would have been compelled to take very similar action unless it had decided to reduce defense expenditure.

Only the Bevanite group, therefore, was in a position to attack the government on the ground that it was sacrificing the social services and the workers' standard of living to rearmament. Bevan himself intervened effectively to point out that part of the proposed saving in imports was to be achieved by reducing reserves of food and materials—an act of "criminal lunacy" if there was really danger of war. However, the rebel leader appeared to be biding his time, expecting, perhaps, that his real opportunity would come when the budget appears, especially if the Chancellor confirms persistent rumors by abolishing the food subsidies.

While some of the Tories' belt-tightening measures are debatable, it is beyond dispute that Britain, in co-operation with its partners in the sterling area, must find means to end the drain on its gold and dollar reserves. In the second half of 1951 these reserves fell by \$1,578,000,000 and now total only \$2,335,000,000, which is not very much above the irreducible safe minimum of about \$2,000,000,000. For some time both Britain and the principal sterling-area countries have been living above their incomes. If they continue to do so and there are further substantial drafts on the reserve, the sterling area is likely to collapse and Britain itself will be threatened with bankruptcy.

This danger was recognized at the recent conference in London of Commonwealth Finance Ministers, who agreed that each member of the sterling group should take appropriate measures to rectify its trade balance. Mr. Butler's program represents part of Britain's response to this challenge, and in the near future other members of the Commonwealth are expected to announce plans for curbing imports and investments and stimulating exports.

Such steps are probably inevitable in view of the present crisis. The difficulty is that they are essentially restrictionist and thus apt to be self-defeating. British curbs on imports from Europe, together with restrictions on tourists, must, for instance, create balance-of-trade difficulties for other countries, which in turn may find themselves forced to block imports from the sterling area. The result may be a concentration of British and European sales efforts in this country, where there is no balance-of-payments problem to serve as an excuse for limiting

imports. Yet, if successful, such a sales drive would probably lead to strong protests from manufacturers here whose own production is being curtailed by defense requirements. Again, the restriction of investment must prevent the realization of one of Britain's prime needs—the improvement of its industrial plant. Without that it will not be able to raise its productivity and in the not very long run will find exports lagging because costs are too high.

Restrictionism, in short, is like a tourniquet. It may prevent a country from bleeding to death, but if retained for long it stops circulation. Britain has to find means not merely to check the economic hemorrhage which threatens its life but to end it. The real question facing Churchill's government, therefore, is the one that Mr. Bevan and his friends continue to press: can this cure be effected so long as the country is arming beyond its means?

The Speech Nobody Made

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, January 30

FOR two months the press of the world has been publishing detailed accounts of the proceedings of the General Assembly and the various U. N. committees. But though the speeches have been accurately reported and the comments ample and intelligent, people have not got the real picture of what has been happening—of the change from the high expectations of the opening sessions to the sense of frustration now prevailing. To fill out the story, historians of the Assembly need a speech which is not in the files because it was never given aloud, though it was frequently whispered into the ears of delegates and journalists. It would have caused a great sensation if some representative of a small Western nation had had the courage to rise up and deliver it from the floor. It would have run, I believe, something like this:

Mr. Chairman: The country I represent belongs to what is usually called the "Western" or "Christian" world. As such it will be called upon to do its share in defending the West in case of Communist aggression. This gives me the right, I think, to appraise the forces on our side and the way they are being utilized. Since I speak in this tribunal I shall naturally emphasize the use the United Nations is making of them.

At San Francisco the United Nations pledged themselves to wipe out fascism. Their whole policy during the war was directed to that end, and no one imagined the task was accomplished when the last shot was fired. It was recognized that a continuing political effort, based on an accord among the five great powers, would be required. There is no use asking sadly or indignantly why this fundamental postulate of post-war policy was so soon

forgotten. The fact is that the accord among the Big Five no longer exists, that it has been replaced by two antagonistic alliances, and that the United Nations, instead of trying to forge a new unity, is apparently bending every effort to prevent the great powers from getting together to negotiate an agreement. As a result the United Nations has lost all power to secure the peace. The give and take of negotiations has been abandoned for the adoption of resolutions by a not always convinced but usually obedient Western majority.

Countries which can contribute men or arms or experience in aggression are rated higher than those which, like mine, can only offer devotion to the principles of the Charter. Thus a Germany more and more dominated by the surviving exponents of Nazism, by pre-war generals and industrialists, exercises more influence here in the Palais de Chaillot, even before its formal admission to the U. N., than a country like India, which insists on conciliation; Uruguay with its long tradition of democracy is less courted than Franco's Spain.

While the propaganda front is one of the most important fronts of the cold war, the matter of effectives must also be considered. Besides the German and Japanese divisions which N. A. T. O.'s high command is planning to recruit, it must raise and equip French, English, Belgian, Scandinavian, South American, Greek, and Turkish troops. America, meanwhile, prepares Franco Spain for its role as ally and undertakes the rearming and training of the defeated forces of Chiang Kai-shek. The strain on the Western countries is tremendous. Post-war reconstruction is interrupted; consumers' goods are becoming scarce; living standards, already low, are declining; plans for the economic development of backward countries must be put off; trade barriers between East and West are multiplied; raw materials are stockpiled and channeled into the manufacture of armaments; bankruptcy is staved off only by fresh transfusions of dollars. I do not imagine these things. They are all described in the reports of the U. N.'s experts, and some have been discussed in the present Assembly. The trend in this direction was started by the U. N.'s famous resolutions—those creating the Interim Committee, the Acheson plan ("Uniting for Peace"), and other similar "collective" measures. And behind all these resolutions stands the transfer of the functions of the Security Council to the Assembly, where our "Western" world has a firm majority and no veto can be exercised. Have we, by these means, accomplished our aims?

In private conversations it is admitted that our plan has not worked. Though the resolutions were passed by overwhelming votes, the conviction which would have given them moral force and insured their effective implementation was lacking. The chief thought was that the enemy must not get the impression of any division in our ranks. We have repeatedly proclaimed the success of collective

action in Korea, but there has been no military decision and so far no armistice to mark the successful application of military sanctions. The truth is that the handling of the Korean affair has antagonized all Asia.

The refusal of the Assembly to consider how to bring the Korean war to an early end has further damaged the prestige of this institution. When Mr. Vishinsky offered to discuss Korea, the Assembly, in my opinion, should have seized the opportunity either to unmask the Soviet proposal if it was only a maneuver or to make use of it if it was genuine. The man in the street simply does not understand—and, indeed, it is difficult to understand—why the United Nations must permit the war in Korea to drag on and on, apparently forever, without lifting a finger to finish the bloodshed. The argument that discussion in the U. N. might endanger the truce negotiations in Korea seems pure nonsense to the ordinary citizen. He knows only that the talks have been stalled for weeks and that if they collapse the U. N. troops may bomb China proper. Confronted with this gloomy prospect, he says: Well, after all, this is a United Nations war; if the United Nations is unable to finish it, what is the use of having a United Nations?

Our disarmament resolution had no practical value since it was opposed by the countries we wanted to see disarm. Our resolution on German unity was rejected by half of Germany. We voted for economic aid to underdeveloped countries knowing such aid would not get beyond the paper stage. When for once a miracle occurred in the Political Committee and a Russian resolution calling for simultaneous admission of the fourteen applicant nations was approved by twenty-one votes to twelve with twenty-five abstentions, the American delegation immediately initiated a drive to kill it in the Assembly, where a two-thirds' majority is required.

That is the record within the U. N. Outside, spokesmen for the Arab states have emphasized the failure of Western policy in the Middle East, and events have surely borne them out. Not only Aneurin Bevan but Winston Churchill has described the British economy as "ruined." The Americans try to reassure us by saying that the task of creating positions of strength has caused difficulties which will disappear as the rearmament program approaches completion. But what guaranty have we that the United States, after building up these positions of strength, will consider it necessary or advantageous to negotiate with the Russians? May not the desire to deliver an ultimatum overrule its allies' demand for a negotiated settlement? That question haunts us and overshadows every other calculation.

It is essential that we Westerners restore the prestige of negotiation. After all, public opinion in all our countries, however great the ideological opposition to communism, would be less offended by the sight of Soviet representatives around the council table than they are at

the prospect of conferring with Hitler's former generals, or the men who planned Pearl Harbor, or Franco's pro-Nazi Falangists. Let us give frank and public expression here to the doubts voiced privately by so many delegates. Let us shape out of those doubts a policy of con-

ciliation, and refuse to permit the United Nations to be converted into an instrument of "containment" or ultimate showdown in the struggle for power we have seen carried on in this Assembly. For that would mean its death.

Murder in the Mines

Washington, January 31

CLOSING his testimony on the Neely-Price mine-safety bill before a Senate labor subcommittee, John L. Lewis reminded committee members that in ancient Egypt there were men who tended the Houses of the Dead. "Those men were a breed apart. The effluvia of death always seemed to emanate from their bodies. I sometimes wish, when I have time to meditate between explosions, that some great anthropologist or profound student of genealogy would tell me whether our present-day coal operators are not descendants of the men who worked in the Houses of the Dead. In no other way can I account for their callousness, their indifference to death among their employees, their pseudo-defense of the killing, the maiming, the wounding of men."

The language was violent, although Lewis's manner was restrained, and Harry Moses, a veteran spokesman of the mine operators, blenched visibly. But the testimony of the operators themselves proved that the denunciation was justified. Witness after witness representing the coal industry declared that enforcement of federal mine-safety regulations would be "impracticable," that it was "unconstitutional," that it was fraudulently designed to promote, not safety, but "nationalization" of the mines.

Until 1941 mine operators were able to prevent federal inspectors from entering their pits. It would be "unconstitutional," they argued for an agent of the federal government to pass judgment on miners' working conditions. They were finally forced to allow federal safety inspections, but they blocked all attempts to give the Bureau of Mines and Department of the Interior the power to close down unsafe mines.

Since inauguration of the safety-inspection service not a single major mine disaster has occurred without prior warning of unsafe conditions. The Centralia, Illinois, mine in which 111 men died five years ago had been the subject of protests by federal inspectors and a committee of the miners. The Orient mine No. 2 at West Frankfort, Illinois, which killed 119 men just before Christmas, was criticized by federal inspectors as recently as last July 31.

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BY WILLARD SHELTON

John J. Forbes, director of the Bureau of Mines, testified that four consecutive reports of federal agents in two years had warned the Chicago, Wilmington, and Franklin Coal Company that Orient No. 2 was dangerous and had spelled out the major hazards in capital letters.

While theoretically it should be possible for mine safety to be insured by the several states, the record of 93,000 deaths in fifty years shows that the states have not done the job. In Illinois, Governor Adlai Stevenson had a new safety code drafted, but the General Assembly refused to consider it. Even the members of the legislature from the West Frankfort area showed no interest.

The major objection to strict safety laws is economic. It costs money to protect mines against natural hazards—to use rock dusting to keep down the explosive potential of coal dust, to instal ventilating shafts, to buy "permissible" equipment (approved by federal inspectors) and maintain it in "permissible" operating condition. Moreover, if one state passes a rigid safety code, its mines are handicapped in competition with those of other states. The coal lobbyists scarcely have to lift an eyebrow in any state capital to discourage crusading about mine safety.

In spite of these facts not a single representative of the coal industry who appeared before the Neely subcommittee had the decency to admit frankly that the time had come for federal action. Harry Treadwell, vice-president of the company operating Orient mine No. 2, double-talked to the committee and the press. He told the committee, in response to repeated questions from Senator Murray, that he favored any law "that would stop accidents so we can continue in business," but he confided to reporters afterward that he was "not necessarily" in favor of the Neely-Price bill. The miners killed in the West Frankfort disaster left 301 dependents, but Treadwell is "not necessarily" in favor of effective measures to prevent future disasters.

Ed Schorr, representing the Ohio and some western Pennsylvania operators, warmly indorsed federal legislation in principle, but insisted that the whole federal mine-safety code—a highly technical document requiring expert interpretation—be written into law by Congress, so that day-to-day administration would be removed from the Bureau of Mines. Schorr also proposed that if the

bureau closed down a mine, the operator be given the right of immediate recourse to a federal judge, who could suspend the order.

Robert E. Lee Hall, a lawyer who appeared for the National Coal Association, argued that the safety record of mines was steadily improving and that to transfer "primary responsibility" to the federal government would be unconstitutional and would create "uncertainties." Walter Thurmond expressed the opposition of the Southern Coal Producers' Association; an engineer from Pikesville, Kentucky, one O. S. Batten, who appeared for Kentucky operators, charged that the Neely-Price bill and the mine-safety code were equally insincere and fraught with menace to the Republic.

A curious note was introduced into the hearings by Thomas E. Shroyer, Senator Taft's representative on the staff of the Senate Labor Committee. Shroyer—and he was later echoed by Taft himself—exhibited concern for the constitutional question of whether coal mining is an aspect of interstate commerce and as such properly subject to federal regulation. Forbes, of the Bureau of Mines, insisted that fewer than 5 per cent of existing mines would be exempt from federal regulation on the ground that they operated wholly in intrastate commerce, but Taft and Shroyer seemed dubious. Apparently in their view the coal industry is clearly in interstate commerce when John L. Lewis is to be hit with a court injunction prohibiting a strike but just as clearly out of it when mine safety is the issue.

A word must be said about the hot dispute between

Lewis and Taft over the effects of the Taft-Hartley law on the authority claimed by miners' safety committees to shut down unsafe mines. Taft argued that a mere suit for damages under Taft-Hartley did not mean that the union would lose. As he expressed it, drawing on his memory of catch phrases from law school, "You can sue the Bishop of Boston for bastardy but you can't collect." The facts in the case of the Blackwood Fuel Company of Virginia appear to sustain Lewis. The miners' safety committee protested conditions in the Blackwood mine, and one of the members of the committee was fired when he refused to work. The rest of the men quit in retaliation, but a federal Taft-Hartley injunction drove them back to the pits. Whether or not the company wins its lawsuit against the union, the safety committee was unable to shut down the mine.

Sponsors of the Neely-Price bill feel confident that the measure will be approved by the Senate Labor Committee. Its fate may depend on Representative Graham Barden of North Carolina, chairman of the House committee. It may also depend on whether the operators profit from a strategy of delay, hoping that memory of West Frankfort will fade, or another unsafe mine blows up soon—and blows the bill through Congress.

P. S. While the Senators debated, six more miners were killed in an explosion in the Carpentertown mine No. 2 in Greensburg, Pennsylvania. Last year federal mine inspectors had reported to the owners that the pit was "gassy" and directed their attention to serious hazards. Will this new tragedy move Congress to act?

Force and Violence in Illinois

BY LEN SCHROETER

CAIRO, ILLINOIS, one of the last communities in the Northern states in which segregated schools still exist, was scheduled to capitulate to democratic principles on January 28, when seventy Negro children in a town of 12,000 people were to be admitted into the previously all-white public schools. That night shotgun blasts rocked the home of Dr. James C. Wallace, a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the first Negro candidate for the Cairo school board, and the recognized leader of the local campaign to obtain integrated schools. Unlike his Florida counterpart, Harry T. Moore, Dr. Wallace was not killed.

The next night a bomb exploded in the home of Dr. Urbane F. Bass, another prominent local Negro,

wrecking one of the bedrooms. On both these nights fiery crosses burned in the Negro section of town. No Negro child has yet been enrolled in the white schools of this southernmost Illinois community, which is now in the grip of an organized reign of terror.

Illinois law provides that no pupil shall be excluded or segregated in any public school on account of race or color, and the recently passed Jenkins Amendment denies state-aid funds to any school district that violates this law. Cairo, however, situated at the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, almost one hundred miles south of St. Louis, is as Southern as Paducah, Kentucky, in its social and economic structure. The capital of Illinois, at Springfield, seems far away.

As in most Southern communities, segregation has meant that Negro students are denied decent educational opportunities. The Negroes and whites have three grammar schools each, one junior high school, and one

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high school. A special committee of the Illinois House of Representatives investigating Cairo's school system last spring reported that a comparison of the two school systems makes it "evident that the pattern of segregation prevents equality of equipment, teaching facilities, and educational opportunities for colored children."

The campaign to force Cairo to conform to state law met vigorous opposition. The District Superintendent of Schools, Leo S. Schultz, a bitter foe of integration, was supported by the school board, which is composed of the town's leading business men, including the presidents of the two banks. Resistance to the change was also encountered from some elements in the Negro community who had accommodated their lives and careers to segregation. Foremost in the fight against integration were the principals of the Negro schools, who used every means at their disposal to prevent children from seeking a transfer to the white schools.

A CONCERTED effort to get Negro children and parents to apply for transfers began immediately after the burning of a fiery cross in the nearby town of Brookport, Illinois. This demonstration was directed at Negro workers in Brookport who were working in the atomic-energy plant at Paducah, Kentucky. Despite vicious opposition N. A. A. C. P. field secretaries June Shagaloff and Lester Bailey organized neighborhood meetings, arranged for radio broadcasts, and distributed handbills to tell parents they should ask for transfers. The response of most of the Negro community was enthusiastic. Negro spokesmen urged cooperation and obedience to state law on school officials.

On January 17 the first group of students and parents presented applications for transfer. By the following afternoon seventy applications, complying with every technicality, had been filed. It was announced that the applications could be processed in twenty-four hours and that the children would be admitted at the beginning of the new semester, January 28.

On January 21 the N. A. A. C. P. leaders met with the City Council, the sheriff, and the chief of police, and asked for help in preparing the community for the transfers. Local officials refused to make a public statement that Negro children had a legal right to be admitted to the schools. Nor would they take any action to ease the transition, though they conceded that the law compelled integration.

Rumors of violence began to seep through the town. David Lansden, a white lawyer who had been consulted by the Negro group, had the windows of his house broken. The N. A. A. C. P. leaders sent word of the expected transfers to the state law-enforcement agents, who in turn notified the local United States Attorney and the local FBI agents. No one seemed interested. On January 23 the first crosses were burned in Cairo.

Prominent white citizens met secretly to devise measures to maintain segregation. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath was informed that tension was high and violence might be feared. The national office of the N. A. A. C. P. was also warned.

On January 25 Roy Wilkins, N. A. A. C. P. administrator, sent an urgent telegram to Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois: "We fear some form of outbreak and wish steps to be taken to guarantee safety of children and parents when they present themselves at schools Monday morning. Feel certain you would not wish any racial disturbance in Illinois, and therefore we request state to take all necessary steps in situation." The Governor did not reply, but he sent Russell Babcock, director of the Illinois Commission on Human Rights, to Cairo to look over the situation. Babcock reported that there was nothing to worry about.

When the children went to the white schools on Monday morning, they were told their transfers had not been processed, although the city had had ten days to do what was necessary to comply with the law. On Tuesday they were turned away again. The next day there had been so much violence and the crowds were so threatening that no child ventured to appear.

None of the persons responsible for the intimidation and violence has as yet been arrested. Affidavits have been presented to Lucy T. McPherson, County Superintendent of Schools, stating that the unreasonable delay in processing transfers was an act of discrimination, and she has said that state-aid funds will be discontinued. This same technique was used last spring but was abandoned when the authorities said that Negro children were free to seek transfers and that they did not have a policy of discrimination.

Once again it appears that white supremacists, by force and violence, can disregard the law with impunity. But unlike recent outbreaks in Florida, these tactics were used after local, state, and national authorities had been warned to take precautions against them. Little can be expected of bigoted officials who refuse to prevent law-breaking they know is being planned. The federal government has displayed an utter disregard for the rights of Negroes in case after case of violations presented to the Department of Justice and the FBI. But more energetic action might have been looked for from the liberal Governor Adlai Stevenson.

The Cairo disorders point up what the killing of Harry Moore and the wave of bombings in Florida, Texas, Georgia, Alabama, and North and South Carolina make clear. In Walter White's words, "The bomb has replaced the lyncher's rope." We have entered a new phase in the struggle for Negro rights. Until now the emphasis has been on passing laws that destroy the legal basis for Jim Crow. Those victories have been won. Now they must be translated into social reality. No one recog-

nizes this new phase more clearly than the people who are the beneficiaries of white supremacy. Seeing that they can no longer preserve their social and economic power legally, they resort to extra-legal acts. Their weapons are the bomb and the fiery cross. Their spokesmen are not a lunatic fringe but the Governors and Senators of Southern states and the sheriffs, mayors, and police chiefs of Jim Crow communities. They condone, encourage, and plan violence as an instrument of policy.

Tunisian Tinder Box

London, January 30

YOU must see Bourguiba in action to understand Tunisian nationalism," said the Arab who had led me through the narrow streets of the Arab quarter of Tunis to show me the brass plaque, "Habib Bourguiba—Avocat," on the door of the nationalist leader's office. That was in the summer of 1950, and the place had already become something of a shrine.

Not long afterward I met Bourguiba in Paris, where he was hospitalized, and after talking with him I was moved to write: "In a hospital bed I have found the match that may soon set off the North African tinder box." His force of character was instantly apparent, and his lean, mobile face was alive with intelligence, its expression changing rapidly with his thoughts.

In arresting him on January 18 the French struck this Tunisian "match" against the flinty surface of their colonial obduracy. The flame of revolt flared up quickly. Crowds demonstrated, police posts were dynamited. Towns were seized, trains derailed, French soldiers shot. The so-called "soft" people of Tunisia showed that their nationalism was as militant as that of any advanced area in the colonial world. The French described their action as a "calculated risk." They thought that if they arrested Bourguiba and other leaders of the Neo-Destour (New Constitutional) Party, some "moderates" might come to the surface. It was the sort of "calculated risk" one might take in searching for a lost coin in a powder magazine with a blazing torch.

Bourguiba is certainly the last man with whom the French should want to collide violently. Massive demonstrations have made it clear that he and his party command the loyalty of all politically conscious Tunisians except a thin Communist fringe and an even thinner rightist fringe organized in the feudal Vieux Destour (Old Constitutional) Party.

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Their allies are those who, in dread of being smeared or in hope of political advancement, play along with fascist terrorists.

The response of all minorities and of all Americans who cherish freedom must be to recognize the enemy and to fight him as vigorously in Illinois as in Florida, through mass organization and political action designed to elect public officials who take the Fourteenth Amendment seriously.

BY ANDREW ROTH

Bourguiba's record is amazingly clean. The French cannot hurl at him the charges of corruption which stick so firmly to many Middle Eastern leaders. Born in Monastir forty-nine years ago, he has never known comfort. He lived the life of a poor Tunisian student in Paris while getting his law degree, and it was then that he met and married his French wife. Nor can he be accused of having collaborated with the Nazis or Fascists, although the Germans released him from a French prison in Marseilles in 1942 and the Italians also tried hard to win him over.

But what annoys the French most of all is that they cannot call him a Communist. He has purged his party of every person—even a long-time friend—who has shown any tendency to flirt with Moscow or Communist-led movements; in 1950 he took the trade unions adhering to his party out of the Communist-led federation. At the same time he has the dynamism, organizational ability, and sensitivity to economic and social problems necessary to compete with the Communists. The peasant and labor organizations led by the Neo-Destour Party have far outstripped those of the Communists. And his network of party cells and fronts gives him the tactical advantages elsewhere enjoyed only by Communists.

In March, 1945, Bourguiba succeeded in breaking out of the isolation imposed on most colonial nationalists. He left Tunisia secretly and after an arduous trip by boat, camel, and on foot finally reached Egypt. In Cairo he established close links with leading Arab nationalists throughout the Middle East, although he does not share the fanaticism that inspires many of them. The *London Times* said of him the other day, after his arrest: "British officials might well have felt envious of their French colleagues, who had so reasonable a party to deal with."

In 1950-51 he made an extended tour which gave him a chance to put his case before Pandit Nehru, Liaquat Ali Khan, and Sukarno, as well as before high London and Washington officials. He showed his political cunning by having his visit to the United States spon-

sored by Irving Brown, the violently anti-Communist international representative of the American Federation of Labor. While there Bourguiba broadcast in Arabic over the "Voice of America." In London he stayed away from left-wingers, whose support he could take for granted—and was invited to broadcast over the BBC. *L'Aurore* of Paris commented acidly: "Do the British hope to get out of their own present difficulties in the Arab world by egging on the Arab League against the French?"

Asked by the diplomatic correspondent of the London *News Chronicle* what he would do if the French continued to stall in instituting reforms, Bourguiba answered, "If the French resist our demands we will organize strikes and demonstrations." And if these are suppressed? "We will fight." He also made it clear that he expected American pressure to prevent the French from precipitating an armed clash. If the French and Tunisians fought, he pointed out, "Tunisia would go through a dangerous period which would not be a matter of indifference to powers interested in the stability of the Mediterranean world." He said he would tell the Americans: "You want military bases in Tunisia? Very well. It is only from us, the Tunisians, that you can get them. Moreover, if our movement fails, the Tunisian people, in despair, will turn to the Communists, and a vital strategic area will be lost to the West."

FOR Bourguiba the use of force is a last resort because his small country of 3,500,000 people can hardly hope to defeat the troops the French can send from other parts of North Africa and France itself. Before allowing his country to be ravaged like Indo-China, he wants to be sure he cannot succeed by direct negotiation or by appealing to world opinion through the United Nations. It was for this reason that he displayed such patience in Paris in the summer of 1950 when the French government acted as if, like its Bourbon ancestors, it had forgotten nothing and learned nothing. The Quai d'Orsay spokesman who said that Bourguiba represented nobody but himself evoked a ghostly procession of die-hard colonials, including the British leader who had dismissed Gandhi as a "naked little fakir."

When Foreign Minister Robert Schuman conceded, "We cannot maintain the system of direct French rule forever," and promised that "internal autonomy," though not independence, would be established eventually by gradual political reforms, Bourguiba decided "it would be criminal not to grasp the hand stretched out toward us." But it proved to be a slippery hand. Bourguiba permitted the secretary of Neo-Destour to join the Cabinet on the assumption that it would have increased powers. The French did allow the Resident General to be replaced as head of the Cabinet by a Tunisian Prime Minister, but the counter-signature of the Resident

General was still required. In consequence almost 200 ministerial decisions were frozen in 1951. The promised proportion of Tunisian appointments was not made. Promised local self-government was blocked by the French insistence that the Tunisians give representation even in municipal governments to French settlers in Tunisia.

The 150,000 French who demand permanent political rights commensurate with their present control of the Tunisian economy and government consider Bourguiba their greatest menace. Any political reform which deprives them of an absolute veto over the future of 3,500,000 Tunisians is denounced as the "abdication" of the "French presence" in a country whose sovereignty France is supposed to be only "protecting." These colonials maintain a strong lobby in Paris, which is particularly influential in the Radical Party.

After almost a year of frustration, the Tunisian Prime Minister went to Paris last October to ask for an all-Tunisian Cabinet—now seven of fifteen ministers are Tunisians—a purely Tunisian Assembly elected by universal suffrage instead of a consultative Grand Council including an equal French section, and the more rapid introduction of Tunisians into the civil service. He was turned



Habib Bourguiba

down through the influence of the pro-colonialist Radicals in the French Cabinet. On December 15 Foreign Minister Schuman went back on his previous slightly encouraging words and said it was "impossible to exclude" French residents in Tunisia "from participation in the political institutions of the country." Simultaneously the French Cabinet recalled the Resident General, M. Perillier, who had gone to Tunis from Algeria with a reputation for conservatism but had become convinced that reforms were overdue in Tunisia.

When Bourguiba left Paris for Tunis a fortnight later he made it clear that the Tunisians could never allow the French settlers a privileged position. "There is not a country in whose political institutions a foreigner participates if he has not integrated himself into the country by accepting its nationality. . . . Only the friendly mediation of the United Nations could bring these negotiations out of their impasse by permitting a renewal of conversations on reasonable grounds and with serious chances of success." He did not pretend France would accept this. Once home he informed the Paris

Monde: "We will resume our 1946 position: (1) we will proclaim the sovereignty and independence of Tunisia; (2) we will demand negotiation of a new treaty which will fix the date of the transfer of sovereignty, accord the foreign communities the guaran-

ties they ask, and give France the military, diplomatic and cultural rights that it considers essential. We return to this route, that of immediate independence, only because the other, that of progressive reforms, has been blocked."

RELEASED TIME

The Parent's Right to Choose

BY EDWARD S. GREENBAUM

PLEASE excuse Johnny on Wednesday afternoons to take his music lesson." Public schools grant such requests. Parents may also have their children excused to take dancing lessons or to observe Yom Kippur or Good Friday. The New York State education law authorizes such absences, recognizing the parent's right to have a say in his child's education. No one has challenged the right of the state to comply with such requests. But if the parent requests that his child be excused from school to receive religious instruction, there are violent protests from many quarters.

The same law which permits absence for religious observances and music and dancing lessons permits absence to receive religious instruction. This part of the law, it is claimed, violates the doctrine of separation between church and state, and the issue is now before the Supreme Court of the United States. A bitter fight is being waged against it. It is said that the state has no right to comply with a parent's request that his child be excused from school even one hour a week to receive religious instruction. The parents of the 200,000 Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant children who make these requests are told: "You may not have your children receive religious instruction during school hours. We have the constitutional right to stop you." This strange position is taken by liberal organizations which usually seek to uphold the rights of the individual.

Excusing children from school for religious instruction is nothing new. The plan is called "released time" and it has been in operation since 1914. Almost every state has some released-time plan. About 2,000,000 children in the country participate in it. Here in New York we have had the program for many years. The atheists attacked its constitutionality over twenty-five years ago, but it was unanimously sustained by our highest state court, the

Court of Appeals. Benjamin N. Cardozo was then chief judge of that distinguished court, which included Judges Irving Lehman and Cuthbert Pound. Judge Pound wrote the opinion for the court. After referring to the fact that a child could "take outside instruction in music or dancing without violating the provisions of the compulsory-education law, either in letter or in spirit," he held that absence for religious instruction was likewise permissible. He said: "It is impossible to say, as a matter of law, that the slightest infringement of constitutional right or abuse of statutory requirement has been shown in this case."

The released-time program continued. In 1940 the Legislature passed a statute authorizing the Commissioner of Education to establish uniform rules for the operation of the program. Governor Herbert H. Lehman approved the law. In so doing he said: "A few people have given voice to fears that the bill violates the principles of our government. These fears, in my opinion, are groundless. The bill does not introduce anything new into our public-school system, nor does it violate the principles of our public educational system."

Experience has shown that Governor Lehman was correct. The fears of the opponents of the law have proved groundless. This is borne out by an objective survey made by the Public Education Association, which has constantly objected to the released-time program. There was no evidence, the report said, that the program made for group disrespect. Only 26 of the 327 principals and teachers interviewed opposed the plan. Some believed that released time made for inter-group respect. One said: "When the Jewish children participated there was a pleasant feeling about everyone going. Now the situation is neutral." All seemed to agree that the program "is still conducted amid considerable controversy." The Public Education Association accordingly recommended that if the fight against released time were continued, the community groups who oppose it should "take some pressure off the school system in order that teachers and administrators can creatively work out the

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best possible program." It pointed out that the continued opposition had a "deadening" effect and might defeat whatever value the program had.

In some places the released-time program has been abused. This was the case in Champaign, Illinois. There, without the authorization of any state law, religious instruction was given in public-school classrooms during school hours. The religious teachers were engaged with the approval of the Superintendent of Schools. Enrolment cards were distributed by the regular teachers and in some cases paid for by the school. The class teacher usually remained at her desk while the religious instruction was given. The United States Supreme Court, in March, 1948, in the case of *McCullum v. Board of Education*, held that this program violated the provisions of the Constitution. Although the Champaign released-time program obviously differed radically from that in New York, the Supreme Court decision in the *McCullum* case provided fuel for another attack on the New York plan. The American Civil Liberties Union and other groups supported it. The lower courts sustained the law. They pointed out the obvious differences between the New York and the Champaign program. In July, 1951, the case reached the Court of Appeals, where its constitutionality was again upheld in a six-to-one decision. In its opinion the court enumerated the factors in the Champaign case and said that none of them were present in New York, where the instruction must be outside the school building and there is neither supervision nor approval of religious teachers by the school system.

THE court analyzed carefully the arguments that the law breached the wall between church and state and violated the First Amendment. This amendment forbids the making of laws "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The court said: "Neither of these prohibitions, in language or meaning, has anything whatever to do with this released-time system." It declared that the argument against the law "construes the First Amendment by ignoring its language, its history, and its obvious meaning," and that released-time programs clearly do not establish a religion or prohibit "the free exercise thereof."

On the contrary, they encourage such free exercise. Forbidding released time would prevent parents from fully exercising their rights to give their children religious instruction in the faith of their choosing. The court referred to the absolute right of parents to direct the rearing and education of their children, and quoted from a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court which said: "It is cardinal with us that the custody, care, and nurture of the child resides first in the parent, whose primary function and freedom include preparation for obligations the state can neither supply nor hinder." These rights of the parent were referred to as "true and

absolute rights under natural law, antedating, and superior to, any human constitution or statute."

The court noted that the Constitution does not demand that no friendly gesture between church and state should be countenanced. It accordingly upheld the lower courts and dismissed the petition to hold the law unconstitutional. But the fight continued, and the issue is now before the United States Supreme Court.

LEGAL questions are not the only ones involved in this fight against released time. There are others as important. That we may not like the released-time program is beside the point. While we may think it preferable for our children to receive their religious instruction after school hours or on Saturday or Sunday, others may feel differently. The state Legislature has said that such absences at the parents' request may be allowed. The Court of Appeals referred to the objections in these words: "What petitioners are saying is that they dislike the whole enterprise and consider it socially undesirable. These are predilections, not questions of law."

The released-time program is the law of New York. Its constitutionality has been uniformly and finally upheld by all the courts of this state. Those of us who do not want to avail ourselves of its provisions need not do so. In New York City the parents of about 120,000 children do want it. Their children—about one-fourth of those attending public school—participate in the program. Most of them are Catholic, but many are Jewish and Protestant. It is difficult for them and their parents to understand why those who oppose released time and want no part of it have any "right" to prevent others from using it as provided by the law of the state.

That we should fight any real inroads on the vital doctrine of separation of church and state is elementary. But we should not blindly follow slogans and patterns. We should not line ourselves up on one side of a question just because other liberals, or so-called liberals, are taking that position. We should determine for ourselves whether the popular side is the right side.

Are the dangers in the New York program real or imagined? Experience of many years has failed to show their reality. Nor have we any basis for believing that this program, if properly administered, will ever constitute a threat to the doctrine of separation of church and state. But we do know that those who believe in the program deeply resent the action of those who seek to deprive them of the right the state has given them to bring up their children in the way they think proper. Bitterness and group hostility are the inevitable result.

The released-time program is not perfect. Its most ardent supporters do not claim that it is. However, they are making an earnest effort to correct its imperfections, including those which might threaten the proper boundaries between church and state. The Greater New York

Coordinating Committee on Released Time of Jews, Protestants, and Roman Catholics is devoting itself to this task. It believes that the released-time program, if properly administered, can bring valuable religious and moral instruction to many children. It seeks the cooperation of members of all religious faiths to make the plan a vital force for better group relations and increased inter-group respect.

RELEASED TIME

A Crutch for Churches

THERE is a significant difference between the occasional excusing of children from school for a music lesson, a dancing lesson, a family festival, or even the observance of a religious holiday and releasing them each week for religious instruction. Religious instruction on released time requires the public school to organize its program so that children whose parents request it may drop their regular work periodically to attend religious classes without missing any vital instruction. No matter how few those who go may be, the children who remain, and the teaching staff, are expected to suspend all significant operations while their fellows attend the church school.

What to do with the children who do not enrol in the released-time program is a problem. No advanced work may be undertaken, since this would disadvantage the released timers. Nor can the substitute activity be too interesting or valuable from the child's point of view, since this would constitute "unfair competition" with the religious instruction and be interpreted as an unfriendly act. The principals of schools in Chicago, where less than 10 per cent of the pupils were on released-time programs, received orders that "nothing significant shall be taught the children not taking religious instruction so that those taking it shall not be penalized for their absence." Indeed, the educational price paid has sometimes been so high that it has led to the program's abandonment. In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for example, the Board of Education observed that "in order to meet this problem, there must be a curtailment of activities in the school which often are the actual character-building agencies of the school itself."

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That the fight against released time has been carried to the United States Supreme Court is not surprising. But it is surprising and disturbing to find it made by those who usually fight for civil liberties and against intolerance. A "victory" for them—if they win—may well prove a major defeat. And it may be a crushing setback for those who seek to improve inter-group relations and protect the rights of the individual.

BY V. T. THAYER

These facts render more than pertinent the grounds upon which the United States Supreme Court, in the famous *McCullum* case, based its decision that the released-time program in force in Champaign, Illinois, violated the principle of separation of church and state. The core of this decision would seem to be as applicable to programs off the school grounds as to those inside the building. Said the court:

The operation of the state's compulsory educational system thus assists and is integrated with the program of religious instruction carried on by separate religious sects. Pupils compelled by law to go to school for secular education are released in part from their legal duty upon the condition that they attend the religious classes. This is beyond all question a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public-school system to aid religious groups to spread their faith. And it falls squarely under the ban of the First Amendment (made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth).

In sustaining the released-time program as conducted in New York City, the New York Court of Appeals by-passed the words of the Supreme Court just quoted. Not so, however, the Circuit Court of Missouri, when the Board of Education in St. Louis decided to ignore the opinion of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and to continue to hold classes on released time but off the school grounds and, as in New York City, without enforcement of attendance by the public schools. The court enjoined this practice, stating in part:

The differences [between the St. Louis case and the *McCullum* case] are inconsequential. The controlling fact in both cases is that the public schools are used to aid sectarian groups to disseminate their doctrines. Whether these sectarian classes are conducted in school buildings or elsewhere can make no difference, since attendance upon them during compulsory school hours is deemed attendance at school. Failure to exercise super-

vision over the instruction of religion and to require the keeping of proper attendance records does not make the program legal; it merely indicates laxity on the part of school authorities. The fact that any sect may participate in this program is immaterial; the public school cannot be used to aid one religion or to aid all religions.

Whether the opinion of the New York Court of Appeals or that of the Circuit Court of Missouri is to stand is a question which the United States Supreme Court will doubtless soon decide, since the New York decision is now before it on appeal.

THAT a religious minority demands released time for religious instruction has confused those liberals who identify the wishes of a minority with the rights of an individual. This is, of course, both an absurd and a dangerous view, which leads directly along the road to dictatorship. We should remind ourselves that the strict confinement of the public schools to secular instruction is the direct application to education of the principle of separation of church and state which Americans have recognized as indispensable to religious freedom. This principle was established on the national level through the First Amendment and on the state level through state constitutional provisions and legislative acts after painful experience with a contrary policy. The American people had experimented both with a state church and with a policy of "cooperation" between government and religion on a "non-discriminatory" basis. The latter, they had learned, is as impossible to realize as the first is unjust. Consequently, they concluded, in Madison's words, that religion should be made "wholly exempt" from the "cognizance" of "Civil Society." It was not that they loved religion less but that they saw in separation the sole condition of freedom for the religious conscience.

This policy, the Supreme Court decided in *McCullum v. Board of Education*, now binds both the federal and the state governments. But long before the First Amendment was made applicable to the states through the Fourteenth, the basis of its restrictions in matters of religion and education was found, as Justice Frankfurter states, in "the whole experience of our people. Zealous watchfulness against the fusion of secular and religious activities by government itself, through any of its instruments but especially through its educational agencies, was the democratic response of the American community to the particular needs of a young and growing nation, unique in the composition of its people." Those who oppose religious instruction on released time recognize, to continue with Justice Frankfurter, "the need of a democratic society to educate its children . . . in an atmosphere free from pressures in a realm in which pressures are most resisted and where conflicts are most bitterly engendered."

But let us return to "the rights of the individual." Some liberals seem to assume that a parent's right to rear and educate his child is annulled unless the public school cooperates in a religious-education program. Surely this is too strained a point. There is no lack of opportunity for religious education under family and church auspices outside school hours. Indeed, as was pointed out in the Champaign case, if it were merely a matter of finding an hour for religious education, time could be set aside on Saturday or Sunday, or the school day might be shortened "to allow all children to go where they please, leaving those who so desire to go to a religious school." But this does not satisfy the religious authorities. Why? Because then it would not be possible to use the authority or the influence of the school to bring about attendance at the church school.

Moreover, we should distinguish between the parent's right to use the school for his own ends and the right of the child. Each child, irrespective of his background, is entitled to an education in the public school free from the divisiveness which an emphasis upon religious differences inevitably causes. Objective studies of released-time programs have confirmed again and again their unfortunate effects upon children. Only in the religiously homogeneous community do they operate without accentuating feelings and attitudes altogether different from those their exponents profess to value. As the Board of Education in Harrisburg pointed out when it abandoned its program, "The public school generally has been our most democratic institution, and any program which emphasizes the differences of the pupils is harmful. News items from cities where there has been 'released time' for religious education indicate that there is now more intolerance, discrimination, and disunity than previously existed in the public schools of those communities."

Experience with the released-time program in New York City is no exception to this rule. Three separate studies conducted by the Public Education Association since the inception of the program in 1941 have supplied the data upon which the association has based its consistent opposition. These studies reveal an increase in truancy in the cooperating schools while the program is in progress. They cite numerous instances in which teachers, despite instructions to the contrary, have exercised pressure upon the children to enrol in religious classes. They show the waste of teachers' and pupils' time during the absence of the released timers. And while, according to the most recent report, little evidence was found that "the released-time program, as it operates here, makes for disrespect" of religious differences, it is significant that this conclusion could be stated only negatively.

A final objection to religious instruction on released time follows from the fact that it encourages the school

and the church alike to neglect its unique function in character education. Both institutions are charged with this task, but their opportunities and their contributions are not identical. It is the responsibility of the school to educate for common values—honesty and fair play, truthfulness and temperance, self-control and responsibility, respect for personality, and the like. To be sure, religious instruction can and often does promote these virtues, but there is reason to believe that they are strengthened rather than weakened when they are envisaged as independent of sectarian doctrine and theological dogma. Insistence on religious instruction—either inside the school or outside but in cooperation with the school—as an indispensable condition of moral education both detracts from the significance of the school's unique function in the area of common values and encourages teachers and administrative officers to shift their responsibility to the church.

On the other hand, the churches weaken their educational programs when they resort to the schools as to a

crutch. Were the churches now providing vigorous and vital religious education they would not need to call upon the schools to act as recruiting agents. And as long as they continue to lean upon the schools they will be encouraged to postpone the day of reform. Released-time programs merely perpetuate a type of religious education that requires new blood in the interest of religion.

The comment of Dr. John Haynes Holmes seems to sum up this final point:

Here is the church rushing to the state for aid and comfort in supporting educational activities which, for one reason or another, it cannot support itself. And here is the state taking over a highly religious function of the church in giving away a precious period of time, to be used in the church's interest.

What the churches need is to be intelligent, free, militant, and united in the ethical and social aspects of their faith. When the churches meet this test, they will have no need of "released time."

Political Prospects in Korea

PLAN FOR A SETTLEMENT

BY YONGJEUNG KIM

IF AN armistice finally descends on the ruins of Korea, the world will be entitled to see it as the essential preliminary to a peaceful solution of the main problem, but unless immediate steps are then taken to settle the urgent question of Korean unification and independence, a bigger explosion can be expected.

Should Korea be restored to its unhappy pre-war political status, its future would appear bleaker than ever before. Its social and economic structure has been utterly demolished, and its people are dying of hunger, cold, and disease. "Peace" under such circumstances is a mockery. A Korea left divided as well as ruined will have gone through untold agony to no avail, and the United Nations will have fought for nothing.

Since the U. N. was created "to maintain international peace and security," it has a responsibility to provide an opportunity for the Korean people to determine their national future. If it allows the great powers to keep their underlings in the saddle, it will not only leave the

festered problem unsolved and thus invite another disaster but forfeit world confidence in its usefulness.

"We dislike both Syngman Rhee and Kim Il-sung, but whom else can we support?" has been a standing question in the West. It sounds logical enough, but actually it shows little regard for the Koreans' own interests. Why should not the Korean people as a whole be helped this time instead of a particular individual or group?

It is unrealistic to look for a "good man" in the present circumstances. How could such a man rise to prominence under either of the present regimes? How long could he stand on his feet? Many a good man already has been liquidated, north and south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel. Anyone against Rhee is a "red," anyone against Kim a "reactionary." After bitter experience the Korean people, except a few who have personal axes to grind, would reject any foreign-sponsored leader if they were permitted to express their free will.

In accordance with the South Korean constitution, the National Assembly elected Rhee President. His term expires next summer. Who will be his successor is obviously a "hot" political question. Strong opposition to Rhee has been developing in the National Assembly, and his reelection will probably not be possible unless force is used. ("Force" means just that: it is possible, although unconstitutional, to imprison opposition legislators; this was done in March, 1950, with thirteen National Assemblymen.)

Aware of the difficulties ahead, Rhee's government

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recently proposed two constitutional amendments: election of the President by popular vote, and creation of an upper house for the legislature. Its motives were not obscure. Rhee would have an excellent chance of reelection in a "popular" vote under the eye of the police, the armed forces, and the terroristic Tae Han Youth Corps. Legislative opposition could be blocked by a division of the Assembly into two chambers. The proposal for popular election of the President had considerable propaganda appeal, particularly to American ears, but the National Assembly understood the real purpose of both amendments and defeated them on January 18 by a vote of 143 to 19.

IN THE interest of world peace and the survival of the Korean people, the U. N. should make every effort to obtain a final settlement of the Korean problem. We have negotiated a cease-fire—however uneasy—with the Communist military leaders. Next we can try to negotiate with the Communist diplomats for Korean unification and independence.

It may be futile to negotiate with the Communists except on a basis of strength. Nevertheless, we must not let the hope of peace die for lack of effort. While it would be unrealistic to expect either Korean regime to offer an equitable basis for unity, a solution could undoubtedly be found that would meet with the approval of the suppressed Korean people. It probably would be along the following lines:

1. Creation of a Peace Committee, on which Near Eastern, Asian, and/or other neutrals would be represented to expedite the unification of Korea and the restoration of its independence. This body should be empowered to act as an interim national authority until a central Korean government could be established through national elections. Its membership should be approved by the belligerents but not include their representatives. It might be composed of outstanding individuals nominated by Sweden, Mexico, Indonesia, Brazil, Egypt, India, Syria, Burma, and Israel but not politically accountable to their respective governments.

2. Organization of an advisory body to assist the Peace Committee, composed of one Korean from each province. These should be men of good reputation who at no time served under either of the present regimes and were not Japanese collaborators.

3. Dissolution of the two existing governments, neither of which enjoys popular confidence. Unless this is done, there will be no "free elections." If the leaders of both sides would resign voluntarily, they would render a great service to the Korean nation and to the world. They need not fear a general election if their claims of popular confidence are true.

4. Immediate establishment of local governments, chosen by local popular elections supervised by the

Peace Committee, to take over civil and police functions from the present regimes.

5. Withdrawal of all foreign forces and simultaneous demobilization of all Korean troops, under the supervision of the Peace Committee, to create a peaceful atmosphere before the general election.

6. Establishment of a national government after the general election has been held.

7. Neutralization of Korea through a guaranty by the United Nations and China to respect Korean independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity and to seek no special political or economic privileges.

8. An immediate start on the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Korea by all nations under U. N. leadership, with a schedule that envisions completion in three years as a symbol of human conscience and a fitting atmosphere before the general election.

Practically everything has to be rebuilt. The entire nation is destitute. In order to assuage and win over the troubled minds of not only the Koreans but other Asians, the Korean misery should be rooted out with a fighting zeal. Donald Kingsley, general director of the U. N. Korean Reconstruction Agency, has stated that a conservative estimate of reconstruction costs in South Korea would be \$2,000,000,000 and that some estimates run as high as \$8,000,000,000. He conceded that the U. N.'s proposed appropriation of \$250,000,000 for the purpose in the first year is only a "drop in the bucket."

While the non-Communist world has accepted some responsibility for reconstructing Korea, the Communists remain silent on this matter. They must, however, share the obligation. On this point there should be no equivocation. Moreover, neither the non-Communist world nor the Soviet bloc should look upon its contribution to the rehabilitation of Korea as charity. It is clearly a duty.

It is unthinkable that the statesmen of the sixty United Nations cannot settle the Korean problem. But if they employ outmoded, face-saving techniques, are dominated by self-interest, and ignore basic principles which our common sense tells us are correct, we shall be surrendering our destiny to the knowing or unwitting architects of world anarchy. Not until Korea has been given an opportunity to reunite and become independent, will peace be attained and collective security realized.



La Palme

"The Land Is Not Dry Yet."

MAKE PEACE WITH CHINA!

BY W. MAC MAHON BALL

PEACE with Communist China is the prerequisite to a political settlement in Korea. But peace with China is indivisible. The United Nations cannot be at peace with China about Korea if the United States is not at peace with China about Formosa.

On paper there are two possible ways of achieving this peace. The United Nations may make China feel that it faces military destruction if it refuses to accept the U. N. terms for Korea. It may hope that Communist China will be afraid to go on with a long war of attrition in Korea, afraid that increased American military aid to Chiang Kai-shek will encourage him to attack the mainland, afraid that U. N. planes will bomb bases in Manchuria; and these fears, it may hope, will help Communist China to find wisdom.

Such a policy can succeed only if the Peking government (a) knows the U. N. terms for a settlement in Korea—no one else seems to know; (b) believes that a settlement in Korea will end the threat of American support for Chiang's plans of conquest—it would hardly make sense for China to accept a U. N. decision on Korea if the actual result were merely to enable the United States to divert military help from Syngman Rhee to Chiang Kai-shek; (c) feels that the risks of thwarting the wishes of the Soviet Union are less than the risks of thwarting the wishes of the United Nations.

It seems to me unrealistic to think that in these circumstances Communist China will succumb to the fears we are trying to instil in it. I can see no chance of a peaceful settlement in Korea until the Peking government becomes convinced that the United States and the United Nations have firmly renounced all intentions to aid or abet any military effort to undermine its authority. For Peking the first priority is to survive. Before long Russia's national ambitions may well clash with China's, but this can hardly occur while Peking feels that its existence is threatened by the military power of the West.

It is idle to pretend it possible to get a satisfactory settlement in Korea that is not part of a wider settlement in the Far East. A settlement might be sought along the following lines: (1) the cessation of all military help to the Chinese Nationalists and any other group planning military attack on Communist China; (2) an armistice leaving the United Nations in temporary control of South Korea; (3) an arrangement by which after, say, a six months' cooling-off period, elections might be held under the supervision of neutral observers for a parliament for the whole of Korea; (4) the subsequent prompt withdrawal of all foreign military forces.

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Even if such a procedure is possible, it will not guarantee "democracy" in Korea. Any Korean government is likely to feel it must use its police force to liquidate the opposition. A right government will dub its opponents "Communist conspirators and terrorists"; to a Communist government all opponents will be "national traitors and lackeys of foreign imperialism." But this is a problem that only the Koreans can solve.

SAFEGUARD DEMOCRACY!

BY OWEN LATTIMORE

WE ARE in real danger of a political débâcle in Korea. After a year and a half of war to defend South Korea against aggression, not a single popular South Korean military hero has emerged—not even a second-rater who merits a build-up in the newspapers. Nor is there any sign of a popular political hero who can be placed before the world as the worthy representative of a democratic cause.

We are now in a position to negotiate a military settlement based on a much stronger defensive position than the original wide-open line of division along the Thirty-eighth Parallel. But if, after such a settlement, the world finds that there is no vigorous, visibly democratic, genuinely Korean-led cause of democracy in South Korea—that only the same incompetent, tired old reactionaries crawl out of the ruins, asking America to put them back in business—then our future in Asia is black indeed.

Strong measures are needed to retrieve the situation. It should be recalled that our original intervention had the majority backing of free, non-Communist Asia because the issue was clear: a bold military aggression had marched across an internationally recognized line of demarcation. That clear issue, readily understood by the newly independent countries of Asia, sensitive about their own frontiers and their sovereign rights, was unfortunately blurred by General MacArthur's "home by Christmas" attempt to thrust all the way to the Yalu.

Only one kind of measure, I believe, has any chance at this late hour of restoring international confidence and at the same time providing for the creation of a healthy political atmosphere in South Korea. The United Nations, which should have been represented in the armistice negotiations internationally and not by the United States alone, must be fully represented at any conference determining the political future of South Korea. At the very least Canada and Australia should be included, because of their interest in the Pacific, and India and Pakistan because of their importance as non-Communist Asian countries.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Weizsäcker: Good German vs. Good European

BY H. STUART HUGHES

THE firm of Henry Regnery, in Chicago, which appears to specialize in books dedicated to the moral rehabilitation of Germany, has now brought out a translation of the memoirs of Baron von Weizsäcker, state secretary of the German Foreign Office from 1938 to 1943.* Ordinarily this position—which corresponded to that of a permanent under secretary drawn from the ranks of career diplomats—would have been one of enormous influence. It is Weizsäcker's contention that in his case this influence was almost nil, and that where it did exist it was exerted solely in the interests of preserving peace. In early 1949 an American Military Tribunal found otherwise, condemning Weizsäcker to seven years' imprisonment. The contrast of these two theses gives historical and psychological interest to what would otherwise be a mediocre book.

Both from a literary standpoint and from the standpoint of physical presentation, Weizsäcker's memoirs are disappointing. They are poorly organized, ill-balanced, episodic, and their style is graceless and frequently ambiguous. To what extent these latter difficulties stem from the original or the translation it is impossible to tell, since neither translator nor publisher has seen fit to add to the memoirs themselves even a paragraph of introduction or explanation. For a publication of historical source material, this omission is almost unprecedented. It is nearly universal practice to have some historian or other responsible specialist write an introduction setting the memoirs in their larger framework, alerting the reader to the special pleading in which even the most scrupulous statesman reminiscing on his past must occasionally indulge, and filling in the gaps and correcting the errors, calculated or accidental, in the original text. In the case of memoirs so full of booby traps as Weizsäcker's, this

sort of intellectual orientation is particularly necessary. Yet we find no word explaining the circumstances under which the book was written, comparing it with the accounts of other participants in the internal opposition to Hitler—Hassell, Kordt, Schlabrendorff, and the like—or with the German Foreign Office documents now being published, or finally, and most important, analyzing the evidence presented at Weizsäcker's trial.

In the absence of such an introduction or of thorough independent research—which the present reviewer confesses he has not made—it is impossible to form an adequate estimate of Weizsäcker's book. In what follows I shall assume that Weizsäcker's account of his activities is substantially accurate and shall try to do no more than test the limitations and the internal coherence of what is essentially an argument for the defense.

Weizsäcker's major contention is that in 1938, hating Nazism and convinced that Hitler was about to plunge Europe into a war that would be catastrophic both for his own country and for Western civilization, he consented to serve under Ribbentrop as state secretary with the sole purpose of sabotaging his chief's aggressive designs. He knew that the task he had undertaken was desperately difficult and probably hopeless, and that he would get little credit or understanding for his efforts. He felt that he was making a sacrifice of his own personal reputation in the interests of peace—and that in so doing he was behaving both as a good German and as a good European.

In support of this contention Weizsäcker unfolds a record of high-principled duplicity unparalleled in the annals of diplomacy. Treading warily, ever alert to possible detection, he spun for five heartbreaking years a fragile network of intrigue, which he fondly hoped could hold back the German war machine. Unable to avow his purposes except to a few intimates, he dealt in delaying actions, veiled warnings, and calculated indiscretions to the ambassadors of potential enemies. To further

his ideal ends, he stooped to an outward conformism that revolted his aristocratic soul: membership in the National Socialist Party, attendance at the social functions at which the Nazi leaders paraded their vulgarity, and even acceptance of a high honorary rank in the S. S. In early 1943, sick of a struggle that had lost any semblance of practical reality, he requested and obtained a transfer to the German embassy to the Vatican, where he spent the remainder of the war. He left Berlin having incurred nothing worse than Ribbentrop's hatred—but not, apparently, his complete distrust—and from Hitler a puzzled mixture of suspicion and grudging respect.

Despite its ambiguity, this record of tenacious foot-dragging would be most impressive—if Weizsäcker in the end had had anything to show for it. But it had all been, as he himself manfully confesses, "in vain, and even worse than in vain." As a political prognosticator Weizsäcker was nearly always wrong: in 1933 he considered the Nazi regime a transitory phenomenon; in 1934 he discounted the possibility of an understanding between Hitler and Mussolini; in 1938 he thought Britain and France would fight for Czechoslovakia; in 1939 he gravely overestimated the difficulty of negotiating the Nazi-Soviet pact; in 1940 he was "completely surprised" by the quick collapse of the French army. These errors were all common to informed people at the time. But in Weizsäcker's case their total effect was catastrophic. For they made him constantly underestimate the strength and staying power of the political forces with which he was engaged in secret combat.

Aside from a contribution to the Munich settlement—a dubious claim to the gratitude of posterity—Weizsäcker was unable to do anything tangible to preserve the peace or to limit the war. True enough, for certain of his failures the blindness of the Western Allies was heavily to blame. It is now well established that the British knew in September, 1938, that the military and Foreign Office opposition was prepared

* "Memoirs of Ernst von Weizsäcker." Translated by John Andrews. \$3.75.

to put Hitler under arrest to prevent an invasion of Czechoslovakia, and that the Chamberlain government failed to act on this intelligence. And it is also now fairly generally conceded that the Casablanca formula of unconditional surrender was a gratuitous blunder and a heaven-sent gift to Hitler's propagandists. Certainly the British and American governments failed to take the German opposition as seriously as it deserved and in so doing left the German people no alternative but to fight on under Nazi leadership.

Yet when all this is granted, it is difficult to see—at least after 1940—how any other policy on the part of the Allies could particularly have aided what Weizsäcker was trying to do. For Weizsäcker drew a definite line beyond which he would not go in opposing his Nazi masters. He would not work for the defeat of his own country. He "could never have considered . . . the possibility of attacking the German soldiers from behind." Hence his failure, on June 18, 1941, to warn the Soviet Ambassador of the impending German attack—an act, he argues, which "would no longer have held up the disaster" and would simply have "cost the lives of German soldiers." But this was the crux of the whole matter. After the warring nations had been fully engaged, and with a compromise peace obviously out of the question, the only realistic way to work for peace was to work for the defeat of Germany. This was a hard lesson for patriotic Germans to learn, and their reluctance to recognize it was largely responsible for the long delay in carrying out the interminably planned and replanned conspiracy against Hitler's life. Eventually the inner circle of the conspirators realized that they could not avoid the risk of anti-national behavior if they were to take any action at all, and the result was the bomb attempt of July 20, 1944. Perhaps because he differed from the inner circle in this important respect, Weizsäcker evidently remained on the fringes of the conspiracy. It is significant that after the assassination attempt had failed, when hundreds of oppositionists of all sorts were being rounded up for questioning, Weizsäcker was not recalled from Rome to answer for his past activities.

An aristocrat and a former naval of-

ficer, who had joined the Foreign Service only after Germany's defeat in the First World War had cut off his naval career, Weizsäcker was basically an old-line German patriot. His book reveals, frequently unconsciously and naively, the virtues and the limitations of this attitude: devotion to the public service, sincere religious feeling, a high standard of personal morality combined with a blunt acceptance of the overriding claims of *raison d'état*, above all, an unquestioning loyalty to the inherited standards of nation and of class. It is a dignified, in many respects an impressive, attitude. But in the unprecedented circumstances in which Germany found itself under the Nazis, this standard of conduct failed to meet the test. In establishing service to the German state as the highest ideal it failed to provide for a situation in which a defiance of traditional national loyalty might be the only recourse against tyranny and universal destruction.

It will be many years before an impartial verdict on Weizsäcker can be rendered. His career is too ambiguous and the distinction between sacrifice and opportunism is too difficult to draw. Meantime, one thing alone is sure: on Weizsäcker's terms, from 1938 to 1943, it proved impossible to be both a good German and a good European. On balance, it was the German who had the upper hand.

The Widening Circle

THE CATHERINE WHEEL. By Jean Stafford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

THE CATHERINE WHEEL" is the most engrossing unsuccessful novel I have read for a very long time. It is unsuccessful because it tries to do too much and because Miss Stafford's attitude toward her subject or subjects is ambiguous. Sometimes she marshals her awareness to achieve a density comparable to that which marked the fine opening chapter of "Boston Adventure." Sometimes she clutters her writing with a multiplicity of matters ineptly crowded together.

The central symbol, for example, is beautifully worked out. The wheel of Saint Catherine was an instrument of torture named for that Egyptian martyr who was subjected to it. Here it repre-

sents the long, virginal, imperceptive, and imperceptible torment of Katharine Congreve. She is thirty-eight in the summer of the novel. Nothing has really happened to her since her heart was most conventionally broken twenty years earlier. She is rapidly approaching entire collapse. Her chief nervous symptoms are a feeling which recurs with increasing frequency of being whirled about, wheeling and helpless; and a desire for death. Yet her outer life is serene. Watched over by "her faithful servants," her beauty untouched by any flame, she presides as chatelaine of a great Maine summer house, adorned, from cellar to garret, with objects chosen by generations endowed with impeccable taste.

The everyday Catherine wheel is a kind of fireworks which gushes upward, circles about in brief splendor, and then splutters out. Like it, Katharine's "rarefied world" is an ephemeral pyrotechnical display. When, during a show of fireworks, she is burned to death, one of our last sights of her is as she "ran by herself in a widening circle, fanning the fire until it reached her waist."

But the novel is also about the initiation of her twelve-year-old cousin, Andrew Shipley, into a knowledge of the frailty of human ties. Miss Stafford is very good at recapturing what goes on in the minds of children—"The Mountain Lion" displays this power—but Andrew's difficulties are a distraction never really incorporated into the novel. And he, in turn, has twin sisters, whose blossoming, though intended as a contrast to the sterility of Katharine's life, is a further distraction.

On another level "The Catherine Wheel" is a daydream brought to a violent conclusion. The ordered life of a great house, the objects which adorn it, the way this woman lives are, in their fashion, desirable. Miss Stafford loves them all. Yet she weighs them also with a meaningless irony and, after displaying them lovingly, destroys them with meaningless violence. She seems to be saying that the nerves and the senses will have their destructive way. When she destroys what she has so tenderly re-created—her earlier novels end in similar, inconclusive, senseless catastrophes—rage rather than knowledge possesses her during the cold ceremonial preparations to kill, tritely, the thing she loves.

Occasionally she over-writes. But Miss Stafford's elegant sentences, except when they fall into lists of rare objects connoting vanished elegance, are, unlike most contemporary ornate writing, organic to what one guesses was a large design. They are the sometimes fanciful garment of intentions and perceptions which are never quite successfully organized into a whole because she never knows exactly what she thinks and feels about her subject and also, probably, because private feelings, irrelevant to her purpose, will intrude upon her fiction. She creates, constantly, the impression of seeing clear through everything she writes about to nothing at all.

ERNEST JONES

Inside Negro Europe

NO GREEN PASTURES—THE NEGRO IN EUROPE TODAY. By Roi Ottley. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

ROI OTTLEY, like other competent journalists, excels in reporting what he has seen and heard. Many incidents of his travels between 1944 and 1946 in England, France, Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Egypt, the Lebanon, and Palestine might well be included in the anthology of "Insides." Among these are his realistic portrait of "Frisco" Bingham and his former night club in London; the black ghettos in London and Liverpool; the gay betrothal dinner of a *molta bella* Neapolitan girl and her colored fiance from Sugar Loaf, Mississippi; the frightening experience of an American colored girl in Germany in 1938; the all too brief etching of Tahia Koriem, the beautiful Negroid "Greta Garbo of the Arab world" and of her apartment in Cairo. Even more absorbing is Ottley's special horror, as an American Negro, in witnessing the lynch madness that still ran riot in Milan a few hours after the execution of Mussolini and a half-dozen of his henchmen. If only one selection could be included in such an anthology, I should nominate his description of the forty thousand Black Jews of Tel Aviv, most of whom live in Carmel Sug, "a neglected area very much like a ghetto."

This would have been a better book if the author had devoted all of it to his own experiences, contemporary firsthand accounts, and the immediate back-

ground of the race problem. He deemed it necessary, however, to provide a rather extensive historical background of the problem in the various countries. Much of this history, especially the brief biographies of eminent Negroes, makes fascinating reading for those not familiar with the careers of Molineaux, Aldridge, Ignatius Sancho, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Browning, Pushkin, the three Dumas, Eugene Chen, Tanner, and others. How much this historical treatment leads to an understanding of Europe today is debatable. It is marred by numerous minor errors, such as misspelled names, and others that are more serious. Cleopatra was certainly not "black." The Germans did not annex the Congo in 1884. Marcus Garvey did not join W. E. B. Du Bois in promoting the first Pan-African Congress, in Paris in 1919. Booker T. Washington dined, not lunched, with President Theodore Roosevelt. (It is necessary to correct this myth because, apparently, Southern susceptibilities would have been less affronted by a lunch than by a dinner.)

The author's thesis that Europe provides "No Green Pastures" for the Negro is subject to many reservations. Some of these he clearly reveals. Low man on the totem pole in France is, indeed, the North African rather than the Negro. I also concur with his comment, frequently repeated, that discrimination in public places and a distant attitude in private gatherings are based rather on caste and class than on race and color. Above all, Ottley cites numerous examples of Negroes, especially in England and France, who have no desire to come to the United States. Let one passage suffice:

In fact, Negroes in Paris constitute an élite: students, teachers, writers, painters, clergymen, officers, judges, government officials, business and professional men. . . . Negroes hold positions as plant managers, postmasters, executives, and inspectors of buses and subways, and there are Negro seamen, sales girls, street-car conductors and motormen, hairdressers, and ordinary laborers.

On the whole, however, Ottley amasses evidence to justify his conclusion that Englishmen and Frenchmen in particular have racial prejudices. The Pope, he insists, uttered "the only racially positive note I heard sounded in all Europe." The author also suggests that "in a small way, perhaps, the

state of Israel is leading the way to a solution of color problems in the world." And he closes with the conviction that "what America has learned about race relations is of vital importance to a multi-colored world." In actual fact, of course, the truth lies somewhere between this optimistic view and the horrible facts revealed in "We Charge Genocide," the one-sided indictment of the United States published by the Civil Rights Congress.

My principal criticism of this book, which I read at one sitting, is that at

"The solemn and feeling testimony of a European (now American) who has abundant means of knowing whereof he speaks."

Capitalism AND Socialism on Trial

By FRITZ STERNBERG

"A basic volume which explains our age and its great problems far better than any other contemporary publication known to me. It should be read by every policy-making official in Washington but it also should be read by every intelligent citizen who wants to know what our age is all about."

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least in some respects it is already out of date. Conditions in the Western European countries have improved since 1944-46. It is plausible to conclude that this improvement has lessened the competition for jobs which, along with the competition for women folk, is largely responsible for the plight of recent Negro migrants. While full self-government and equal integration have not been achieved, the new constitutions in Jamaica, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria and the presence of some thirty-five deputies from Black Africa and the French West Indies in the French National Assembly should be kept in mind when one evaluates Ottley's analysis of the impact of imperialism on the minds of Englishmen and Frenchmen in 1944-46. I have been in France for only two months, but I have heard several eminent Frenchmen, irrespective of religious affiliation, assert as did the Pope that "the blacks will one day live like other men." RAYFORD W. LOGAN

The Social Uses of Psychoanalysis

PSYCHOANALYSIS, MAN, AND SOCIETY. By Paul Schilder. Arranged by Laretta Bender. W. W. Norton and Company. \$4.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND POLITICS. By R. E. Money-Kyrle. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.

THE psychiatrist must inevitably ponder the connections between the troubled mental state of the individual and of society as a whole. He knows that the nervous disorders of his patients are inseparable from the tensions that prevail in his environment. He cannot avoid, therefore, casting a professional eye on the apparently irrational antics of the social group. His psychiatric thinking in such matters will naturally tend in the direction of diagnosis and therapeutic recommendations. Of course he is aware of his limitations in the face of political and economic issues that transcend the psychological sphere. Nevertheless, he feels, no doubt rightly, that his own contributions deserve serious consideration within the total scheme of things.

Taking his first tentative step toward the broader view, the psychiatrist is likely to reflect that great nations are,

after all, conglomerations of individual men and women. The forces at work between small numbers are also to be found operating universally. From this basic supposition, at least, Dr. Paul Schilder took his point of departure in his recently published book.

Schilder, whose research and teaching activities in Vienna and at Bellevue Hospital in New York made him an outstanding figure, passed away some ten years ago. His widow and able collaborator, Dr. Laretta Bender, has collected many of his articles, which, together with data from his manuscripts, furnished the material for the present volume—the latest in an impressive succession of posthumous publications that still have a significant message for the contemporary reader.

The basic social unit, as Schilder perceived it, is the "body image"—a concept toward which he made important original contributions. The infant sees himself not as a separate entity but as an image which fuses and blends with those of other personalities that enter into his world—his parents, his siblings, and so on. Only gradually does the sense of the self as a distinct entity evolve, and then only to a limited degree. All through life, new associations with people are being formed in which feelings of identity—or incongruity—establish zones of mutual influence, much like chemical interactions, so that the behavior of each individual is almost always conditioned at each moment by that of others in his past and present.

Schilder next explored and described the various nervous disorders and forms of maladjustment in terms of the basic clashes that arise when there is difficulty integrating one's body image with those that prevail in a particular society. The value of deviations as well as of similarities should be recognized. Moreover, the influence of society itself constitutes a vital element in the shaping of each individual body image; a disorganized society must inevitably produce disorganized men and women.

The interplay of personalities during group therapy—a field in which he was a pioneer—gave Dr. Schilder the opportunity to study social forces in direct action. He gained the conviction that the factors which proved beneficial to the members of a small group would

also be of value in larger units. The healing influence of the therapist—based on his knowledge and good-will—could be taken over by an enlightened and well-disposed government. The healthful impact which each member of the group could be induced to exert on his fellows as he came to understand them and himself better could be extended over an indefinitely wide range.

Economic problems naturally cast their inexorable shadows upon the scene. Schilder agreed, but in the end must themselves be calculated in terms of human needs and human labor. The laws that govern the human mind must enter into all social phenomena. The disturbances within a culture reveal patterns basically analogous to the neuroses of individuals. Psychological insight should therefore be invoked in treating the maladies of nations.

A similar view is taken by R. E. Money-Kyrle in his "Psychoanalysis and Politics." Money-Kyrle is an English lay analyst who served on an official commission investigating the Nazi mentality in Germany after the war. Where Schilder proceeded from the analysis of the individual to that of the state, Money-Kyrle reverses the process and undertakes to assess the state according to the character of the populace. He puts forward the interesting proposition that a government may be judged morally by the type of personality that flourishes under its regime.

This intriguing idea, unfortunately, cannot be adequately developed by the author because of the artificial and questionable constructs that he devises. For both men and nations he invents a measuring rod that purportedly extends from their primitive "authoritarian" depths to their more advanced "humanistic consciences." Authoritarianism and humanism in persons and governments alike are absolute and clearly defined entities, as Money-Kyrle conceives them, and are supposed to represent opposite ends in the order of biological evolution. To validate his ideas he invokes the controversial theorems of Melanie Klein, which have found little acceptance among the psychoanalysts of this country.

The application of these concepts to contemporary politics is scarcely convincing. On the Money-Kyrle scale the

British Tory emerges—understandably enough—as an archaic relic of the authoritarian stage of development. In his unconscious he is probably afflicted with a horrible apparition of a phallic mother who manages to look very much like a socialist. The pacifist, on the other hand, is apparently an unfortunate individual who got that way because his parents quarreled so dreadfully during his childhood. Such “psyching” seems slightly amateurish and even a little on the primitive side of the Money-Kyrle scale. In fact, the impression grows with reading that the only proper outcome of humanistic evolution is a British Laborite, favorably disposed to rearmament and committed to rather definite views on a wide variety of questions.

MARK KANZER

Illustration, Illumination

THE FIELDS OF LIGHT. By Reuben A. Brower. Oxford University Press. \$3.50.

WHAT a happy title for a book of criticism, and how happily the text lives up to the title! Mr. Brower's experiment in critical reading exacts of the student close attention and considerable use of his brains. The method requires that the design of the work under study be traced through line-by-line search for the key images, metaphors, symbols, and the links that bind these together, so that in the end the imaginative integrity that fuses the whole may be understood, and enjoyed. This book is not for the lazy; it is strenuous going, this analytic appreciation, but it leads, ultimately, as a quotation from Henry James indicates, to “the Beautiful Gate of Enjoyment.”

Mr. Brower demonstrates his system with short poems by Blake and Frost, sonnets by Donne and Hopkins, Keats's Ode to Autumn, two poems by Herbert, Marianne Moore's *Roses Only*, Donne again, the sonnet beginning “At the round earth's imagin'd corners” and *The Extasie*, Yeats's *Two Songs from a Play*; thence, on a larger scale, he has us work through “*The Tempest*,” “*Mrs. Dalloway*,” Pope's “*Epistle to Richard Boyle*,” “*Of the Use of Riches*,” “*Pride and Prejudice*,” and “*A Passage to India*.”

It should be obvious from the above that Mr. Brower's taste is good, his

capacity for appreciation catholic, and his method flexible. Less obvious, from so summary a sketch as this, are his good manners and good sense, his willingness to admit that no critical method can entirely explain a work of art, his cheerful acceptance of charges of naivete. “One of my aims is to show that naivete of a certain sort is indispensable in criticism, and pays.” A disciple of Leavis, Richards, and Empson, and probably entitled as such to a chair in the academy of the New Criticism, Mr. Brower wears his rue, if it may be called so, with considerable difference. He is high-spirited, gay; “marvelous” and “wonderful” are adjectives which come quickly to his mind. He has no intention whatever of taking the poem from the poet, the novel from the novelist; the minute analysis, however close the observation, never turns into cold dissection, a process, as Louise Bogan has written, rather like boning a shad. Unlike many a latter-day Zoilus, Mr. Brower has an ear, an awareness that the sound matters. Above and over all is the sense of his original admiration for, and delight in, the work which he is presenting, so that his guidance, however strict, is founded on zest; the criticism exists for the work, not the other way round. And if the reader has to use his intellect as well as his emotions to come out where Mr. Brower has started, well what's the matter with that if the journey ends in the fields of light?

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

THE ONLY WAR WE SEEK. By Arthur Goodfriend. Published for Americans for Democratic Action by Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3. This is a moving and highly effective picture book on the war between communism and democracy for possession of men's minds and a stinging criticism of some of the weaknesses of American foreign policy. The conquest of China by the Communists, for example, is described in startling contrasts of picture sequences and text illustrating the difference between Communist propaganda and our own, and the unhappy fact is brought home that the Communists were smarter than we, closer to the people, and at least superficially more under-

standing of the people's problems. Goodfriend was a member of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, an E. C. A. outfit trying to work with Chinese farmers, and he saw both the causes and the results as the red tide swept America off the China mainland. Now trouble is brewing among “backward” peoples everywhere, and a generation of Americans that has not yet stopped thinking in terms of the white man's burden must learn “how to fuse our material aid with the spiritual background and political aspirations” of others who hate the very concept of the white man's burden. Goodfriend thinks that we can still do the job—but not unless we stop bragging about our nylon-and-refrigerator society and start helping others to help themselves.

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HEAVENS ON EARTH. By Mark Holloway. Library Publishers. \$4.75. A concise and well-organized study of utopian communities in America from 1680 to 1880. The book covers not only those better-known utopias in which fanatics and perfectionists attempted to find a more rational way of life only to discover that spiritual aspiration seldom equated with practical common sense, but also the religious communities such as those established by the Shakers, Rappites, and Zoarites.

Art

MANNY
FARBER

AMERICAN art critics, from Leo Stein on, have worked so hard at creating a new hierarchy of painters that to try to knock down one of their idols now is as useless as trying to chip through a bank vault with a teaspoon. Yet one must speak one's mind, and to me the recent Matisse show at the Fifty-third Street Barr and Grill spilled a scandalous secret about "the greatest master of the twentieth century." Far sketchier than it was cracked up to be, the display did touch on most of the high spots of his career, and clearly showed his long industrious progression from thin to thinner painting, both tangibly and philosophically. The inescapable revelation is that the philistines of thirty-odd years ago were nearer than they knew to the truth: Matisse may be skilful and ingenious, but only by the wildest idealistic rationalization can he be credited as a dedicated, ripened artist who has given himself over to feeling, sensuality, "love and life."

The crux of the great myth is that this magnificently endowed pagan has been the most adept of all painters in selecting and juxtaposing exotic, dynamic, gleaming colors; that he flies you close to the sun, in fact, with colors like so many bursts of jet exhaust. Trudging around through those rooms full of dead fish, heavy-breasted nudes, copper vases, flowers, fruits, costume jewelry, silk curtains, Milanese pigeons, and musical bric-a-brac, I found it a collection of embarrassingly insipid themes imprisoned in listless, lusterless, somewhat dirty tones of superficial color. There was on every hand the look of taut old

icing plastered thinly over an excessively impelling surface, an icing now going vaguely ochre since the surfaces themselves are yellowing with the passage of time. And the assertive black outlines—on which Matisse has depended as trustingly as Rouault to make his reds and yellows sing—have held their power while everything else has faded, so that today the blacks overwhelm and over-darken almost every harmony. The exhibit verified a long-held hunch of mine that the jolly hedonist's glory has been felicitously created in large part by the brilliancy, gloss, and sparkle of the products of the reproduction industry. The plates in Barr's new book, for instance, are beautiful and scintillating, but hold any one of them up to its original and you will get an awful jolt.

Though miles of criticism have been published about Matisse's early use of Manet's simplicity and flatness, Monet's fragmentation and illumination of color, Cézanne's hatching, modeling, and composition—and finally of the synthesis and maturity that emerged when he picked up some decorative things from the Orient—a glance at his early trivial experiments in impressionism and post-impressionism should convince anyone that M. Matisse is an egocentric who cares little, and understands less, about any style other than his own. (If he is really indebted to any of his colleagues, it is to the tricky mannerist putterers who decorate cheap pottery.) Painting with a bland stroke, hardly mixing color on palette or canvas, working neatly, quickly, deftly, and a bit hygienically—like an Old World gentleman—over his "spontaneous" projects—indeed, "tickling" his way along, to borrow frenemy Picasso's devastating verb—he seems never to be deeply involved or even slightly carried away by his work. This was made pretty apparent in a two-reel film of Matisse at work released here a few years back, but nobody paid any attention to it; so the myth goes on that Matisse and sensuality are synonymous, while the latest retrospective showing of his pictures yawns with barrenness, baldness, and an inescapable faggish pseudo-sensibility.

Yet his position fairly far up in Western painting—say 73 on a scale from 0 to 100—is insured, I think, by both the variety of his compositions and

his superb elegance and mobility as a draftsman. He moves on to a new compartmental arrangement after about three pictures, where a Breughel or a Corot spends from a decade to a lifetime on the same crowded figure eight or inverted pyramid; and his line is as much a thing of genius—if somewhat glib genius—as Cary Grant's dark nonchalant glitter. With one swift, sure, unbroken flip of the wrist he can do more for the female navel, abdomen, breast, and nipple than anyone since Mr. Maidenform.

Aside from this, what has Matisse really given the world to keep for the next thousand years? Certainly nothing more, in the last analysis, than a gigantic dose of that kind of "charm" which has enabled the butterfly battalions, during his reign, to take over almost exclusively in almost every field of creativity from the short story to the symphony, from the straight chair to the department store. The only trouble is that—as we all know but none of us admit—this charm is sterile; it is also getting dated, as are the paintings that were its source. Sterility is the key to the chapel at Vence which Matisse and everybody else call the climax and summation of his career. Here if anywhere is symbolized, in cold white bathroom tiles, cold black doodles, and cold tinted sunlight, the modern artist's breakout of the ego and breakdown of technique and feeling—to say nothing of religious feeling, on which I am no authority. It is a movement in which the artist gets to say whatever he bloody well pleases with an oversimplification and rapidity that make one yearn for the distant era when craftsmanship was so complex that you started at the age of nine as an apprentice, learning to mix colors, prepare panels, and so on. The chapel has naivete, "charm," and a confident slickness; it also does things with filtered light that are breathtakingly pretty. But is the prettiness valid or vulgar, and is this church designed for the worship of God or Matisse?

Henri Matisse never seems to have sweated over a work long enough to give it deep values, plastic or human. It will be said in rebuttal that Matisse himself has never pretended to be more than a nice old rocking chair of an artist, whose goal was to soothe the soul with a pure, calm, equilibrated art. The im-

poverished surfaces, the absence of rich color chords, the lack of muscle, the lack of heart, make even this claim appear questionable.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

EUGENE BERMAN'S decors for the first three acts of the Metropolitan's new "Rigoletto" are the most astoundingly beautiful and effective I can recall seeing in opera—the only ones comparable with them being Berman's for the ballet "Romeo and Juliet" and the second act of "Giselle." And his costumes for "Rigoletto" also are very beautiful.

When I call the decors effective I have in mind not only their extraordinary living presence as settings for what is seen and heard, but the way the first-act palace interior, with its levels and windowed galleries, provides the means for the rich and intricate profusion of activity created by Herbert Graf. The designer and director together achieve something I have never seen before and didn't think possible: a first act that makes dramatic sense—though a second act that would make sense appears to have been more than even they could achieve. One detail in the first and third acts struck me as odd: the fact that in rooms in the Duke's palace, in which he was bare-headed, the courtiers wore hats; but perhaps Dr. Graf knows this to have been the practice of the period.

The work of the principals in the performance I attended was less satisfying. It was the eighth performance of the season, with replacements of singers of the first performance—Paolo Silveri for the first time as a rough-voiced, lunging and clutching Rigoletto, and Jan Peerce for the first time as a Duke who began by singing *Questa o quella* very poorly but went on to do the best singing of the evening. Peerce also began badly out of step with the orchestra, which was something of a shock, since I had thought that with Bing we had heard the last of a singer stepping onto the Metropolitan stage without even a conference with the conductor about tempos (which Peerce appeared to have had before the later acts). But a worse shock was the singing of Roberta Peters as Gilda; for I would have supposed we

had also heard the last at the Metropolitan of such premature exploitation of insufficiently or poorly schooled vocal talent coping with the demands of a role like Gilda with a catch-as-catch-can method of vocal production for each note that produced a different-sounding voice each time—and one that was unpleasant as often as pleasant.

A week later I went again, to hear Gilda sung for the first time by Genevieve Warner. This was the soprano whose singing in a performance of Mozart's "Seraglio" put on by the Music School of the Henry Street Settlement three years ago amazed me with the extraordinary loveliness of the sounds that were produced—even in the most formidably high and florid passages of Constanza's arias—with an effortless casualness born of secure technique. In the second act of "Rigoletto" it took a good part of her opening duets for Miss Warner to get over her nervousness and warm up her voice, which in *Caro nome* produced sounds and phrases that ravished the ear. But the Metropolitan audience which Miss Peters had been able to excite to cheers by her way of making the squeezing out of a particularly acidulous note a dramatic demonstration of triumph over prodigious difficulties—this audience was left unmoved and silent by Miss Warner's effortless production of those lovely phrases.

"Those English have a weight of tradition to support them, but sometimes it sinks them," someone commented when I wondered how critics like Desmond Shaw-Taylor and Edward Sackville-West of the *New Statesman and Nation* and Martin Cooper of the *Spectator*—who operated with a musical knowledge, understanding, and perception related to a rich general culture that made their writing so illuminatingly accurate most of the time—could sometimes hit so wide of the mark. Cooper, for example, is capable of the accurate observation and evaluation embodied in his statements that "if you really listen to Berlioz's music, really follow it . . . it is perfectly coherent and alive with the most astonishing vitality"; that "for all the richness of his palette and the kolossal character of many of his effects, Berlioz is not a sensualist"; that "harmonically his music is ascetic and its effect on the listener astringent," and the

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The National Book Award was established three years ago to give official recognition to the most distinguished books of the year. Since then the Award has become an annual event in which the American book industry has united to honor American authors.

four brass bands and eighteen kettle-drums of the *Tuba mirum* of the Requiem "are used by a mind so completely in the grip of a poetic idea, so absolutely alien to all exploitation of sound for its own sake (the sensualist's music), that the listener's soul and not his nerves are affected." But he is capable also of the statement that "no violin concerto more than Elgar's combines musical quality with virtuosity"; and for him it is Flagstad who has only a phenomenal voice, Gigli who has in addition the "sheer artistry" that will prolong his career when the voice goes.

One finds these inequalities also in Cooper's excellent book "French Music" (Oxford, \$4.75). In his introduction he explains that French music isn't popular in England because it lacks "a strongly flavored emotional content, either moral or uplifting as in Beethoven or introvert and lowering as in Tchaikovsky"; the French composer, he says, rejects W. J. Turner's idea that the function of art is to reveal the soul of man, and regards music as "the art of arranging sounds in agreeable and intellectually satisfying patterns." He is aware that "taste, intelligence, and skill cannot replace the individual genius or, divorced from largeness of character, create works of the first magnitude"; but he contends that "few countries at any period have

been richer in the best music of the second rank." And the illuminating intelligence, perception, and sense of values that are evident in these general statements appear also in most of the subsequent detailed examination of this music. But occasionally this discussion of works in terms of tendency results in their not being perceived and evaluated correctly as particular works of art: one would not suspect the outstanding stature of Debussy's "La Mer" and "Images" for orchestra from what Cooper says of them, and he misrepresents and undervalues Chabrier's fascinatingly original "Dix Pièces pittoresques." However, the few details of this sort don't make this anything less than an excellent book.

Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

[Because of the great increase in the number of new LP records we shall publish occasionally brief listings by Mr. Garis which will supplement Mr. Haggin's reviews.]

Bartok: Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta; Von Karajan and the Philharmonia Orchestra (Columbia), also Kubelik and the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); one of Bartok's best pieces; the Kubelik performance is lurid and is recorded with too wide a dynamic range, shrill highs, and noisy surfaces; the Karajan is better; best of all is the Byrns performance on Capitol. Violin Concerto; Varga with the Berlin Philharmonic under Fricsay (Decca); a few beautifully expressive moments embedded in a diffuse rhapsody; performance good, recording not well balanced.

Bloch: Concerto Grosso for string orchestra and piano obligato; Kubelik and the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); performance effective, noisy surfaces.

Brahms: "Academic Festival" Overture and Hungarian Dances Nos. 1, 3, 10, 17; Walter and the New York Philharmonic (Columbia); performances excellent. Sonata No. 3 for violin and piano; Horowitz and Milstein (Victor); juicy virtuoso performance. Symphony No. 2; Monteux with San Francisco Symphony (Victor); performance fair, some wavering in pitch.

Couperin: Harpsichord Suite; Eta Harich-Schneider (Urania); music only mildly interesting; performance very poor, recording not clean.

Couperin and Rameau: Harpsichord Recital; Sylvia Marlowe (MGM); pleasant music, fair performance.

Franck: Sonata for Violin and Piano; Stern and Zakin (Columbia); good performance.

Locatelli: Concerto da Camera for

strings and piano; Litschauer with the Vienna Chamber Orchestra (Vanguard); dull music; fair performance.

Martini: Sonata and Sonatina for two violins and piano; Margarete and Willy Schweyda and Jan Behr (Urania); dull music; competent performance.

Mendelssohn: "Italian" Symphony; Rieger and Munich Philharmonic (Decca); performance weak; recording hollow and muffled.

Musorgsky: "Pictures at an Exhibition"; Kubelik and the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); performance effective; recording superb, noisy surfaces.

Respighi: "Trittico Botticelliano"; Litschauer and Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard); typical Respighi—pretty sonorities with a gum-drop center; performance effective, recording not clean.

Sibelius: "Finlandia" and "The Swan of Tuonela"; Ormandy and the Philadelphia (Columbia); good performances. Symphony No. 2; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (Victor); performance effective.

Strauss: "Death and Transfiguration"; Reiner and RCA Victor Symphony (Victor); performance good. "Don Juan"; Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony (Victor); performance fair, recording thin. "Till Eulenspiegel"; Reiner and the RCA Victor Symphony (Victor); performance generally effective, occasionally melodramatic.

Szymanowski: Violin Concerto No. 1; Uminska with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Fichtelberg (Decca); music very poor, tirelessly rhapsodic; performance ditto.

Wagner: "Siegfried Idyl"; Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony (Victor); performance poor, recording thin.

Weber: "Der Freischütz" Overture; Ormandy and the Philadelphia (Columbia); good performance, wavering pitch and noisy surfaces.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times."

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Letters to the Editors

Grass-Roots Support For Justice Douglas

[The Nation has received many telephone calls and letters in response to the editorial published on January 26, entitled *Justice Douglas Is Available*. Excerpts from a few of the letters appear below. In an early spring issue The Nation will publish an article by Fred Rodell of the Yale Law School on Justice Douglas as a possible Democratic nominee.]

Dear Sirs: Your editorial *Justice Douglas Is Available* was splendid, and struck a responsive chord in countless persons who are dismayed and discouraged by the present destructive trends in this country, and who feel that he alone can provide the vision and the leadership we desperately need. . . . The moment has come to translate talk into action. Time is short. Will you start a Douglas for President movement—or shall it all dissolve in talk? JOSEPH H. TITUS
Jamaica, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: I was very glad to see your magazine editorializing on so fine an issue. I think it enough people raise the cry Justice Douglas might become available. I would be glad to help in any effort in this direction, whether it be fund raising or campaigning, but have heard of none so far. Surely someone should organize a movement that would have such wide and fervent support among so many thinking Americans.
New York CHARLES R. BOWEN

Dear Sirs: I hail with delight your banner for Justice Douglas for President. I have long thought of him as the only man of presidential calibre we have. . . .
ELIZABETH STEPTOE
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Sirs: Is there any sort of organization pushing for Justice Douglas? He certainly would be the ideal candidate.
RUSSEL PALMER
e . . . N. J.

Dear Sirs: I read with . . . real interest your editorial on Justice Douglas. As a rather restless liberal voter looking for a decent candidate for whom one could vote with some enthusiasm, the name of Justice Douglas is certainly the most congenial one I have seen mentioned anywhere this year. Liberal and progressive voters could conduct a really

worthwhile campaign with a candidate of Douglas's stature. . . .
Ypsilanti, Mich. ANN HUBBELL

Dear Sirs: I wish to express my satisfaction and pleasure in your effort to direct the attention of our people to Justice Douglas as a possible nominee for President. A life-long voting Republican, I'd be glad of the opportunity to vote for him on any ticket. . . .
Yelm, Wash. WILL RICHARDS

Dear Sirs: Your editorial on Justice Douglas electrified my voter's impulse. It would be good news if for once the nation will listen to *The Nation*.
New York EDWARD F. BROWN

Dear Sirs: Few things have given me keener pleasure recently than the copy of *The Nation* of January 26 . . . I consider Justice Douglas our greatest American liberal. With his hand on the steering wheel, we could feel secure . . . I hope *The Nation* will start a boom for him.
CLARISSA E. CALLAHAN
Denver, Col.

Dear Sirs: We would like you to know that we agree wholeheartedly and endorse your proposal to try to convince Justice Douglas that he is the outstanding choice for the Democratic nomination. . . .
ADELE R. MEYER
Riverdale, N. Y. PAUL MEYER

After Pasadena, Phoenix

Dear Sirs: The campaign to stifle free inquiry in our colleges and universities, recently reported in a series of articles entitled *Battle for Free Schools in The Nation*, won another victory by forcing out a textbook at Phoenix, Arizona.

The book is "Basic Economics," by Mitchell, Murad, Berkowitz, and Bagley, published by William Sloane Associates in 1951. It is one of the several standard textbooks in the field of economics and is used at various colleges and universities. The authors, all professors of economics at Rutgers University, the state university of New Jersey, differ in opinion among themselves. This benefits the circumspection of the book, which is an effort at factual, non-partisan exposition.

The first shot in the skirmish at Phoenix College was fired on October 6, 1951, by an anonymous corporal at Luke Air Force Base who in a letter to

the editor of the *Phoenix Gazette* denounced the book as "socialistic," "dreamy," and "idealistic." This indictment was supported by vague innuendo, quotation out of context, and outright misquotation. The corporal pleaded to have the book banned from Phoenix College and indeed from all schools—public and private.

President E. M. Montgomery of Phoenix College countered by defending the book in a statement to the press. The *Phoenix Gazette* in an editorial on October 11 then reemphasized the corporal's charges and called for a ban on the book. Again the college authorities reacted. Dean Robert J. Hannelly announced that the college intended to combat this "attack on academic freedom."

The Board of Education of Phoenix College then ordered a public review of the book on October 16. The outcome of this public review was that the board unanimously voted to continue "Basic Economics" as a text.

This victory for academic freedom was not accepted as final by the self-appointed defenders of our economic faith. Letters and editorials, in the *Gazette* and other papers, kept up the fight. The background and affiliations of Broadus Mitchell and of others among the authors were impugned. One letter sent to the authors revealed, perhaps more honestly than did the published attacks, the sentiments and quality of the assailants. It read: "You fellows sound like a bunch of *Joisey hikes*, come out west where we will teach the American way of life."

Something called America's Better Citizens Committee sent out literature misquoting the book and urging people to write to the school board to have the book banned. Dean Hannelly stated that the college had been swamped with letters demanding that the book be dropped. The American Legion (Luke Greenway Post No. 1) declared the book un-American, socialistically and communistically inclined, and urged that it be banned from all Arizona schools. The two Phoenix newspapers, the *Gazette* and the *Republic*, owned by Eugene C. Pulliam of Indianapolis, refused to print the true facts or to present the college administration's side in the controversy.

Eventually the college succumbed. "The dispute over a Phoenix College textbook has ended," said an editorial

In the *Gazette* on January 5, 1952. "College authorities, yielding tardily but with good grace, have decided that 'Basic Economics' by Mitchell, Murad, Berkowitz, and Bagley will not be used as a textbook after the present semester ends January 18. Material more laudatory of the American economic system will be used." The *Gazette* editorial hailed the assault on the book as "a working of the democratic processes" and as not "in any way infringing on their academic freedom."

There are rumors that the Phoenix legionnaires, elated by the surrender of Phoenix College, are planning to extend the ban to all colleges and universities in the nation.

No more suitable question suggests itself than one asked by the eloquent corporal in his letter to the editor which started the "democratic process." "Can't something be done about this? It's a far cry from the principles upon which our country was founded and for which a great number of us are giving up years of our lives." LEOPOLD KOHR

New Brunswick, N. J.

The Memphis Witch Hunt

Dear Sirs: The activities of Local 19, Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers, composed primarily of Negroes in two Memphis plants, had been reported, off and on, in local papers as "left wing." To conservative Memphis anything considered "left" is also usually considered communistic. However, Memphis is either less hysterical or more lethargic than many American cities today, for there was very little talk about Local 19.

Memphis, therefore, was somewhat surprised to hear that Senator Eastland,

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from nearby Mississippi, was coming with a Senate subcommittee to investigate Communist activities in the city. The committee moved in, suddenly, with fanfare and publicity, but Memphis on the whole, once it had got over the initial shock, pretty well ignored the entire affair. Some suspicious folk suggested the investigation was just a little political maneuvering by the Senator, who might have an eye on elections down home. Others, close to the labor field, hinted that the rival C. I. O. Chemical Workers' Union, which had recently been defeated by the D. P. O. in a National Labor Relations Board election, might have persuaded the Senator to investigate so that the election might be challenged, giving the C. I. O. another crack at it.

The local papers gave a blow-by-blow description of the committee goings-on. The pattern of questioning was familiar, but the obvious difference in the way witnesses were questioned made the investigation a trial. Senator Eastland and Victor Rabinowitz, attorney for the D. P. O., generated most of the excitement. Rabinowitz tried to give legal counsel to union members, and Eastland did not want the witnesses to have it, at least not Rabinowitz's. At one time during the hearing Eastland shouted, "Throw that damn scum out of here!" This outburst summoned marshals to escort Rabinowitz out of the chamber and got headlines in the paper and congratulations from C. I. O. officials. There seemed little justification for such adolescent, undignified behavior on the part of a United States Senator, since Rabinowitz, if he offended the Senator, only did so through his insistence on knowing what his rights were. Some people felt the Senator was making up his rules as he went along, leaving everyone confused. They also felt that he was playing the game with loaded dice in not letting witnesses have an attorney, since the committee itself had its own lawyer, Richard Arens.

A bit of local color was added by Eastland's treatment of Negro witnesses. Although all white persons, both accused or otherwise, were addressed as "Mr." or "Mrs." by the Senator, Negroes were addressed as "boy" or by their first name, in the best Mississippi tradition. Richard Arens, committee attorney, did call Negroes "Mr." or "Mrs.," but lashed out at them like a new graduate trying to win his first case. Witnesses, both Negro and white—alternately tense, angry, and scared—were generally confused or puzzled.

The committee showed a definite flair

for drama when in the middle of the investigation it brought in a "mystery witness" by the name of Paul Crouch, an ex-Communist. After a witness had been questioned, Crouch was called in to tell what he knew about the person. Although he had not been a member of the Communist Party for nine years, Crouch displayed a most remarkable memory for things that had happened and the exact date of their happening ten or fifteen years before. With obvious delight Crouch named names, made accusations, and contradicted witnesses, while they glared and committee members practically chortled with pleasure. Many spectators wondered if the ex-Communist was any more trustworthy than a present-day Communist, but the committee for some reason seemed to have great faith in the veracity of its imported mystery witness.

The hearing ended in a burst of glory, branding the D. P. O. as Communist, threatening to invalidate the recent N. L. R. B. elections won by the union, and promising to seek laws curbing "groups like D. P. O." No one was surprised, naturally. There was some talk about indicting D. P. O.'s 1,400 local members. Of course, everyone connected with the hearing knew that they could not be indicted for anything, but the members, being uneducated in the mysteries of witch hunts, were probably scared out of their wits. At least one well-known business man who had refused to answer certain questions and who had hired known "left-wingers" thought it advisable to sell his business and leave town. He was not directly accused of being a Communist, or of advocating the overthrow of the government, but the committee did a lot of insinuating.

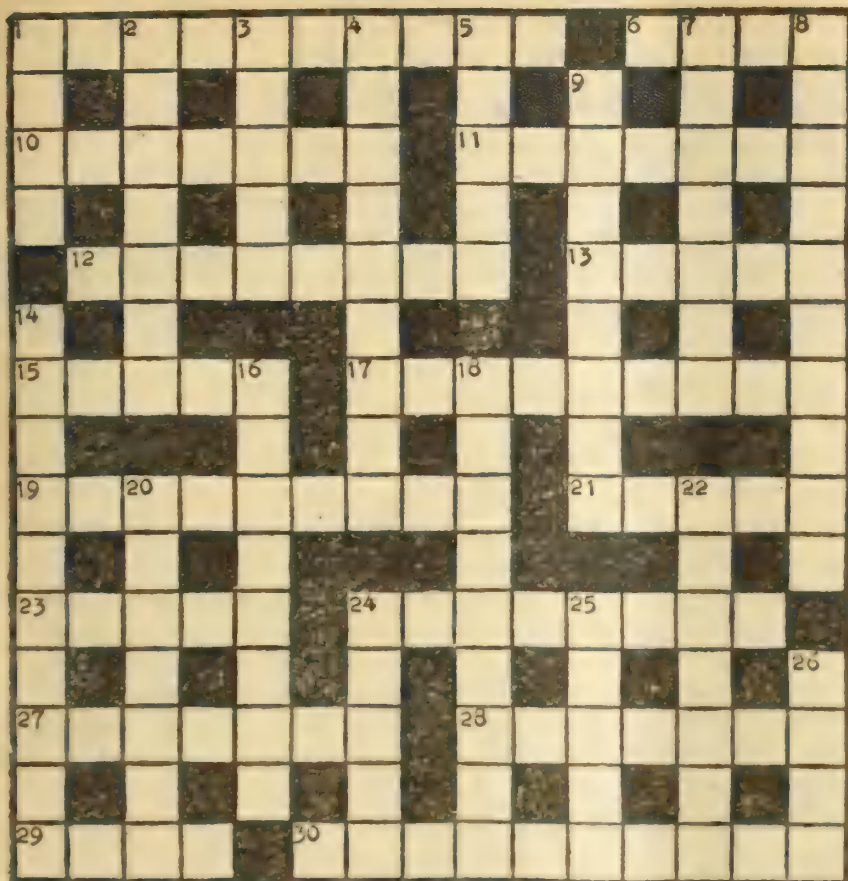
Nothing was accomplished, of course. No one proved that the D. P. O. was trying to overthrow the government. Surprisingly few people even kept up with the hearings. In a state that hasn't amended its constitution since it was originally written in 1870 and in a city that seldom sees two men running for any one office, the whole thing, ^{it} ^{seemed} rather silly. Many people who ^{had} ^{known} about it felt that the C. I. O. and the committee were taking advantage of the colored folks, or that it was just politics, or that it was just part of Congress's investigating spree and didn't mean a thing. However, they will vaguely remember names connected with the hearing and automatically brand those names as Communists.

MARY MOSTERT

Memphis, Tenn.

Crossword Puzzle No. 451

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Anticipates being confused without a cleaning agent. (10)
- 6 No back-twist on 12 to make this box. (4)
- 10, 27 and 2 down. This wire should obviously be either thicker or have better conductivity. (3, 4, 2, 5, 10)
- 11 Did George find one of them so grand? (7)
- 12 Equal cuts of food. (8)
- 13 Self-announcement of the master scientist of the religious leaders? (5)
- 15 Works with a rope. (5)
- 17 Cross-section of our life caught in a camera. (9)
- 19 See 2 down.
- 21 A different kind of subject than the complement of 4. (5)
- 23 Rides the sort of thing horses are. (5)
- 24 See 2 down.
- 27 See 10 across.
- 28 They tried to drink unsuccessfully. (7)
- 29 25 down. Stand-by on Midway! Idently the flank is exposed!)
- 30 men's assets scarcely disturb them; some find this disturbing! (10)

DOWN

- 1 If an American soldier led them, they'd become much bigger. (4)
- 2, 26 down, 19 across, 24 across, 3 down. Features equivalent to many ways? (3, 4, 4, 8, 1, 8, 5)

- 3 See 2 down.
- 4 Base things on something other than the subject under discussion. (9)
- 5 Want work? Try in addition to make it with this water. (5)
- 7 According to a certain rate, or a part thereof. (3, 4)
- 8 See 10 across.
- 9 Swift, perhaps, but not exactly the artist is. (8)
- 14 Such meetings are usually unscheduled. (10)
- 16 Take a card in a fast shuffle? It's simple! (8)
- 18 Bundle up, and speak well of it; it's worked out very nicely. (9)
- 20 Blank paper is; anarchists want to be. (7)
- 22 Mute female swans I've observed to be thoughtful. (7)
- 24 Paul's companion or the Roman emperor? Either could make it suit to a "T." (5)
- 25 See 29 across.
- 26 See 2 down.

•••••

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 450

ACROSS:—1 AUTOBIOGRAPHY; 10 TACHOE; 11 DAY LETTER; 12 UNREFINED; 13 STAMP; 14 IRISH WHISKEY; 19 ACCOMPANISTS; 22 POUTS; 24 OVERRATED; 25 PHANTASMA; 26 INCAN; 27 DYED-IN-THE-WOOL.

DOWN:—2 USHERS; 3 OPEN FORUM; 4 INDONESIA; 5 GUYED; 6 ABETS; 7 HATRACKS; 8 STOUP; 9 PREPAYS; 15 WHITEWASH; 16 INTERVIEW; 17 BAGPIPE; 18 ACCURACY; 21 STUCCO; 21 EDENS; 23 SATED; 24 ORSON.

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THE *Nation*

February 16, 1952

The White House Under Surveillance

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

*

The Malthusian Scarecrow

BY JOSUE DE CASTRO

*

Germany's Price Goes Up - - - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

The High Cost of Health - - - - - *Keith Hutchison*

Marque's "Spark of Life" - - - - - *Harvey Swados*

Another Presidential Appointment - - - *Willard Shelton*

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Death by Jim Crow

Galveston, Texas

ROBERT DORSEY SMITH, forty-three-year-old Negro, was found dead in a Galveston alley in the early morning hours of November 11. The circumstances of his death, as they have since come to light, offer an example of Jim Crowism less sensational than a lynching but just as unpardonable.

Normally a dead Negro has little news value in Galveston. But differences between the police department and the hospital administration invested this case with unusual interest. Stories about it appeared in nearly every issue of the local dailies from November 12 to 28.

The father of six children, Smith had been employed by a local packing firm for twenty years. The evening before his death he was struck by an automobile on a busy Galveston street. He was taken from the scene of the accident to John Sealy Hospital, a unit of the School of Medicine of the University of Texas. After examination and treatment he was released, although he was unable "to get fully dressed" when he left; his shoes and wallet were later found in the hospital. The police started to drive him home but halfway there dropped him off, with about nine blocks to walk. He was found dead in an alley not far from where he had got out of the police car—his face swollen, large bruises on legs and back, naked except for his trousers. "Accidental death due to skull fracture, multiple fractures of the pelvis, and internal injuries," read the autopsy report.

The next day the police and the hospital officials issued conflicting statements. Dr. T. D. Blocker, Jr., the hospital administrator, said that the emergency examination had found only superficial hip injuries and intoxication. The police stated that Smith's death might have been caused by the accident, plus a fall from the hospital examining table. Smith had been helped to the police car by a physician and an orderly, who said later that there was nothing seriously wrong with him at that time. In the view of the police the arrangement of his clothing and the nature of his injuries precluded the possibility that he had been assaulted after leaving the car to walk home.

At a subsequent meeting called by Dr. Blocker "to give the hospital's side of the case," Dr. Blocker testified that Smith had been examined by a senior medical student, then rechecked by an intern. Both reported a minor hip injury and intoxication. An X-ray was taken, but a fracture of the pelvis detected on the picture later by an unidentified radiologist was overlooked at the time, apparently because the plate was wet. There was no evidence of a skull fracture. The intern testified Smith fell from the table while alone in the room.

Both the county attorney and the police commissioner declared that the facts brought out at this hearing in no way reflected upon the hospital. The *Galveston News* of November 17 reported that "the circumstances surrounding the death were thrashed out . . . with the group reaching a general agreement that the incident was the type that occurs unavoidably at times."

A committee of Negroes then petitioned for a full investigation. The grand jury agreed to hear some witnesses and later issued a statement which made no mention of the actions of the police or the hospital attendants. Thus the case of Robert Dorsey Smith came to a quiet close—apparently to the satisfaction of the Galveston authorities.

Many unanswered questions, however, haunt the conscience of the white minority concerned with such cases. Is it customary for medical students to conduct unsupervised examinations of badly injured persons, even if their findings are later checked by an intern? Was the wet condition of the X-ray plate an adequate excuse for the faulty diagnosis? Why was the radiologist who later discovered the fractured pelvis never identified by name? Was Smith examined after he had fallen from the table? Do hospitals usually discharge patients who, after emergency treatment, are unable to dress themselves, are barefoot, and must be carried out? Why did the police allow this nearly naked, badly injured man to leave the police car nine blocks from his home? Early in the case the reports of the police and the hospital were at variance; what caused the police to be so easily satisfied with the hospital report later on?

Smith's experience suggests the kind of emergency hospital treatment that Negroes receive in many Southern towns. The reaction of the community, fully informed by the unusual publicity given to the case, was also typical. A vigorous demand from any quarter that the responsibility be fixed might have demonstrated that the community did not condone Smith's death. Such a protest might have had a considerable effect upon the future welfare of Negroes in Galveston. It might have given reassurance that there are humane and decent elements in the South whose efforts in behalf of the Negro population justify gradualism and non-intervention by the federal government. But the only faint voice of protest in the Smith case came from the Negroes of Galveston.

In passing it may be pointed out that the white driver of the car that struck Smith was charged with negligent homicide and released on his own recognizance pending a hearing. The case was continued three times and then dismissed. The grand jury failed to fix responsibility not only for the circumstances surrounding Smith's death but also for the accident. Nothing about the Smith case, perhaps, is more typical of similar occurrences.

[Alex C
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versity School of Economics in Delhi, tells of his recent trip to Communist China with a group of Indian intellectuals. Dr. Rao is the author of several books which have gained world-wide attention and has represented his country at international food conferences held in Washington, Quebec, and Copenhagen. Combining a cosmopolitan outlook with a keen instinct for reporting, he paints a vivid picture of Red China and presents a number of hitherto unpublished facts.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE CLAIMS OF ALASKA AND HAWAII TO statehood have long been widely accepted and appear to have the support of a majority of the Congress. Nevertheless, it may prove as difficult to bring these territories into the Union as it is to get Italy admitted to the United Nations. Since Alaska is normally Democratic and Hawaii Republican, a "package deal" ought to be feasible. However, Southern Senators fear that Congressional delegations from the new states would reinforce the proponents of civil rights. Considerations of party loyalty make it a little difficult for them openly to oppose Alaska, and on the theory that it would be easier to pass, supporters of the statehood bills decided to give the Alaska measure precedence. But last week a switch in tactics appeared desirable in view of indications that enough Southern Democrats were prepared to join with Republicans to assure the bill's recommittal—tantamount to burial. At the same time an informal canvass suggested that there were fifty-five votes for Hawaii and perhaps enough to obtain a cloture should Southern threats of a filibuster materialize. If the Hawaiian measure could be passed, it would be impossible, it was felt, to defeat the Alaska bill. At this point Senator Pat McCarran, head of the Senate's Internal Security Investigating subcommittee threw a monkey wrench into the works by announcing his intention to make a protracted inquiry into the menace of communism in Hawaii. The result may well be that both statehood bills will be blocked. Hawaiians, at least, seem to be coming to the end of their patience. They are now beginning to talk about following the example of Tunisia, denied self-government by France, and sending a petition to the United Nations. We hope they do so. That might shame Congress into action.

★

COLLIER'S IS STILL PEDDLING THE MYTH that the United States government thought the magazine's special issue on World War III a capital idea. On February 9 its editorial page boasted that "... the State Department has asked and received permission to translate the issue's editorial for reprinting in publications throughout the world." Actually the only request for permission to reprint "The Unwanted War" came

from a Falangist-sponsored weekly in Barcelona. Furthermore, Edward W. Barrett, until recently Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has said that the State Department does not "plan to give the article world-wide distribution" but simply asked *Collier's* for clearance in case there should be "future . . . similar requests." It now appears that such requests are not likely to be granted. *The Nation* has learned that "The Unwanted War" has been stamped by the State Department with a "discretionary mark"—the next thing to an outright refusal to permit reprints.

★

CONGRESS SHOULD ACT IMMEDIATELY TO provide extra unemployment benefits for workers made idle by civilian cutbacks. Under legislation sponsored by Senator Blair Moody, Representative John D. Dingell, and others, the federal government would pay fifty cents for each dollar advanced by the states, and would match, dollar for dollar, the additional compensation provided by some states for dependents. Considering that state unemployment benefits average only \$21 a week, a measure of this kind seems imperative, even though it would last only long enough to get the states over the period of conversion. While the proponents of the plan undoubtedly are thinking mainly of the jobless in Michigan, where cutbacks have had particularly serious effects, other sore spots demand attention. The textile workers, for example, have been hit badly by declining sales in men's-wear and other "soft"-goods lines. But in granting relief to the present victims of conversion, Congress should consider the problem of unemployment on a long-term, preventive basis. It is high time some real efforts were made to prevent workers from being penalized each time we shift from a civilian to a defense economy, or vice versa.

★

IN THEORY DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY are not at all compatible. The one implies sovereignty of the people with equal rights for all citizens; the other sets a man by virtue of his birth apart from and above all others. He may be clever or stupid, good, bad, or indifferent, but he is the king to whom his "subjects" owe homage. Nevertheless, a few nations, notably Britain and the Scandinavian countries, have succeeded not only in reconciling these opposing systems but in making them support each other. In Britain the throne has increased

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CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 452

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 164

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its prestige as it has lost its power. It serves as a catalytic agent in the presence of which the strong reactions of political warfare can be carried on without disturbing national stability and unity. Also, as Mr. Churchill said on February 2, "The crown has become the mysterious, indeed, I may say the magic link which unites our loosely bound but strongly interwoven Commonwealth of nations, states, and races." The last significant republican movement in Britain occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century when Queen Victoria indulged in partisanship and showed signs of wishing to enlarge the powers of the crown. Her son, Edward VII, and her grandson, George V, conformed more closely to the constitutional ideal, although both are believed on occasion to have stretched their right to be consulted by the Prime Minister, to encourage certain courses of action, and to warn against others. By contrast George VI, whose reign has been so sadly cut short, seems to have been a model monarch in his relations with both Tory and Labor governments. Certainly he was a popular king, and the people of Britain will not soon forget the way in which he shared their dangers and difficulties when they stood alone against the Axis. *

THE KING'S DEATH AND THE ACCESSION OF Queen Elizabeth II will have no direct political consequences but indirectly may prove helpful to the present government. No Englishman could better Mr. Churchill's expression of national sentiment about these events, and the speeches which it is his duty to make will undoubtedly increase his popularity. Moreover, the King's death necessitates a short political moratorium at a most convenient moment for the Prime Minister, who on the day it occurred was under heavy fire in the House of Commons on account of his ambiguous declarations about Far Eastern policy. Again, a period of national mourning will provide a proper psychological atmosphere for the new austerity measures which contrast so dismally with Tory election promises. Finally, the Queen's coronation, whenever it takes place, should give the government an opportunity to stage a great Commonwealth rally in London and attract large numbers of tourists to help right the trade balance. If at this time some relaxation of austerity also proves possible, the stage might be set for a successful appeal to the voters.

*

CITING THE GREATER PRODUCTIVITY OF Southern labor as its reason, the American Woolen Company has announced that it may shift all its operations from New England to the South. Of the company's twenty-four mills, twenty-one are now located in New England. The average hourly wage of \$1.05 for textile workers in the South, as compared with the Northern average of \$1.26, may have some bearing on the com-

pany's decision. The company has also notified the Textile Workers' Union (C. I. O.) that it has decided not to renew the present contract but to negotiate instead for an entirely new agreement. It would like to have the new contract include a provision which would authorize "greater work assignments," that is, speed-ups. The union contends that nothing in the present contract prevents greater work loads if new production machinery is put into use or if the company can convince an arbitrator that greater work loads are warranted. That American Woolen is not the only textile firm anxious to beat a retreat to the more kindly atmosphere of the South, where vacations with pay, group insurance, and other fringe benefits are virtually unknown, is indicated by the effort of the Utica and Mohawk Cotton Mills to escape from an injunction recently issued to restrain it from moving to South Carolina while a \$400,000 suit brought by the union over questions of vacation and separation pay is pending. There has been, of course, a sharp drop in the earnings of the textile industry; but this situation will not be remedied by shifting plants to the regional sweatshop that is the South.

Educational TV: The Time Is Now

THE future of educational television may be decided in the next few weeks. Last March the FCC issued tentative allocations for 1,900 new television stations, of which 207 were reserved for schools and colleges, provided they demonstrated a real interest in obtaining channels. Since then some 500 institutions have applied for such facilities, and the FCC is about to issue a final decision on allocations.

The past year, however, has seen several developments which, while commendable in themselves, increase the likelihood that the FCC may take a narrow view of the policy question it must now decide. It is being argued, for instance, that educational institutions will be unable to raise the necessary funds or organize the facilities for full-time TV operations. The Ford Foundation's million-dollar television-radio workshop, set up to provide commercial networks with significant program material, has been cited as an example of the way educational institutions might cooperate with commercial outlets without going to the expense of establishing separate channels. Senator William Benton's proposed National Citizens' Television Advisory Board has also been discussed as a possible means of achieving the same end.

There is merit in these proposals, as there is also in the suggestion that commercial outlets should be required by law to devote a portion of their telecasting time to educational programs (see *The Nation*, October 13, 1951). These and similar measures might be expected to im-

prove television as a medium for disseminating news, interpretative comment, and entertainment of a better quality. But none of the alternatives thus far advanced can be fairly regarded as an adequate substitute for the allocation of channels for the exclusive use of educational institutions. On this score, we are inclined to share John Crosby's view (*New York Herald Tribune*, January 23, 1952) that "educators will never in this world pry more than a token amount of time from commercial stations." Besides, universities are among the few remaining centers of free, critical inquiry in a society in which the channels of communication are increasingly monopolized. They are, of course, vulnerable to economic and political influences; but the fact that educational channels would not be directly geared to profit-making offers the best hope of a wider and more effective use of television for educational purposes.

Until recently the FCC has seemed to favor the policy of reserving channels for educational institutions. But under constant pressure from commercial interests it has begun to speculate rather gloomily about the possibility of 200 "idle" channels, and some commissioners have suggested that "non-use" of ether waves constitutes unpardonable "waste" of a public resource. That a television channel in the Chicago area should be valued at \$10,000,000 is some measure of the weight of the pressures being brought to bear to reduce the number of channels for schools and colleges. Thus there is a real danger that the time a channel reserved for a college may remain unused will be so severely limited that few institutions will be able to raise the funds needed to build stations and organize facilities. This, indeed, is the real issue behind the argument that a policy which encourages telecasting to wider audiences—even mediocre commercial telecasting—is preferable to a policy of holding up allocations in the hope that educators may be able, given sufficient time, to take advantage of them.

Actually the interest shown by schools and colleges in obtaining channels is quite impressive, considering how little the commissioners have done to encourage it—a notable exception being the fine work of Commissioner Frieda Hennock. It is true that more educators have talked about educational television than have set about raising the necessary funds. It is also true that many practical problems must be solved if the financing of educational stations is to proceed with reasonable dispatch. But the fact that at least one community—Wichita, Kansas—has adopted a \$5 personal-property tax, with the revenue earmarked for the construction and operation of an educational TV station shows that the difficulties can be surmounted.

Since both the FCC and the industry acknowledge the university's "theoretical potentialities" for television, the commission should be urged to stand by the decision it made last spring to reserve at least 207 channels for edu-

cational outlets. Under no circumstances should the FCC permit itself to be pressured into reducing the number of reservations or into placing rigid limits on the time such frequencies may remain unused. In the allocation of channels there is indeed a danger of "waste"—not in the failure to exploit a public resource but in its exploitation for private purposes under the guise of "development." The waste of valuable timber land and mineral resources during the last century in response to a similar argument should sufficiently demonstrate the urgency of close public attention to the issue now before the FCC. The ether waves, too, are part of the public domain.

Bonn Feels Its Oats

IT WAS tactless of the French government, at a moment when plans for German participation in a European army were nearing completion, to change the title of its representative in the Saar from High Commissioner to Ambassador. This move, suggesting that the French were treating the Saar as an independent sovereign state, was bound to raise nationalist passions in West Germany. The Quai d'Orsay must have anticipated this reaction: in fact, it is reported that Allied sources in Germany who were queried in advance gave an accurate forecast of the ensuing outburst. What, then, was the purpose of the French government? Was it trying perhaps to needle Germany into a display of nationalist temper in the course of which Bonn would reveal sooner than it had intended details of the bill for the military services of West Germany? Better a showdown now, the French may have argued, before the European army is finally set up, than later.

Whether or not the French government was thinking along these lines, its move in the Saar has produced such results. No doubt we have still to learn the full price of German cooperation, but the total now revealed by Bonn is certainly high enough to induce all but the most reckless enthusiasts for German rearmament to pause.

Last week, following a two-day debate in the West German Bundestag, the principle of participation in a European army was approved by 204 to 156. However, five other resolutions adopted by a show of hands indicated clearly the conditions which the Adenauer government wishes to attach to an agreement reducing this principle to practice. The first declared that as long as West Germany was not a member of NATO it must be given "military rights appropriate to the idea of a European defense force as a voluntary association of equal partners." According to a Bonn official interrogated by Drew Middleton of the *New York Times*, this obscurely worded demand is a new effort to obtain a German general staff.

The second resolution expressed regret at the naming

of a French ambassador to the Saar and asked political freedom for that territory. The third declared that Germany's financial defense contribution must be determined by the same standards as that of other countries. Number four was a significant concession to the old militarist elements—a demand that the Western Allies review the sentences of war criminals "without delay." Finally a resolution, beginning "The occupation regime must come to an end," called for full restoration of German sovereignty with freedom to repeal occupation laws and an end of all controls on German industry.

The nature and scope of these demands show that the West Germans are feeling the oats which we have been assiduously feeding them in the form of daily statements about the indispensability of German rearmament. They indicate also that there are a great many hurdles to be negotiated before the proposed European army materializes. The first demand is particularly tricky. Admission of West Germany to NATO is strongly opposed by France on the very reasonable grounds that it would deprive the Atlantic Pact of its defensive character in view of Bonn's declared aim of recovering lost German territory in the east. On the other hand, the idea that the Germans should be permitted a general staff nullifies the whole purpose of the European-army plan and reintroduces the nightmare that France has been so desperately trying to dispel.

The impudence of the fourth resolution speaks for itself. It is evidence of German determination to expunge the crimes of Nazism by forcing the Allies to admit that they never really took place or, at least, were much exaggerated. As for the demand for the end of the occupation regime, that of course is intended to remove all remaining obstacles to the rebuilding of the German arms industry and to end such reforms as the anti-cartelization laws.

It may shock some people to find that less than seven years after V-E Day, the Germans feel strong enough to put forward such demands. Still more alarming is the fact that they can probably enforce most of them. For as many observers foresaw when the project of rearming West Germany first emerged from the Pentagon in 1950, and as the German expert interviewed by Mr. del Vayo reports, we have dealt Bonn a winning poker hand. Now Chancellor Adenauer is raising the ante and forcing us to pay up. As Drew Middleton wrote in the *New York Times* of February 10: "No one doubts that the West needs Germany, although the degree of the need has been greatly exaggerated by those who think solely in terms of army divisions. But the Germans no longer need the West as much as they did, and in the future they will need it still less. . . . It must be expected that the leaders of the Federal Republic will become more difficult, not easier, to deal with in the future, especially in the months between now and next year's election."

Presidential Appointment

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, February 6

PRESIDENT TRUMAN today picked an obscure Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Dale E. Doty, to fill the vacancy on the Federal Power Commission left by the departure last October of Mon C. Wallgren, who in sixteen months of service had thoroughly besmirched the commission's fine record of defending the public interest against predatory electric and natural-gas companies. Nothing derogatory is known about Mr. Doty. For a number of years he has been a protégé of Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, one of the few important officials in the Administration who have fought for consumer interests. But the public should be told how Mr. Truman's "friends" managed to block the appointment of candidates for the post whose records entitled them to serious consideration.

One of these candidates was Raymond S. McKeough, a former Democratic Representative from Illinois who had made a fine reputation on the old Maritime Commission. Another was Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, who as a Democratic Representative from Connecticut had shown herself to be a dependable liberal. A third was a member of the FPC's professional staff eminently qualified for promotion by his knowledge of the field. McKeough had the powerful backing of Frank E. McKinney, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Mrs. Woodhouse was the second choice of Mrs. India Edwards, head of the committee's women's division. Support from the National Committee, it turned out, was no help.

McKinney's efforts in behalf of McKeough were opposed by President Truman's secretary, Matt Connelly, and his administrative assistant for personnel, Donald S. Dawson. McKeough was called a "trouble-maker." His "loyalty" to the President was questioned. The only conceivable explanation for these charges is that he was the one member of the old Maritime Commission who had refused to approve loose accounting practices and scandalous subsidies to private ship operators, the one member who had escaped scathing Congressional criticism, the one member whose actions had not invited attack on the Administration.

When McKinney continued to support McKeough, he met other obstacles. McKeough was said to have the backing of a former celebrated New Dealer whom the President detests—the "kiss of death." It was reported that Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, would refuse to allow McKeough's confirmation. To the question what Johnson had against McKeough nobody has given a clear-cut answer, but his opposition is amply confirmed.

Had the President been well advised, he would have known that he was badly in need of a liberal of tested quality to replace Wallgren. In 1950 Mr. Truman vetoed the Kerr natural-gas bill, which would have relieved "independent" gas companies of FPC regulation of their rates. Last August, Wallgren in effect annulled the veto in the specific case of the Phillips Petroleum Company by a written decision that the FPC had never possessed any authority over the rates charged by independent gas companies. The Wallgren opinion and the President's message vetoing the Kerr bill were in direct contradiction. A public-utilities magazine, hailing the FPC decision, frankly exulted that Wallgren had given the natural-gas industry everything it could have hoped for under the Kerr bill—and perhaps more.

The Kerr bill was fought by Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee as prejudicial to consumers. It was also opposed by William M. Boyle, Jr., then chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Secretary Chapman. Douglas estimated that if the bill were passed, consumers would soon be paying from \$200,000,000 to \$300,000,000 a year more in gas rates, and called it a "five-to-ten-billion-dollar bonanza" for the gas producers. Republicans hoped the President would sign the measure and thus prove that he gave only lip-service to the interests of consumers; the majority of Senate Republicans voted against the bill. When Mr. Truman's veto was announced, Senator Douglas said, "God bless the President of the United States!"

Then everything was undone by Wallgren. The professional staff of the FPC frankly admitted that the decision in the Phillips case was contrary to their judgment. Unless it is reversed, independent gas companies are left completely unregulated as to rates, and consumers will pay through the nose. Gas-pipe-line operators, encouraged by the trend of events, are beating at the doors of the commission demanding to be allowed to raise their rates, and if the requested increases go through, state and local regulatory bodies will have no choice but to allow local retailers of gas to raise prices.

Mr. Doty, Truman's appointee, may prove an excellent commissioner. In the cockpit of FPC controversies, where powerful industrialists and members of Congress fight for the spoils, he may reveal the granite-like qualities needed for public service. One hopes so. Thomas Buchanan, the one FPC commissioner who disagreed with the Phillips decision and wrote a brilliant dissenting opinion, must feel lonely these days in his job. Unfortunately it has been made reasonably clear that honest and genuine service to the people—service which does credit to the Administration instead of provoking criticism for laxity and impropriety—is not always rewarded. Not when the White House cronies see a chance to intervene.

The White House Under Surveillance

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE witch hunt has now been extended to the highest echelons of American business and government, and even to the White House. This was bound to happen sooner or later. Once the informer is officially sanctioned—as by the Attorney General of the United States urging college students to tell tales on their instructors, or by Edgar Hoover beseeching taxicab drivers to help him catch spies—he becomes all-powerful; literally no one is immune from his prying and tattling.

This was clearly established by the witch hunt in the wake of World War I. At first only anarchists and wobblies were beaten up and kicked around, but from 1921 to 1924 the FBI, with J. Edgar Hoover as assistant director, put Senators and Representatives under surveillance—rifled their files, examined their mail bags, got servants in their homes to report on their actions; it even set a watch on a federal judge. The story is being repeated today but with variations in scale and tempo.

On January 28, for example, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy gave the press a copy of a letter he had sent to Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of *Time*, demanding that *Time* withdraw certain charges. Coupled with the demand was the threat that if the magazine did not comply promptly, the Senator would place his case before "all of your advertisers." In this impudent note Mr. Luce was accused—I imagine for the first time in his career—of "rendering almost unlimited service to the Communist cause and undermining America." The basis of this horrendous charge was simply that *Time* had dared criticize Joseph R. McCarthy. A year or so back it was Adam Hats and Drew Pearson that felt the Senator's lash; today the most powerful magazine publisher in America is his victim. Nor is McCarthy's threat an idle one. Should the present witch hunt continue unabated, it is conceivable that even Mr. Luce could be made to toe the line.

Consider the extraordinary "leak" of confidential information from the Loyalty Review Board to Senator McCarthy. Commenting on McCarthy's evident access to the board's records, the *Washington Post* said on January 18: "It is plain that some person inside the Loyalty Review Board is giving classified material to Senator McCarthy . . . and is thus guilty of one of the specific activities which the executive order directs the Loyalty Review Board to consider in connection with the determination of disloyalty." Such a statement carries serious implications. The board has been converted into an instrument in a partisan struggle for power. If informers have infiltrated the Loyalty Review Board, they are doubt-

less to be found in the Pentagon, in the offices of Congressmen, among the clerical staff of the Supreme Court, and perhaps in the White House.

Two recent incidents show that this supposition is not groundless. On January 29 Senator McCarthy charged that Philleo Nash, a member of President Truman's staff, had been named in FBI reports as a person who had had close connections with Communists in the 1940's. The Senator, of course, offered no proof that the reports were correct, but suppose they were. How does it happen that McCarthy has access to confidential files of the FBI? Can there be informers in the FBI? One would prefer to believe this than to have to conclude that J. Edgar Hoover himself has been feeding information to McCarthy, but the circumstances warrant the latter inference.

Or consider the case of David Lloyd, a highly respected special assistant to the President. In 1950 charges were made against Mr. Lloyd by Senator McCarthy on the basis of information supplied by "sources at the Loyalty Review Board." Since no supporting evidence was offered, formal charges were never filed and no hearing was held. McCarthy now claims that the Lloyd case was closed on orders from the White House. If this is true, how does Senator McCarthy happen to know it? Has he an informer in the White House or on the Loyalty Review Board, or is he able, like the man in the Marcel Ayme story, to walk through stone walls? The Lloyd and Nash incidents indicate that the White House itself is now under surveillance, a conclusion also implicit in the Max Lowenthal incident.

On January 24, 1952, Representative George A. Dondero of Michigan viciously attacked Lowenthal on the floor of the House, charging that he was "back on the Washington scene" and had "recently almost succeeded in dealing a death blow to the government's program in prosecuting Communists." According to Dondero, Lowenthal was "the architect of the plan to fire J. Howard McGrath" and to name Justin Miller as his successor. Dondero said further: "I am . . . keeping my eye peeled to find out what he is doing now, in the hope that when it is discovered I can expose it here before the Congress of the United States and the American people." Anyone familiar with Dondero's assault upon modern abstract artists as agents of the Kremlin would dread to be "exposed" by him; he is a man with a powerful, if erratic, political imagination.

Max Lowenthal, the target of this attack, is a well-known New York lawyer. He was counsel for one of the Truman investigations for several years and has remained

a close friend of Mr. Truman's. Just before his book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," was published in 1950, Mr. Lowenthal was subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The book was highly critical of the FBI, and extraordinary pressures, first to prevent its publication and later to impede its sales, were brought to bear on Lowenthal and his publishers. But these efforts failed, and the staff of the House committee were equally unable "to lay a hand" on the book's author. Last spring Lowenthal repeated his criticism of the FBI in a paper which he read before a conference on law enforcement sponsored by the Law School of the University of Chicago. In this paper, entitled "Police Methods in Crime Detection and Counter-Espionage," he maintained that by "placing under police scrutiny the thoughts, the beliefs, the reading matter, and the circle of acquaintances of large numbers of Americans," the FBI had created an atmosphere in which spies were able to operate more freely than before the witch hunt began. It can be imagined that Mr. Hoover, sensitive to criticism as his friend Walter Winchell, did not take this statement lightly.

WASHINGTON observers confirm the plain implication of Dondero's speech—that Lowenthal had been at the White House and had talked with the President. No responsible person, however, confirms the alleged "plot," to quote the *Chicago Tribune's* characterization of the supposed interview. In any case one wonders how Representative Dondero knew what was said in a conversation between the President and Mr. Lowenthal? Both are seasoned public men with a reputation for respecting confidences. Conceivably the White House staff of 300 workers contains one or more informers. Another possible inference—the more likely the more one studies Dondero's speech of January 24—is that informers or those occasional "informants" of the FBI whom its chief generally indorses as "confidential" or "reliable" have had Lowenthal and the White House under surveillance for some time.

The close friendship between J. Edgar Hoover and Dondero is a matter of common knowledge. According to the *New York Post* of January 25, "Dondero, like Winchell, has frequently displayed notably close connections with the FBI." In 1946 Dondero told his colleagues in the House that he had spent long hours with J. Edgar Hoover, getting confidential information about spies and such. In an earlier attack on Lowenthal in 1947 Dondero asserted that he knew what the FBI knew or claimed to know about Lowenthal. At the time of the attempt to suppress Lowenthal's book in 1950, it was Dondero who made the chief speech against Lowenthal in Congress.

Supporting the inference that the FBI is keeping tabs on the White House is a little-noticed but significant fact. The Secret Service, which is under the Treasury Depart-

ment, has always had the responsibility for protecting the White House and the President. Secret Service agents see everyone who goes into the White House offices or the President's study. The time, to the hour and minute, of everything that happens in the White House, including all arrivals and departures, is carefully noted. Secret Service agents are in the White House all night. They watch the switchboards, guard the files—can see any papers left on the desks. If the FBI had this function, it would have innumerable opportunities to acquire power at the highest decision-making levels.

J. Edgar Hoover has long sought to deprive the Secret Service of this high responsibility and to acquire it for the FBI. The Herbert Hoover Commission recommended such a transfer. Up to the present, however, J. Edgar has failed to win the White House prize, though he has never given up hope that it would some day be his. In the meantime he has wangled thou-



J. Edgar Hoover

sands of dollars of special appropriations from Congress for the "protection" of the President, protection which the present incumbent of the White House has never asked for. It is well known that President Truman, since the days when he was a Senator, has looked with disfavor on the FBI's repeated bid for new powers. It was in part to curb the bureau that he appointed the Nimitz Commission last year to survey internal security problems; and it was Hoover's influence in Congress that scuttled the commission. Not for years has the Department of Justice been in any sense independent of the FBI; Hoover has been the master-mind of the witch hunt.

Today President Truman is thoroughly aware that he is a major target of the more audacious witch-hunters. He is far too astute not to know that the FBI supplies McCarthy with information. The President has surely noted the FBI's failure to deny that it has been feeding information to Dondero, McCarthy, and other enemies of the Administration. Back in 1950 Wisconsin newspapers published an indorsement of McCarthy by J. Edgar Hoover—the statement is said to have helped "rebuild" McCarthy at a time when his prestige was at a low ebb.

Thus in the first weeks of 1952 it has become clear—if it was not always clear—that literally no Ameri-

can is beyond the reach of witch-hunters or the vicious activities of informers. If the FBI, or "confidential informants" of the type constituting one of the main sources of FBI information or misinformation, can shadow the White House without the President's knowledge or consent, then no agency of government is immune. Does the FBI have its eye on Justices Black and Douglas? Has it shadowed Judge Delbert Metzger in Hawaii? What Senator or Representative can today feel sure that the FBI does not have some "confidential informant" in his office, reading his mail, jotting down the names of visitors?

The shadow that has now fallen on the White House fell long ago across every government agency, most factories, many businesses, and literally millions of American homes. Few institutions of higher learning can ignore the informers in their midst. This shadow might still be dispelled if people of power and influence could be induced to speak out, as some of them finally did in the 1920's. But many of these people are now intimidated, or hesitant for other reasons. In Wisconsin, Governor Kohler has finally decided not to oppose McCarthy, thus insuring the latter's renomination. The day that McCarthy attacked Henry Luce, the Senate Rules subcommittee, weakened by the resignation of Margaret

Chase Smith, met "inconclusively," in an atmosphere "strongly indicating that no action was likely to be taken" to carry out its previous decision to investigate Senator Benton's charges against McCarthy. That project would now seem to be as dead as the dodo. A House committee has voted to investigate the Department of Justice—meaning Attorney General J. Howard McGrath—but there is not the slightest likelihood that it will question J. Edgar Hoover on his relations with McCarthy and Dondero and other political enemies of the Administration.

Those who want to roll back the "black shadow of fear"—the phrase is Justice William O. Douglas's—now, enveloping so large an area of American life must realize that behind the McCarthys stand those who really direct the witch hunt; behind the puppet is the puppeteer. Joe McCarthy, like Charlie, is a puppet; but who pulls the strings? Congress could easily find out if it investigated the FBI as it did in 1924. At least once every twenty-five years J. Edgar Hoover should be required to answer a few questions, and the questioning should be done, as Max Lowenthal stated in his Chicago speech, by "a staff of such courage and independence that it can decline to rest on the assertion of the [FBI] and can insist on answers. . . ."

The High Cost of Health

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

AMONG the many rising items in the rising cost of living is medical care, including pre-paid medical insurance, the panacea which the American Medical Association offers us as a safe substitute for the horrors of "socialized medicine." On May 1 both the Associated Hospital Service (Blue Cross) and the United Medical Service (Blue Shield) of New York will advance their subscription rates. Group membership in the first, which provides coverage against hospital fees, will in the future cost \$1.60 a month for an individual instead of \$1.24, and \$4.36 for a family instead of \$3.56. Moreover, married couples without children, who at present pay \$2.72 a month, are to be charged the full family rate. Such couples, it is explained, are mostly elderly and require, on the average, as much service as families with children.

The United Medical Service provides either surgical care and in-hospital medical care or surgical care only. Its rates for the more complete service are to increase from 72 cents to 88 cents monthly for an individual, from \$1.64 to \$2.00 for husband and wife, and from \$2.96 to \$3.40 for a family.

As a result of these changes the total cost of family coverage against illnesses and accidents requiring hos-

pitalization will be \$93.12 a year. And this not inconsiderable item is of course only a part and often quite a small part of the average family's health budget. Moreover, Blue Shield only meets surgeons' and physicians' bills in full when the subscriber's income is under a quite modest level—\$4,000 for a family or \$2,500 for an individual. In other cases the patient receives a credit which is usually well below the doctor's fee.

Writing of the Blue Shield type of contract in the *Atlantic Monthly* of October, 1950, Dr. James Howard Means, professor of clinical medicine at Harvard University, said: "While these plans are of some assistance in aiding surgeons and obstetricians to collect their fees, and while they act as a bit of a cushion for the patient facing a big bill for a surgical or obstetrical procedure, they obviously have glaring deficiencies. For one thing, they probably do not cover more than one-sixth of the average family's annual doctor's bill, so that they are hardly more than a token of economic aid."

If my own experience is at all typical for middle-income families, Dr. Means errs on the side of moderation. In the past seven years Blue Cross and Blue Shield premiums have accounted for about one-tenth of my an-

nual medical expenses, as reported for income tax, which have averaged from 7½ to 10 per cent of total income. Yet in this period we have had no long or serious illnesses in the family and only one operation, entailing three days in hospital, on which occasion I recovered from Blue Cross and Blue Shield about half my expenses. Another year I developed an infection which proved to be relatively mild but which produced in its early stages some symptoms alarming to my doctor. As a result, a specialist was called in and I was subjected to some elaborate tests. The upshot was reassuring, but the total expense of this illness, exceeding \$300, was decidedly debilitating to my bank account; since no hospitalization was involved nothing was recoverable from the insurance plans. However, this was exceptional, and the real burden of the family's annual health bill is due to what may be called routine expenses for check-ups, care of teeth and eyes, minor ailments, and prescriptions.

There are prepaid medical-insurance schemes that cover a good many of these expenses. One of them, the Farmers' Union Hospital Association of Elk City, Oklahoma, was described in *The Nation* of February 2. That group suffered from boycott by the local medical society; and similar bodies, such as the Group Health Association of Washington, the Permanente Health Plan in California, and the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, have also been criticized and obstructed by organized medicine, which appears to view them as only slightly less dangerous than government health insurance.

Despite obstacles, such plans have found wide acceptance in the few areas where they have been tried. New York's H. I. P., for instance, has now more than 280,000 members, although it accepts only employee groups and their families. Its members are entitled to choose a family doctor from a long list of general practitioners, and to receive medical, surgical, and specialist care at home, at doctors' offices, and in hospital. The service includes regular health examinations, immunization and tests, maternity and child care, eye examinations, physical therapy, X-ray examinations and treatments, psychiatric examinations, visiting nurses, and the use of an ambulance when necessary. It does not cover dental care, prescribed drugs, biologicals, appliances, treatments for acute alcoholism or drug addiction, or mental disorders requiring institutional treatment. It also excludes hospital costs, but members are required to carry hospitalization insurance so as to complete their protection.

There are no plans, I am told, for increasing H. I. P. subscription rates at the present time. On the contracts covering employees and families they range from \$34.32 annually for an employee with no dependents to \$103.48 for one with two or more dependents. This applies to those with family incomes not exceeding \$6,500 or to single employees earning up to \$5,000. Those with greater incomes pay about 50 per cent more. Thus for

the lower-bracket family the combination of H. I. P. and Blue Cross will cost \$155.80 annually after May 1. With dental care and other excluded items added, the total health bill is not likely to be less than \$200 and may be considerably more.

SINCE this is probably the broadest and most satisfactory plan for meeting health expenses now available to Americans, it is interesting to compare its costs with those of the British Health Service, which has much broader coverage even when allowance is made for the trimming of benefits just proposed by the Tory government. The British service, as its critics are so fond of telling us, is not really "free"; like education in this country it is paid for through taxes, on the ground that health is as much a matter of public concern as literacy. The gross cost in 1949-50 was \$1,220,800,000, or 3.6 per cent of total consumer expenditure. This amounted to \$24.31 per capita, or \$97.24 for a family of four.

In this country total private expenditure for medical services and commodities in 1949 has been estimated at \$7,900,000,000, about 11 per cent of which was covered by voluntary insurance benefits and indemnities.* This was 4.4 per cent of total consumer expenditure in that year and amounted to \$54 per capita, or \$212 per family of four.

Of course many American families don't spend anything like that sum on health: they can't afford the money and in many cases don't get the medical care even when they need it desperately. The New York *World-Telegram* of January 29 published a report from Big Stone Gap, Virginia, about a mother who set out over a mountain trail with a sick baby to reach a hospital. A neighbor explained that three doctors had been called before they found one "who talked like he was going to come. That one asked whether Mrs. Hazelwood had any money in the house." She did not, and the upshot was the baby died of pneumonia a few minutes after its mother reached the hospital. After investigating this case, Dr. E. J. Benko, chairman of the Wise County Medical Society's Board of Censors, said, according to the New York *Herald Tribune* of January 30, that a doctor is "a damn fool to go out without knowing whether he is going to get paid." County doctors, he added, are willing to accept charity cases, "but nobody wants to get stuck with a dead beat."

I don't imagine that story could be duplicated in Britain, where since the Health Service started, a baby's right to life has been a civic right and not a matter of charity. But until health care in this country is provided on the basis of need instead of ability to pay, such human sacrifices are likely to be among the costs of private-enterprise medicine.

*I. S. Falk, Director, Division of Research and Statistics, Social Security Agency, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1951.

Germany's Price Goes Up

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, February 2

THE other day I talked for several hours with a German who by reason of his official position thoroughly understands the "German problem." No one could suspect him of being friendly to Russia—in fact, he criticized Russian policy severely—but he was convinced that the German policy of the Atlantic powers had taken a dangerous turn. His view of the present situation and of the way it is likely to develop is worth passing on to American readers.

"Throughout Germany," he said, "the people are doing their best. In this respect they cannot be criticized. West Germany has a great deal of unemployment and is burdened with the refugees from the east. East Germany, far from being troubled with unemployment, needs workers badly. But West Germany is benefiting from a great influx of foreign private capital. Copious funds are being made available, partly because no controls have been imposed on the economy and partly because Western policy favors Germany above other European countries. The product of West German industry, moreover, is in great demand for Atlantic defense. East Germany has the advantage of lower prices; many West Germans go to the Soviet-controlled eastern zone to buy food. The shop windows in the West are filled with luxuries like oranges, which are almost never seen in the east, but Soviet propaganda asserts that the east zone's cheap potatoes are a still stronger attraction. The difference in the cost of living in the two zones has slowed the stream of refugees flowing westward."

Since the question of German rearmament is now so urgent, I asked him how the Germans themselves felt about it.

"In general," he said, "they are not enthusiastic. In recent Gallup polls even young people have been 70 per cent against remilitarization. But this spontaneous opposition is counteracted by outside pressures. Young people in Germany today feel terribly confused, just as they do in other European countries. In East Germany they parade and make speeches to the satisfaction of the Soviet authorities and seem converted to communism, but I will wager that one day they will march against Russia. And in West Germany the same young men who are now talking about enlisting in a European army will some day march against France. The only strong, genuine emotion in either group is devotion to Germany and to the idea of a reunited Germany.

"West German youth call themselves 'democratic and anti-militarist,' but recently their attitude has been

somewhat affected by the growth of such organizations as the Bund Deutscher Jugend. Being rabidly anti-Communist, this group has received strong financial support and greatly increased its membership. The Bundesjugendring, which is made up of young people of widely varying views and usually takes a democratic position, has not shown itself very 'cooperative' on the question of rearmament and is not so well off for funds. But of course the attitude of the youth, though important, is not decisive with the Bonn government."

I then asked Herr—— if he would permit me a direct question: Did he himself favor the rearmament of Germany?

"In the form in which it is at present conceived, no," he replied; "in its original form, with the Germans' military contribution kept to proper proportions, yes. If Germans will help defend their own country only for a price, and that price is that they shall be treated as the most privileged member of the European community and be allowed to destroy every seed of future German democracy, then, as a liberal, I hope they do not get their price. I do not want to see former S. S. officers strutting through the streets as our new masters. I am outraged when I hear a man like Frauenfeld, the ex-Gauleiter of Austria, say that Hitler's S. S. were "élite European troops." It is bad enough that at this very moment the S. S. is preparing for a great 'reunion' in Germany, to which former Nazis are coming from Spain and Argentina and the other countries where they have been trying to revive the Nazi movement."

I put in a question: "Don't the Germans know that by making too many demands they may come a cropper?"

"Chancellor Adenauer knows it, but he is under constant pressure from his entourage to extract every possible advantage from the American interest in German rearmament. The other day I said to a high government official that this was no time to talk about rectifying the eastern frontier. He replied that if the Germans were not given satisfaction in this matter, there would be no German divisions: the Allies could take their choice. I said that in the present difficult international situation the Allies could not raise that question without seeming to be directly provoking Russia. He insisted that the Allies must secure the return of the eastern provinces to Germany, compensate Poland with Russian territory, and make it up to Russia in some other way. How, for instance, I asked him. Well, he said, there is Yugoslavia. If the Allies would let Russia take over Yugoslavia, Moscow would gladly make a deal. I observed that the policy

of the West was to protect the independence of Yugoslavia against Russia. He answered with a smile that Allied policy frequently changed—it had changed toward Franco and might toward Tito.

"Several things are behind the Germans' exigent attitude. There was the speech of High Commissioner McCloy on December 17 pointing out that the United States had a 'German policy in reserve, in addition to the European army.' More important was the action of Mr. Harriman, head of the Mutual Security Agency, in choosing William H. Draper as his personal representative in Europe. Mr. Draper is remembered as one who rendered the German ruling class many services when he was General Clay's right-hand man: among other things he retracted earlier decrees concerning demilitarization and the dissolution of industrial cartels. But the chief reason for Bonn's increasing boldness is found in the reports from Washington that the American military planners, seeing that efforts to build a European defense community were bogged down, had decided to separate the problem of German rearmament from the problem of European unification, instead of making one conditional on the other, as the French demanded. I have cited only public and well-known occurrences, but I might also speak of the secret encouragement given to the German generals by American military men who have asked them to help pick the officers for the future European army."

"It is said the British have obtained better results than the Americans in reeducating the Germans for democracy. Is that true?"

"Perhaps to some extent. But in general all attempts at democratization have been a failure. Did you hear about what happened at a UNESCO meeting the other day, here in Paris? A hundred German students were invited by the Allies to come to Paris to learn about the work of the specialized U. N. agencies. They were shown a number of films, one of which referred in restrained terms to the crimes of the Nazis. The German students rose in a body and left the room!

"The idea of remilitarization was repugnant to almost everybody a few months ago. But since the Germans have discovered that if they rearm, their country can become again the leading power in Europe, the opposition is dissolving. Those in favor are still a minority, but when they say that rearmament will win for Germany the financial and political support of the most powerful nation on earth, the United States, they have an effective argument. No country is recovering more rapidly or feels more confident of the future than Germany. Its faith in itself is confirmed by the stock market: West German industrial stocks which two months ago sold on the Paris Bourse for 900 francs have gone up to 5,000."

I asked how the Germans felt about the European army.

"Just when it seemed that agreement on a European

defense system was going to be reached, after great difficulty, in Paris, the whole plan was jeopardized by Germany's demand to be accepted into NATO. This was carrying the equal-rights theory to extremes. And instead of trying to allay French anxiety, Bonn chose to emphasize that a new and powerful Wehrmacht would emerge from the plan for a European army, which theoretically was supposed to be able to restrain German ambitions. At about the same time Bonn reacted brusquely to the appointment of High Commissioner Granval as French ambassador to the Saar. It is interesting to note that the Socialists objected even more strongly than the Chancellor, reproaching Adenauer for his 'concessions' to France and demanding a firm policy on the Saar. In these domestic struggles the winner is always the same military and industrial clique which caused the two world wars. Seeing Germany courted by the Americans, this clique is now resolved to make the United States pay the highest possible price for German rearmament.

"The Nazis, of course, are pleased by this development. A year ago people would get excited when a known Nazi who had been prudently lying low was appointed to a government ministry or to the board of directors of a big industrial enterprise. Nowadays that happens so often that only a foreign correspondent recently arrived in Germany would see a story in it. But the chief difference between a year ago and today is that Nazis then were satisfied to get good jobs in the civil administration or in private business while now they have trained their sights on the future German army. Many of the majors, captains, lieutenants, and sergeants of the new German divisions, the officers who mold an army's character, will be active Nazis. In the beginning these divisions will owe allegiance to a supra-national 'Europe,' but soon they will become an embryo German army, and as the result of German experience over the past five years a belligerent and aggressive army. Americans who are shocked that France retains its traditional distrust of Germany should remember the long past. A man in Colorado, living four thousand miles from the Rhine, views German rearmament very differently from a Frenchman who realizes that while the Russians may attack France, the Germans have attacked it many times.

"Some people think it will take at least two years to rearm West Germany. This is a gross miscalculation. They forget the most important factor in German rearmament—the 'cadres.' While France is stripped of its new officers by the Indo-Chinese war, which absorbs each year an entire class of Saint-Cyr graduates, Germany has on hand more officers than it can use. The organizations of veterans, of former officers, that have been revived during the past year or so are already at work selecting the 'cadres' of the new German divisions. These are officers trained in the war against Russia—a fact that increases their value. The German military program is much farther

advanced than official comments in NATO would lead you to believe."

"Do you think the French reaction will induce a diplomatic retreat on the Germans' part?" I asked.

"I am afraid not. France has been forced to yield ground continuously in the past twelvemonth, and the Germans are flushed with victory. France is likely to find itself facing such a strong Germany that the desired economic union with the Saar will prove as impossible as it was in 1935. Soon, if events continue on their present course, Germany will have the strongest army in Western Europe. That will cause forebodings in Europeans who recall Germany's resurgence after Jena and after Versailles. The demand of the leading Bonn diplomat, Hallstein, that Germany be admitted to NATO can be ignored for a time—it may not even be discussed at the coming meeting of the Atlantic Council in Lisbon—but it will probably be granted in the end."

I asked how he thought Russia would react to this.

"I shall not venture an opinion on that. Moscow continues to support Grotewohl's unity campaign and offer of free elections, but I am inclined to think it has

little faith in his success. To answer West German rearmament by arming East Germany would not seem an adequate counter-move. A remilitarized West Germany supported by the enormous industrial potential of the United States would constitute such a threat to Russia that one can hardly expect it to remain idle while the plan is carried through. How it can block the process is a question. At one time it seemed possible that to prevent German rearmament Russia would even go to war. But recently Soviet diplomats have given the impression that they are equally concerned with other issues, such as the nationalist movements in Asia and the Middle East. I do not believe that Egypt is nearly so important to Russia as Germany, but if Moscow could convince the Allies that it might give way in the Middle and Far East in return for the abandonment of German rearmament, it might cause a split between the French and the Anglo-Americans."

"Then you believe that the danger of a violent Russian reaction to German rearmament has passed?"

"By no means. There will be constant danger of it, in my opinion, for the next few months."

The Malthusian Scarecrow

JOSUE DE CASTRO

AFTER a lapse of fifty years the Malthusian theory has again come into vogue. Malthus, it will be recalled, spent the greater part of his life gathering statistics to prove that while the world's population increased geometrically, the world's food supply increased arithmetically. The inference, of course, was that a point would be reached at which the population could no longer be fed. Periodically the Malthusian theory has enjoyed a wide appeal; its popularity today is merely the latest of a number of similar resurrections. Are we really incapable of producing the food we need? The neo-Malthusians say "yes," but are they right?

Malthus was the victim of a basic mistake, for he took as his starting point the rate of population growth in the United States at the end of the eighteenth century, when political and economic conditions placed a premium on large families. During the next century his theory was partly borne out by the facts, but by 1900 the net reproduction rate had fallen so sharply in Western Europe that its validity was questioned. And the rate has continued

to fall during the past fifty years. According to figures released by the National Resources Committee in 1941, the net reproduction rate for Sweden was then only .84, which means that the number of births was more than offset by the number of deaths. In 1939 the rate for France was down to 0.9, for Germany (1938) to 0.99, and for the United States to 1.01. More recent figures are not available, but once the post-war "boom" in babies has subsided there is every reason to believe that the net reproduction rate will continue to fall in Western Europe and in this country. In the Far East the facts bear out Malthus's theory somewhat better, but whether the rate of population growth will continue to increase there seems, in the light of European experience, rather doubtful. Even if we concede Malthus's theory of population increase, his views on the world's food supply are clearly erroneous.

Contrary to Malthus's prediction, food production can undoubtedly keep pace with a rising birth rate. At the present time only about 10 per cent of the earth's arable land is being cultivated, and the yield of most of this could be doubled by the scientific use of new machinery, fertilizers, planting techniques, insecticides, and hybrids. The World Food Survey conducted by the U. N. reported not long ago that with modern methods India could increase its production of wheat as much as 50 per

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cent. If only 20 per cent of the uncultivated arable land in Africa and South America were plowed and planted, we should have nine billion more acres producing food. A hundred million more acres could be farmed in Oceania. Development of 10 per cent of the arable land in Russia and Canada now untilled would mean an additional three billion acres.

The population of the world increases by 1 per cent every year, but improvements in farming alone have raised the output of food $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year. The United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics has reported that during the five-year period 1941-46 the American farmer "produced enough food each year to feed 50,000,000 more people than could have been fed at comparable dietary levels during the last five years of the 1930's." And this increase, the bureau says, was achieved with 10 per cent fewer men in the fields, most of it being due to new fertilizers and insecticides and the development of new types of seed and livestock.

Increasing the acreage under cultivation and the output per acre are only two means of increasing the food supply. Many sources of food have not yet been exploited. The sea produces vegetables, such as *placto*, which have high nutritional value. *Chroella*, an alga which can be grown commercially in tanks and fed with minerals, is rich in proteins. A single installation could raise enough of it to supply the proteins needed by three million people and the fats for one and a half million. This would be roughly equivalent to the production of 150,000 acres of good arable land. New plants rich in mineral content, such as the *broelizceas* (*Broelia laciniacea mart*) of Brazil, which contain fifteen times as much calcium as milk does, are being studied for commercial planting. Besides these new natural sources, science is every day discovering ways to manufacture nutrients. An experimental factory in Jamaica is already producing synthetic foodstuffs, and similar projects are being set up in other countries. In the 1930's German factories turned out tons of synthetic fats.

DESPITE these known facts the Malthusian theory still has supporters. As theories have often done, it survives the facts which contradict it because it can be used to rationalize various interests and situations. During the nineteenth century, for example, the Malthusian theory was used to justify starvation wages. If wages were raised above subsistence levels, it was argued, the birth rate would rise, and eventually there would be "overpopulation" and famine. Just recently William Vogt, a prominent neo-Malthusian, author of "Road to Survival," asserted that starvation in China and elsewhere was "desirable" from the point of view of keeping population and food supply in balance. In one form or another this view is today widely held in the West.

Leaving aside the question of "desirability," there are

two reasons why starvation does not solve the problem of a rising birth rate. In the first place, cutting the population down to meet the size of the available food supply is about as logical as tailoring the man to fit the suit. The second, more important, reason is that starvation does *not* reduce population growth. Contrary to popular belief, starvation actually causes overpopulation instead of being caused by it. Paradoxical as it may seem, if we were to feed the hungry in India and other places, the birth rates in those nations would begin to drop. China, India, Egypt, and the Latin American countries, with the lowest nutritional levels in the world, have the highest rates of population growth. In contrast, the populations of countries which boast a high standard of living are declining because the birth rate is falling.

Although starvation reduces the sex drive, people who are subject to persistent malnutrition are sexually stimulated. The psychological effect of chronic hunger is to increase the importance of sex in compensation for the loss of nutritional appetite. The high fertility index of undernourished persons has a physical cause. Enough is known about protein metabolism today to enable us to trace the actual process by which protein deficiency leads to increased fertility. Fecundation in women is closely related to the amount of estrogen produced in the system. Now since the liver controls the amount of estrogen which is put into the blood stream, anything that impairs the natural functioning of the liver will affect fertility. Protein deficiencies lead to cirrhosis and fatty degeneration of the liver, which in turn cause the release of more estrogen and an increase in reproductive capacity. Sexual appetite, a determinant of fertility, also depends on the amount of estrogen in the system.

A comparison of the rates of population growth in Japan before and after the last war confirms the belief that starvation is one of the main causes of increased reproduction. At the end of the war the average ration for the civilian population in Japan was only about 1,000 calories a day. (The Medical Division of the Bombing Survey reveals that in Kyoto, which had not been bombed, the adult population had lost an average of ten pounds per person, while 65 per cent of the total population had lost about twenty pounds each.) Two years after the beginning of the Allied occupation the daily ration had been increased only to 1,240 calories a day, still almost a thousand calories short of the required minimum. And yet from 1945 to 1949 the increase of births over deaths was 5,100,000—an increase without precedent in the demographic history of Japan. This fact alone refutes the neo-Malthusians, who view starvation as the answer to the "threat" of overpopulation.

The empty sleeve of the Malthusian scarecrow has flapped in the winds of prejudice for a century and a half, but science and history have finally shown that no one need take it seriously.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Documentary of Evil

SPARK OF LIFE. By Erich Maria Remarque. Translated from the German by James Stern. Appleton-Century-Crofts. \$3.75.

ERICH MARIA REMARQUE'S new novel represents another instalment in the payment of his membership dues in the human race. It is an utterly uncompromising and courageous book, the more so because its subject matter is such that it cannot be transferred to the screen, as were "All Quiet on the Western Front" and "Arch of Triumph"; nor is it calculated to win a wider reading public for Mr. Remarque, since despite its idealism "Spark of Life" is one of the most brutal books of our time.

It is an unsparing account of life and death in an imaginary German concentration camp in the spring of 1945. Every act of physical hideousness of which human beings, alone among the animal kingdom, have been proved capable during the past two decades is recounted in revolting detail by Mr. Remarque, who seems to have been driven by a fury to set down all of the facts which it is to be hoped future generations will find difficult to believe.

The scene is a "mild" camp (without crematorium) nestled in the hills above a picturesque German town. While the inmates are being beaten, clubbed, starved, tortured, and shot, Allied artillery rumbles beyond the horizon like the distant voice of doom for the unheeding Nazis. Finally the bombers come, the town is destroyed, and the German dead lay heaped beside their victims as the liberators arrive.

The suspense in the story hangs on which of the camp "veterans" who, as free men will, have banded together for mutual protection will be able to hold out until the collapse of their tormentors. One by one they go, until only Prisoner 509, a ten-year man, and his immediate group are left to fan the feeble spark of life in their bony breasts. We are reminded that it was those whose lives had purpose and direction, the religious Jews, the Catholics, the liberal

idealists like 509, and the Communists, who were best fitted to outlast the camp commandants. (We are further reminded that the Communist prisoners themselves were opposed to the camps, not in principle, but only because they felt that the wrong people were running them; it is one of the implied purposes of the book to warn that humanity is continuously engaged in a running battle against totalitarian tyranny that did not end with the dissolution of the Nazi terror apparatus.)

There are shades of good among the prisoners, ranging from pathetic attempts at fellowship to deeds of pure heroism, but Mr. Remarque's conception of evil is narrow and obvious, unrelieved by serious probing into the inner mental workings or the pathology of the bestialized Nazis. We know that there were men like Camp Commandant Neubauer, the rotten and soulless petit-bourgeois opportunist, and Breuer, the textbook sadist, but we do not learn from Mr. Remarque why they existed or what made them as they were. He comes down heavily upon the sickening irony of the Neubauers cultivating their flower gardens on the margins of the torture centers—but this we knew already, and the dark inner reality of evil he does not illuminate beyond a documentary enumeration of its physical apparatus.

It is Mr. Remarque's basic article of faith that there are always men who are truly human, in the face of the most unspeakable degradation, and that nothing can extinguish the spark of humanity that is passed from generation to generation. What is more horrifying about his novel than the descriptions of moral purulence and physical violence, however, is that it is a failure: his faith is coldly contradicted by the facts of the case as he himself presents them. For Prisoner 509's survival until the verge of liberation is in the last analysis due not to his unquenchable humanity—except in isolated dramatic instances—but only to sheer blind luck; he and all of the other veterans could have been exterminated—and if the war

had lasted for several more months, would surely have been—at the pleasure of the monsters who ran the state.

Since life would be intolerable if we did not share, to one degree or another, Mr. Remarque's faith, it must be concluded that it is not that faith which is faulty in this shattering book but only the artistry with which it is at once expressed and negated.

HARVEY SWADOS

Israel's Problems

ISRAEL: THE BEGINNING AND TOMORROW. By Hal Lehrman. William Sloane Associates. \$3.75.

ETERNAL STRANGER. By Lawrence Resner. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

MR. LEHRMAN'S survey of contemporary Israel is in several respects first-rate as well as first-hand reporting. His book is lively, tart, and eminently readable. He analyzes the major problems besetting the new state, such as party conflicts, church versus state, the Arab dilemma, and so on, in a workman-like fashion, shrewd and informative. In his discussions, he painstakingly presents contending points of view and ostensibly offers the reader the luxury of making up his own mind. The blurb on the jacket characterizes the book as "impartial," and Mr. Lehrman states his credo in a sentence which recurs with variations throughout the study: "The truth, as usual, lay in between."

This elaborate and hypothetical impartiality constitutes the book's weakness rather than its virtue. The "truth" rarely locates itself so conveniently in the middle or on the fence; and though much may be said on both sides, the mere process of equating arguments of opposing factions is a form of judgment. Where claims are mutually exclusive, by placing both on the scales of equal worth the analyst has not escaped the responsibility of weighing their respective merits. More likely, by this equipoise he may have dignified falsehood or error.

For instance, in a chapter impartially entitled *Histadrut: Benefactor or Bully*, Mr. Lehrman discusses cooperative versus private enterprise in Israel and the role of organized labor. He studiously presents the arguments pro and con and concludes: "Now it is not necessary for this reporter to make a categorical judgment on the merits of the Histadrut case. Our problem here is to expose to general public attention a basic problem hitherto treated gingerly or overlooked entirely in objective American public discussion. Sooner or later that problem had to be soberly confronted for Israel to become a flourishing market for private foreign investment." Of course, categorically or diplomatically, the author has pronounced judgment, and only the most naive of readers will fail to note that if cooperative enterprise comes off second best in the encounter, Mr. Lehrman's marshaling of the evidence has considerably contributed to the defeat.

The charges against the Socialist Mapai and organized labor (*Histadrut*) exhaustively reported by Mr. Lehrman are the usual ones of "statism," "dictatorship," "incompetence," always leveled by ideological opponents and drearily familiar to all who recall the barrage against the New Deal or the British Labor government. In Israel social planning is even less utopian and more of a sober necessity than elsewhere. If *Solel Boneh*, the building cooperative, gets preferential treatment in the allocation of scarce materials, it is because *Solel Boneh* is ready to construct roads or lay pipe lines in dangerous and financially unrewarding circumstances. If *Solel Boneh* is willing to construct a road in the Negev while Mr. Blank wants to erect a fancy, though highly profitable, restaurant in Tel Aviv, *Solel Boneh* will get the cement. Similarly, in view of the dollar shortage, hard currency will first be allocated for undertakings which are essential to the country's development and the population's welfare.

No one appreciates the need for encouraging the flow of private investment better than the Mapai leadership from Ben-Gurion down. Special inducements are being offered to private capital. Mapai has no doctrinaire commitment to any one economic formula. But the lures offered the private investor cannot

be gauged solely by his appetite. The price exacted by untrammelled private enterprise may be too high in terms of the country's primary interests. As one surveys Israel's history, one is forced to the conclusion that the diffidence of private capitalists is due not to the power of the labor movement, as Mr. Lehrman suggests, but rather the reverse. The strength of the pioneer cooperative sector, since the beginnings of Zionist colonization, has stemmed from the lack of idealism on the part of the private investors. The characterization of "private" and "national" capital applies to goals as well as sources.

Mr. Lehrman's accounts of favoritism, government inefficiency, and bureaucracy, though exaggerated, have their basis in fact. Israel suffers from inexperience and human failure under excessive pressure. But these difficulties are superficial. In time the machinery of government will function more smoothly. A more fundamental question raised by Mr. Lehrman's survey is whether this government will continue to be led by Labor or whether the growing threat from the right, spearheaded by the General Zionists, will materialize.

One of the more intriguing aspects of Israel is the variety and size of the immigrant influx. The demographic character of the state is changing rapidly. Already the majority of the new immigrants are Oriental Jews, strange in speech, customs, and background to the Western Jews who till recently had been the dominant element. In "The Eternal Stranger" Mr. Resner describes the desperate plight of the Jewish communities of North Africa and Asia Minor. His account of the Neo-Destour movement in Tunisia and of rising Arab nationalism in North Africa as well as the Middle East is particularly pertinent. He offers grim evidence for the bitter words of a Moroccan Jew: "No Jew feels at home in a Moslem country."

Mr. Resner's circumstantial if pedestrian picture of the sufferings of Jewish communities from Bagdad to Casablanca amply explains their flight to Israel. It also indicates how vast and complex are the problems of cultural fusion as well as economic assimilation which the young state has bravely undertaken.

MARIE SYRKIN

NEXT WEEK IN "The NATION"

MIDWINTER BOOK ISSUE



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An Essay by Vincent Brome

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Reviewed by Keith Hutchison

NEW HOPES FOR A CHANGING WORLD
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RECENT BOOKS ON THOMAS JEFFERSON
Reviewed by George Genzmer



Music by B. H. Haggin
Art by Manny Farber

Myths and Fairy Tales

THE FORGOTTEN LANGUAGE. An

Introduction to the Understanding of Dreams, Fairytales and Myths. By Erich Fromm. Rinehart and Company. \$3.50.

IN HIS new book Erich Fromm tries to reintroduce dream interpretation as a basic human value. This art held a prominent and cherished place in all early civilizations but had entirely disappeared from public interest at the time that Freud discovered its application to psychoanalysis. As a result of his work, dream interpretation was revived at least in professional circles, especially among psychiatrists. Unfortunately, however, it was effectively prevented from spreading further into society, since the final result of Freud's theorizings was to render dreams morally and socially abhorrent. They were in Freud's own words "a pathological product," and their complex, baffling shapes were created to shield from our sense of de-

cency their incestuous content and wholly lawless attitude.

Although Fromm accepts the prevalence in dreams of forbidden impulses, he takes a position essentially the reverse of Freud's. He claims that dreams reveal, along with our worst traits, profounder perceptions and nobler feelings than we are capable of even during our waking life, where the influences surrounding us inhibit our sincerity and close off spontaneous reaction. Dreams contain "important communications from ourselves to ourselves." They admonish us when we turn away from our true natures, and they advise us, instruct us, as to how we may preserve our happiness and moral well-being. Dreams, moreover, embody each change that we as individuals undergo, and to the skilled interpreter they point the direction in which our maturing psyche wishes to take us. Fromm quotes these beautiful words from the Talmud: "A dream which is not understood is like a letter which is not opened."

It becomes Fromm's difficult task to justify his own positive approach to dreams and to demonstrate that Freud's approach was primarily false. To accomplish this, he utilizes his own experience as a therapist (this case material is particularly impressive), a number of theoretical reformulations of standard Freudian principles, and his own special

conception of symbolic language. His argument may be said to rest upon these two principles:

First, that the unconscious Freud describes, which supposedly supplies the psychic energy for the dream and determines its real meaning, does not exist. The unconscious is not a separate, localized compartment of the mind. It is more natural and believable to assume that in sleep our waking, conscious mind continues its thought processes in an altered form. We are biologically at rest, and the unconscious amounts to nothing more than the mental consequence of this change. The new content of our mind—the dream meanings—is in reality the content that we ignore or dissociate by day. This content belongs to our adult personality; it is not, as Freud maintains, a mass of infantile strivings unrelated to ourselves as adults and normally banished to the unconscious. The significance of this reformulation is that it permits dreams to reflect every possible variety of impulse, good or bad, wise or foolish. For our own mind, that part of our thinking controlled and manipulated by ourselves, creates the dream—not our unconscious.

Second, Fromm develops the proposition that symbolic language, as it appears in dreams and many literary forms, is an authentic and purposeful means of communication. He is convinced that dream symbols are designed entirely to convey information, not to conceal or mislead. To Freud the dream was a lavish masquerade party, and chiefly because of the guests' devilish cunning the sleeping mind never suspected their real identity. Fromm believes that the revelers at the party are what they appear to be. In symbolic language—the language of our dreams—we synthesize and transmute the materials of reality so as to body forth psychic impulses that could find no other form of expression. Symbolic language by its nature overthrows all the ordinary laws of logic; "not space and time are the ruling categories but intensity and association." The masquerade party is a carefully and magnificently constructed representation of our thoughts during sleep.

Of special importance to Fromm are "universal" symbols. Freud neglected these, Fromm claims, in his eagerness to track dream down to its source in childhood strivings. Characteristic of his

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error was to interpret a dream of nakedness as necessarily denoting an infantile wish for exhibitionism. Freud did not consider that nakedness may also be a symbol of the desire to be truthful and sincere, to show oneself in one's true colors. Through a knowledge of universal symbols Fromm believes that we are brought close to the sources of our humanity. These symbols, Fromm shows us, are produced by all people, irrespective of the era they belong to or the society in which they dwell. Interestingly enough, subjects who have never heard of Freud and who in their waking state make no sense of their dreams are found under hypnosis to interpret symbols as readily and perfectly as any psychoanalyst.

The individual chapters that compose "The Forgotten Language," especially the two dealing with the technique and history of dream interpretation, make excellent sense. But the relationship between chapters is often unclear, and there is a monstrous disproportion in emphasis. The technical details of the Freud-Fromm controversy are discussed, for the intended lay audience, to exhaustion, and there are several unnecessarily prolonged analyses of the myth (King Oedipus), fairytale (Little Red Ridinghood), Biblical narrative (Jonah and the whale), novel (Kafka's "The Trial"), and religious observance (the Sabbath). These last analyses are excerpted from previous works by Fromm, and have only a very indirect place here. No one can help appreciating the warm humanism that informs this book, just as it did "Escape from Freedom" and "Man for Himself." But a little misanthropic balance, order, and scientific caution would have been equally welcome.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER

Books in Brief

THE UNIVERSE: ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND DESTINY. By Laban Lacy Rice. Exposition Press. \$2.50. Seventy-six pages have seldom been asked to cover as much ground as in this book by the former president of Cumberland University. Cosmological notions from those of the ancient Egyptians through Einstein, de Sitter, Eddington, *et al.* and down to the recent much-publicized theories of Hoyle are first sur-

veyed. In the process abstruse concepts including relativity, space curvature, and the possible significance of the "cosmological constant" are tossed about in giddy profusion. Finally the author, rejecting both a supernatural beginning for the universe and the inevitability of its ultimate death through entropy, comes up with a speculation "in a sense beyond the purview of science." "Why not suppose that in some inexplicable manner space will integrate that dissipated energy and . . . use it catalytically to reactivate the 'dead' atoms?" Mr. Rice's wide reading and gift for popular exposition make it impossible to dismiss "The Universe" as a mere crank book.

DANCE TO THE PIPER. By Agnes de Mille. Little, Brown. \$3.50. An ebullient autobiography by the choreographer of "Oklahoma!" that gives a lively picture of the difficulties, the disappointments, the iron discipline, and the incredible amount of hard and patient work that go into the making of a dancer.

THE PECULIAR WAR. By E. J. Kahn, Jr. Random House. \$2.75. A collection of this top-flight reporter's *New Yorker* pieces on the Korean war. Kahn has a sure eye for the off-beat incident and the revealing anecdote, and his articles are still good reading.

PRISONERS ARE PEOPLE. By Kenyon J. Scudder. Doubleday. \$3. The California Institution for Men at Chino was started in 1940 as an experimental prison to demonstrate the possibility of taking hand-picked prisoners from other California penitentiaries and putting them to work on a twenty-six-hundred-acre farm with a maximum of privileges and a minimum of restrictions. This book by the superintendent of Chino describes the theory and practice of the plan, and the excellent results that have been obtained. A useful volume for everyone interested in the rehabilitation of the criminal.

BLOODY PRECEDENT. By Fleur Cowles. Random House. \$3. The associate editor of *Quick* and *Look* describes a rather interesting and fairly close parallel between the present dictator of Argentina and his wife, and an equally unscrupulous pair of predecessors a century ago. Included is a brief but intimate glimpse of Evita at home.

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Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

ANY old-timer will tell you that "smart comedies" are not as good as they used to be. Most new-timers will add that they never were, and a Noel Coward or Somerset Maugham revival usually tends to suggest that the new-timers are right. But S. N. Behrman's "Jane" (Coronet Theater) is a knock-down argument on the other side. Nothing like it is to be seen on Broadway; Mr. Behrman himself has not written anything else half so good in many years. And Mr. Behrman's best is very good indeed.

Way back in the thirties he was oppressed by the fear that ours was no time for comedy. With increasing seriousness he experimented with quasi-comedies on weighty themes, and when they did not quite jell he turned to translations and adaptations which, though sometimes pleasant enough, were a waste of his talents. Now he has returned to himself again and proved that there is always time for comedy as sparkling and as deft as "Jane."

The program acknowledges a suggestion from a story by Maugham about a rich frump from Liverpool who marries a young architect and becomes the rage

of London society because the shattering directness of her speech appears mordant wit when the speaker is properly costumed and the surroundings are properly elegant. Now this sort of thing is much harder to bring off in a play than in a story, because it is easier to say that someone scintillated than it is to make him scintillate. Mr. Behrman boldly faces the difficulty, builds up to the moments when his Jane is to give a taste of her quality, and then, almost miraculously, she does it. His method is as rash as that of the joke teller who begins by announcing that you are going to die laughing at the funniest tale you ever heard in your life. But Jane does not let you down.

Some of the charm as well as the suavity of the production must be credited to Edna Best's warm playing of the leading role and to notable support from both Basil Rathbone as a skeptical writer strongly suggestive of Mr. Maugham and Howard St. John as the blustering newspaper peer set up for Jane to deflate. But the whole management of the play is just right, and I think that it will owe a good deal of the success it will probably enjoy to the fact that its tone is, in subtle ways, not so nearly identical as it may seem to be with that of the standard "smart comedy." "Jane" has a warmth, a geniality, a fundamental kindness and humanity which such plays generally—and deliberately—avoid. The difference is not explicit or overt like the one Mr. Behrman set up in plays like "Rain from Heaven," where the grim facts of a disordered world were permitted to invade the enchanted ground of a comedy drawing-room. "Jane" remains persistently concerned with nothing except the private lives of privileged persons, and the only reminders that this is not the 1938 when the action takes place are a few prophetically ironic references to the absurd fuss being made about such remote nonsense as the war in Ethiopia. But what used to be called the "brittle" tone is not quite so satisfactory to any of us as it used to be. Pure cynicism, egotism, and mere "brilliance" leave a slightly bad taste in the mouth. And Mr. Behrman has brought smart comedy up to date by endowing his heroine with a certain humanity which is subtly emphasized by the fact that most of his other characters are old-fashioned

enough to lack it. "Jane" is smart but not merely "brittle." And that I suspect is why it will be better liked than one might have anticipated from any preliminary account. It is more up to date than it seems to be.

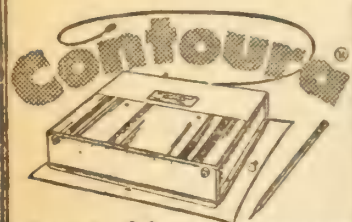
Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

LOTTE LEHMANN's Parlophone records of German lieder (which Decca issued here in the thirties, and which I hope it will reissue on LP) and the records she made for Victor and Columbia up to 1941 or '42 document not only the unique gifts but the serious faults of those earlier years—not only the luscious voice but the constricted, shrill high notes resulting from defective technique; not only the emotional warmth that suffused the singing, but the explosive vehemence that often tore the phrase apart. Around 1943 the need of skill and care in the use of an aging but still remarkably beautiful voice began to be evident not only in unconstricted and agreeable high notes but in the refinement and subtilization of the singing, which now achieved expressive effect through inflection of the continuous line of the phrase. For two or three years her Town Hall concerts offered unforgettable experiences of this perfected art; then the programs began to include more and more of the songs that lent themselves to the increasing archness and cuteness in the performances to which her adoring public responded ecstatically, and the concerts began to include goings-on that needed a stronger stomach than mine. I therefore stopped going to them a few years ago; and thus it was that I missed the climax of this public love affair—the celebrated scene of renunciation and farewell at the recital of February 16, 1951. Thus it is also that the extraneous noises immortalized by the recently issued Pembroke recording of that occasion don't include the gritting of my teeth.

The two LP records (skillfully processed from the recording made with the equipment in Town Hall) will enable future generations to hear Lehmann make her intermission speech, hear her say at the end of the concert that

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she will try to sing Schubert's "An die Musik," and hear her, sure enough, fail to sing the last phrase. More important, future generations will be able to hear that at this last recital she sang a good program ending with a group of songs from Schubert's "Die schöne Müllerin," that her voice, after warming up in the opening Schumann group, was still amazingly lovely, and that in most of the songs she used it with beautiful art, but that there were a few exceptions: an excessively tumultuous performance of Wagner's "Träume," a vehement performance of Schubert's "Die liebe Farbe," and a concluding performance of his "Des Baches Wiegenlied" too slow in pace and with expansive retardations that destroyed the effect of the quiet steady movement of the song—the effect produced, for example, in Lehmann's wonderful performance in the old Columbia recording.

In the Schubert songs that Schlusnus sings on a London record his voice is still very fine and his performances are effective.

Many of Wolf's songs are, for me, only skilful underlining of the words that I don't find musically interesting; but among the songs on a Urania record are a few which are more than that: "Gesellenlied" and "Im Frühling," superbly sung by the tenor Roswänge; "Über Nacht" and "Gesang Weyla's," sung by Margarete Klose, whose rich contralto is shrill in part of the first song; "In der Frühe," "Kennst du das Land," and "Wie glänzt der helle Mond," sung by the soprano Annemarie Simon, whose voice is unpleasantly sharp and tremulous. The last song on each side is distorted; and there are noisy surface defects.

A number of fine songs by Purcell and Dowland are on a Period record sung by the baritone John Langstaff, who has a rather dry voice but uses it effectively in sustained phrasing which creates continuing life in the progression of music and words.

Recent books about ballet include "How to Enjoy Ballet" by the indefatigable and fatuous Arnold L. Haskell (Morrow, \$3) and Dorothy Samachson's "Let's Meet the Ballet" (Schuman, \$4), which is a little better but not a good book either in itself or for its purpose. What these books undertake to do for the general reader is done by Edwin

Denby's "Looking at the Dance" when it begins with "When you watch ballet dancers dancing" and, as it continues, has the reader in effect seeing through Denby's eyes what the dancers do. And this—the essential for the reader's appreciation of ballet—he will not see through the eyes of Haskell or Mrs. Samachson, or with their factual information about what goes into the creation of a ballet, or with her interviews with Danilova and Lazovsky.

Two very poor books are William Chappell's "Fonteyn" (Macmillan, \$4.50), which is largely about the author, with photographs by Cecil Beaton that are mostly perverse and irrelevant; and Robert Lawrence's "Victor Book of Ballets" (Simon and Schuster, \$3.95), poor in its inclusion of ballets that nobody is likely to see again (e. g., "Namouna," "Thamar," "La Tragédie de Salome," "HP," "Les Cents Baisers") and omission of some now being performed (e. g., "The Four Temperaments," the ballets of Petit and Babilée), its comment on the ballets, its selection of photographs (e. g., a photograph of Babilée in his undiscussed and unidentified "Tyl Eulenspiegel" to illustrate the Nijinsky ballet; photographs of Zorina and Morosova in "Le Beau Danube," but not of Danilova).

Haskell turns up again as the writer of the text for "Baron at the Ballet" (Morrow, \$10), a book of photographs taken in England and assembled for the English public, and therefore including many of English ballets and dancers that are of no interest to Americans. Moreover, there are fifteen pages of photographs of Petit's "Carmen," nine of his "Le Jeune Homme et la mort," and ample documentation of Tudor's "Pillar of Fire," "Romeo and Juliet," and other works; but the entire documentation of the Balanchine ballets performed in London in the last fifteen years or more is a meaningless leap by Alonso for "Waltz Academy" and an inaccurate pose by Marjorie Tallchief and Skibine for "Concerto Barocco." And the selection of photographs of dancers is similarly questionable. With all that there are of course a fair number of photographs of important ballets and great dancers. But this book and others like it make me want to see a collection of the superb ballet photographs of Fred Fehl.

Though Balanchine's "Apollo" and "The Fairy's Kiss" are not being presented by the New York City Ballet in its present season, his "Four Temperaments," "Card Game," "Concerto Barocco," "Sinfonie Concertante," "Symphony in C," and "Bourrée Fantastique" are still to be seen; and his new "Divertissement Classique" (to Mozart's Divertimento K.287) promises to be one of the most extraordinary things he has done.

CONTRIBUTORS

HARVEY SWADOS has published stories and reviews in various magazines.

MARIE SYRKIN, author of "Blessed Is the Match," has made extended visits to Israel.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER has published stories in *Partisan Review* and the *Yale Review*.

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Letters to the Editors

Where Segregation Means Death

[The following examples of discriminatory practices in hospitals, sent to The Nation by the Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans, prove that the case cited by Alex Gottfried in his article, *Death by Jim Crow*, which appears in this issue, is not an isolated incident but belongs to a pattern of segregation which is general in the South and which can also be traced in other parts of the country.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

ON August 27, 1950, three men were injured in an automobile accident in Hardinburg, Kentucky. They were taken to Breckinridge Hospital, where they were left lying on a bare floor for over three hours because the hospital had "no facilities for colored people." The only medicine given them was morphine; they received no other treatment. One of the victims, Leroy Foley, died at the hospital.

PERSONALS

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John H. Smith, who had a broken back, and Jesse Wallace were eventually moved to the Louisville General Hospital. Foley's family received a bill for the use of the Breckinridge Hospital floor on which he died.

In the winter of 1946 a colored woman in labor was refused admission to a church-sponsored hospital (Sibley) in Washington, D. C., when she could no longer continue on her way to the Gallinger General Hospital. Her baby was delivered on the sidewalk in front of the hospital.

On March 6, 1951, Mrs. Emma Dangerfield was brought to the Jefferson-Hillman Hospital in Birmingham, Alabama, in critical condition. Her Negro doctor, who was not allowed to practice at the hospital, had made arrangements with a white doctor to look after his patient. Both physicians understood there was a bed available for Mrs. Dangerfield. But when her husband tried to get her admitted he was told that he must make a \$100 cash deposit before she could be considered. Although Mr. Dangerfield had \$50 in cash with him, his wife was covered by insurance, and his employer promised to pay the other \$50 the following morning, the hospital refused to admit Mrs. Dangerfield. After lying on a stretcher for over two hours, she was taken in an ambulance to her home, where she died an hour later. The hospital defended its action on the grounds that (1) "Jefferson-Hillman already has unpaid accounts on its books of more than \$300,000, and it does not wish that sum to be enlarged if it can help it"; and (2) all the Negro beds were filled.

On February 15, 1951, the physician of a young Negro, Robert Hudson, tried to get his patient admitted to one of the three hospitals in Akron, Ohio. He was told that they were all filled but that he could put Hudson on a waiting list. While Hudson was waiting to be admitted to a hospital he lapsed into a coma; his mother called an ambulance, and he was taken to City Hospital, where she was told there was no room for him. He died early the following morning. A spokesman for the hospital claimed that there were no beds available. Actually there was one empty bed, but it was in a room occupied by a white man.

Commendation from Congressman King

Dear Sirs: It would be quite desirable if many commentators and writers of articles on this subject [the tax-evasion scandal] were as well informed as your Norman Redlich is in his article *Internal Confusion in Internal Revenue*, published in *The Nation* of January 19. For the limited space used, it covered the very involved and complicated subject in most excellent fashion.

Washington, D. C. CECIL R. KING,

Johnson's Stand Praised

Dear Sirs: Senator Edwin C. Johnson's article *U. M. T.—Booby Trap*, which appeared in your January 26 issue, is perhaps the most clear-cut, cogent argument against U. M. T. I have ever read. Both Senator Johnson and *The Nation* should be congratulated for attacking the supporters of U. M. T. on their own ground.

Senator Johnson's article is a telling refutation of the case for U. M. T. because he demonstrates the inability of such a system to achieve its stated goals and the grave possibility of losing through U. M. T. the very things for which we are fighting.

HAROLD B. EHRLICH

New Brunswick, N. J.

Prudential's Wealth

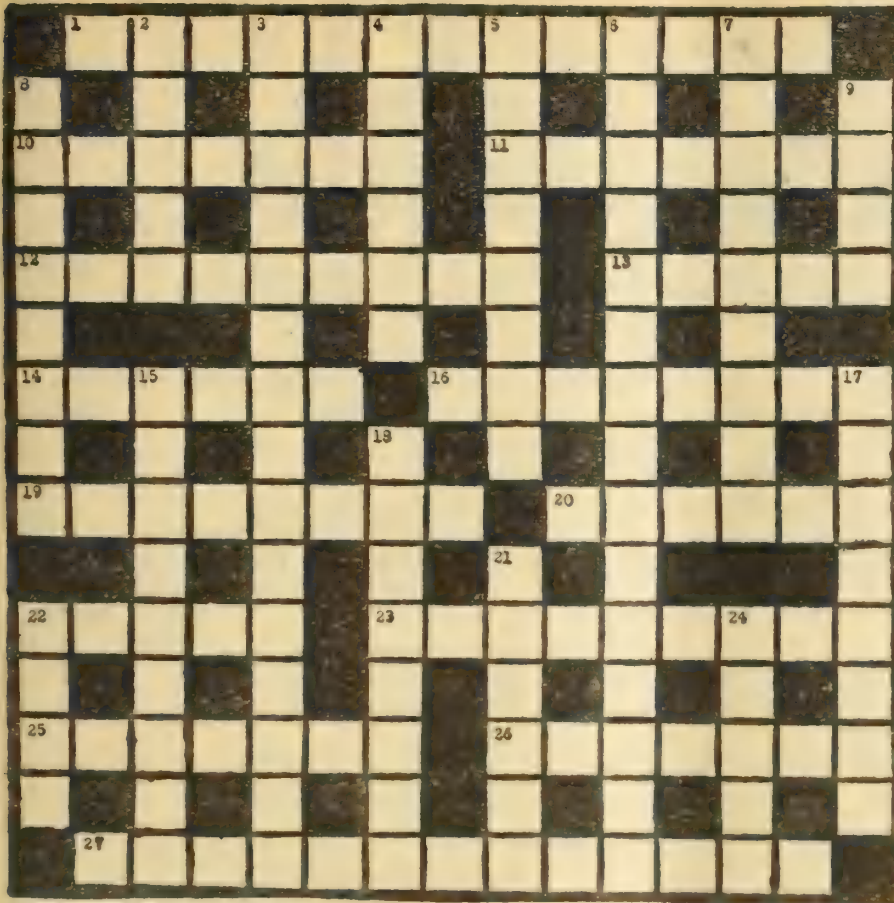
Dear Sirs: The article *If Your Agent Doesn't Call* [*The Nation*, December 22, 1951] overlooked several vital facts about the Prudential Life Insurance Company. Do you know, for instance, that Prudential has total assets of more than \$9,000,000,000? or that 31,000,000 policy holders carry some \$40,000,000,000 worth of insurance? or that Carol M. Shanks, president of Prudential, testified before a House committee that in 1949 his corporation took in an average of \$3,000,000 a day of new premium money?

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New York KATHERINE T. WEISS

Crossword Puzzle No. 452

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 See 21 down.
- 10 It's not hers to lop off. (7)
- 11 Dedication of ocular libation. (2, 5)
- 12 It's the jaw that one should have guns around one. (9)
- 13 They're not worth much now! (How times have changed!) (5)
- 14 Goeth before many a fall. (6)
- 16 Curly? He's generally revolutionary! (8)
19. Reputedly a fate worse than death. (8)
- 20 Hits little boys? Quite the opposite! (6)
- 22 Tobacco can take away the alternative. (5)
- 23 Listens to candidate Smith again, just for practice. (9)
- 25 Do such people have unique if fatal taste? (7)
- 26 The Order of the Moose in different and unpleasant condition. (7)
- 27 Bury in an artistically striking manner, between two objects. (13)

DOWN

- 2 The shape of nothing plus nothing. (5)
- 3 Implies both friends and relations. (7, 8)

- 4 Located in a famous town in Germany. (6)
- 5 Gilbertian version of solitaire? (8)
- 6 Is the previous message in process of getting turned out? (15)
- 7 Certainly not short stories. (4, 5)
- 8 Awkward pose used in getting married. (8)
- 9 See 21.
- 15 The sort of lemon with a superior odor. (9)
- 17 Ended up with confused instruments in full color. (8)
- 18 How to secure an opening. (Or where to look for the lintel? (4, 4)
- 21, 22 down, 1 across, 9 down. Implying several have moved up to defile, if good-looking. (6, 4, 4, 2, 1, 6, 4)
- 22 See 21 down.
- 24 Things that do usually become 26. (5)

••■••

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 451

ACROSS:—1 ANTISEPTIC; 6 SPAR; 10, 27 and 8 THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE; 11 DRAGONS; 12 PARSNIPS; 13 IMAMS; 15 OPERA; 17 AMERICANA; 21 TOPIC; 23 SIREN; 28 ABOLISH; 29 and 25 SIDE SHOWS; 30 ASSESSMENT.

DOWN:—1 ANTS; 2, 26, 19, 24 across, 3 THE FACE THAT LAUNCHED A THOUSAND SHIPS; 4 PREDICATE; 5 INDUS; 7 PRO RATA; 9 SATIRIST; 14 COLLISIONS; 16 ARCADIAN; 18 ELABORATE; 20 UNRULED; 22 PENSIVE; 24 TITUS.

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THE *Nation*

Wire-Tapping: Supreme Court vs. the FBI

BY ALAN F. WESTIN

*

Soviet Writing Today

BY ERNEST J. SIMMONS

*

MIDWINTER BOOKS

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The Faith of a Liberal - - - - - Ernest Nagel
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Other Reviews by George Genzmer, Joseph Wood Krutch,
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WE ACCUSE!

THE SHAMEFUL RECORD IN THE BRIDGES CASE

Harry Bridges, Australian-born president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, has been under attack since 1934.

Throughout the years of his leadership of Pacific coast waterfront workers, he has been the object of a campaign unparalleled in American history. Only the 22-year imprisonment of Tom Mooney lasted longer than the attempts to persecute, frame, deport and imprison Harry Bridges.

1934—The U. S. Dept. of Immigration sought to deport Bridges as an *undesirable alien*. This launched a campaign of surveillance, wiretapping, police investigations, and other methods to "get Bridges."

1939—When the Immigration Dept. brought charges to deport Bridges, Dean James Landis of the Harvard Law School, was named by President Roosevelt as a special hearing officer. Landis ordered the charges dropped.

1941—Congress amended Immigration Act to "constitutionally" deport Bridges. Judge Charles B. Sears, with long anti-labor record, named to reopen case and found Bridges "guilty." Board of Immigration Appeals, in unprecedented action, overruled Sears' judgment. But U. S. Attorney General Biddle upheld Sears by moving for deportation nevertheless. The case went to the courts.

1945—The U. S. Supreme Court found deportation action against Bridges "unlawful."

1945—Bridges applied for citizenship papers. Proudly became citizen.

1949—Bridges was brought to trial, in an atmosphere of hysteria, accused of "perjury" when applying for citizenship. Sentenced to 5 years in prison. J. R. Robertson, Henry Schmidt, fellow union leaders who were witnesses to naturalization, sentenced to 2-year terms. The case now is on appeal.

TODAY Harry Bridges faces a new threat to his freedom and—through him—to the wages and conditions of the working people he represents. Unity and cooperation of all organized labor—together with thousands of clergymen, teachers, professional people in all walks of life who are concerned with attacks on democratic rights—defeated the first frame-up attempt in 1937. Such unity aided the victorious decision of 1939 and helped win the historic Supreme Court decision in 1945 which enabled Bridges to obtain his citizenship.

Today the new "crime" for which Bridges stands accused is that of "perjury" when filing his application for citizenship in 1945. The claim is that Bridges lied when he denied Communist affiliations—despite a U. S. Supreme Court decision on this question.

Thus the frame-up pattern against Bridges—thrice repudiated by courts and examiners in the past 18 years—continues.

Climax of Long Persecution

Within the next few weeks, Bridges and his two associates—Robertson and Schmidt—face the climax of the fourth frame-up attempt. The Appellate Court of the 9th Circuit in San Francisco will hear oral arguments and make its decision. The bias of the prosecution is shown in many ways including its attempt to circumvent the statute of limitations.

Today—the Bridges case is a front-line in America in the defense of civil liberties. If Bridges goes to jail, the entire defense of American principles of dissent receives one of its most serious setbacks.

We Accuse Anti-labor Forces!

The Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee states that the attack on Bridges today is no different from the attacks on this labor leader in past years. *We accuse the Dept. of Immigration, the Attorney General, corrupt politicians and anti-labor forces who have sought to destroy effective unionism of this conspiracy. We accuse enemies of American democracy of attacking—not only one man—but the democratic principles and living standards of American working people.*

We appeal to all liberty-loving Americans: *speak out against this fourth attempt to "get" Bridges. Please use the coupon below—TODAY!*

"Bridges' own statement of his political beliefs and disbeliefs is important. It was given not only without reserve but vigorously as dogma and faiths of which the man was proud and which represented in his mind the aims of his existence."

—DEAN JAMES M. LANDIS
December 28, 1939.

"The most significant feature of the inquiry, as it seems to me, is the paucity of the evidentiary product as contrasted with the magnitude of the effort expended in producing it."

—JUDGE WILLIAM HEALY, 1944

"They revealed a militant advocacy of the cause of trade unionism. But they did not teach or advise the subversive demned by the statute."

—JUSTICE WILLIAM
June 18, 1945

"The record in this forever a monument to the tolerance of man. See the history of this record. It has been such a concerted crusade to deport as cause he dared to exercise freedom that belongs to being and that is guaranteed by the Constitution."

—JUSTICE FRANK
June 18, 1945

To the BRIDGES-ROBERTSON-SCHMIDT DEFENSE COMMITTEE 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco 2, California

I have written to the President and the Attorney General, to urge an end to the persecution of Harry Bridges and his associates. ☐

You may use my name in the defense of these persecuted union leaders. ☐

I enclose my contribution to the fight to preserve civil liberties through defense of Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt. ☐

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THE *Nation*

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THE DEL VAYO CASE

WHEN J. Alvarez del Vayo, *The Nation's* foreign editor, and his wife returned from Europe on Friday, February 8, they were taken direct from the pier to Ellis Island. There they were held *incomunicado* until the following Monday evening. During their detention they were not permitted any communication with publisher or counsel. They were not advised of any charges against them, and when they were finally released, "on parole," they still had no idea of the cause of their detention.

Mr. del Vayo, who was Foreign Minister of Spain's last republican government, came to the United States in 1940 and three years later was granted permanent resident status. As foreign editor of *The Nation* and an accredited United Nations correspondent, he has visited Europe every year since 1945, writing on post-war developments, with full freedom of exit and reentry. When he arrived in New York last week, on the French liner *Liberté*, after covering the sessions of the General Assembly in Paris, both he and his wife carried validated reentry permits given them before they left the country in August.

The whole affair is incomprehensible. When the facts become known to us, we will report them fully to our readers. In the meantime it is a satisfaction to be able to record that during the Del Vayos' period of detention those who knew about it were quick to express their dismay and indignation.

The Shape of Things

NEITHER SIDE WANTS THE KOREAN TRUCE talks to collapse and full-dress war to begin. So the verbal duel goes on, long stretches of slow-motion wrangling punctuated by moments of hope when one team or the other concedes a point or when, to avoid total deadlock, the talks shift to some new item on the agenda. This past week the Communists offered slight concessions on the exchange of war prisoners and the repatriation of displaced civilians, though they stuck to their

central, unacceptable demand that all prisoners, without regard to individual choice, be returned within two months after an armistice. But the chief attention of the negotiators was fixed on two more fundamental issues. The first was the Communists' proposal that one of the three "neutral" nations designated by them to supervise enforcement of a truce should be the Soviet Union. This was quickly sat upon by the U. N. representative, although the other two nations named by the Communists, Poland and Czechoslovakia, were accepted. But a more important question concerned the political conference to be held after the start of an armistice. Rejecting the Communist proposal that such a conference should deal with general Asian differences, the U. N. is insisting on an agenda strictly limited to a Korean settlement. As the week began, the Communists seemed likely to accept this view, only an ambiguous "et cetera" standing between their position and that of the U. N. But the obdurate fact behind all the talk is that a true peace in Korea, as the Communist claim, can be achieved only as part of a solution embracing other Asian problems, at a minimum the future of Formosa and relations with Peking. And this presupposes a general negotiated settlement between the United States and Russia. Toward this goal no perceptible progress has been made.

★

OUT OF THE SOUTH LAST WEEK CAME SOME good news mixed with tragic. In Fair Bluff, North Carolina, in an action which may presage a broader federal attack on the KKK, the FBI arrested ten klansmen for kidnaping and flogging a white couple. But in Ocala, Florida, Walter Lee Irvin, Negro, was sentenced to death for the second time by an all-white jury for alleged rape of a white woman. The United States Supreme Court had reversed the first conviction on the ground that the trial had been conducted against a background of violence and bloodshed. There was no violence during the Ocala proceedings, but from this distance there appears to have been little justice either. The state's case was powerfully attacked by a reputable criminologist who charged that the prosecution had fabricated plaster casts of footprints, a white witness who swore that the alleged rape victim had admitted to him that "because it was so dark" she could not identify her attackers, and defense counsel, who pointed out that no medical evidence was

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produced to show that rape had occurred. Doubts raised by these points might have been expected to give any jury pause; not so the Ocala jury, which returned its verdict in one hour and twenty-three minutes. Journalists on the spot have added a special twist to the case: they say that Florida authorities, uneasy because of the unfavorable publicity the state has been receiving on this and other cases, offered Irvin a life sentence if he would plead guilty. Irvin, it is said, heroically refused the offer. If this is so, here is another vindication of the stand taken by those who believe, like *The Nation*, that justice is everybody's business and not a community monopoly—whether the community be Ocala, Fair Bluff, or Cairo, Illinois. The "unfavorable publicity" which today leads racists to attempt to bargain with justice will, at long last, cause them to succumb to it.

★

WHEN WHITE RESIDENTS OF ALTAMONTE Springs, Florida, found their voting majority threatened by Negro residents, they got rid of the threat by ruling the Negroes "out of town" (*The Nation*, December 15, 1951). Atlanta, Georgia, a bigger and more sophisticated community has chosen not to rule Negroes out but to rule more whites in. Acting on a master-plan for "municipal improvements" approved by the Talmadge-controlled legislature, the city proclaimed last New Year's Day as "Greater Atlanta Day," establishing new municipal boundaries which include eighty-two additional square miles of territory. This "jimcrowmandering" increased the percentage of the city's white population from 67 to 72 and—what is more significant—boosted the ratio of white voters to Negro voters from two to one, to three to one. But there is evidence to show that the creation of Greater Atlanta also represents a forward step in municipal government, including the elimination of considerable patronage, a more efficient school system, and other items. It is heartening to reflect that, long after the prejudices which created it have been wiped out, the better school system will still be there, serving tomorrow's young generation of Atlantans without discrimination.

★

AS THE WEEK BEGAN, IT SEEMED CERTAIN that the government of Edgar Faure would win the support of the French National Assembly, enabling it to participate in the Lisbon conference of NATO which opened on Wednesday. But in order to obtain the votes of the Socialists, without which its fall was assured, the government made important modifications in the resolution pledging French support for a European army including twelve German divisions. Last week-end the Americans and British went a long way to meet the most important condition put forward by the French: West Germany, they agreed, would not be admitted to NATO "for the time being." The debate in Paris showed that

the deeply rooted French mistrust of Germany had grown stronger as a result of the stridency with which Bonn has recently been stating its conditions. Deputies of all parties voiced the fear that a rearmed Germany would come to dominate Western Europe and might eventually drag it into a war of revenge against the East. In an attempt to allay such fears the modified resolution coupled a promise of equal treatment for West Germany with a declaration that this could not include admission to NATO, which in view of its "exclusively defensive character should only include states which have no interest in territorial demands." In addition, the resolution requested American and British guaranties against the risk that West Germany would pull out of the European army once it was reestablished as a military power. Clearly the gap between French conditions for participation in a European army and those of Bonn—summarized in these columns last week—is a wide one. Possibly the Lisbon conference will find means of bridging it, but at present the ancient rivalry between the two countries appears to be a more potent factor than their common fear of Russia. *

WHILE THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD HAS been riveted on the German rearmament problem, the financial situation of France has been daily growing more critical. The steady fall of the franc in the black market—it touched 467 to the dollar last week compared with an official rate of 350—shows that speculators are expecting a new devaluation. With the adverse trade balance mounting month by month, foreign-exchange reserves have been reduced almost to zero. Now the government has announced sharp cuts in imports together with a plan to subsidize exports. But these are measures which will not become fully effective for some months and then only if action is taken to reduce the internal inflation which has pushed French prices far above those of competing countries. This requires in the first place heavier taxes. M. Faure, who is Finance Minister as well as Premier, is asking for new levies totaling 182 billion francs. Since a more modest request led to the downfall of the previous French government, his chances of survival must be rated as poor. *

PRESS PHOTOGRAPHERS AND REPORTERS were barred from accompanying Senator Taft on his recent tour of a paper mill in Wisconsin Rapids. Since his successful 1950 campaign in Ohio, Taft has placed great stress on the importance of plant meetings. But during a recent visit to Janesville, he was greeted by cat-calls in a Chevrolet plant, and two workers refused to shake hands with him. Another worker was fined \$25 for "disorderly conduct" while asking a question about the Taft-Hartley act. At Wisconsin Rapids reporters

were told to "see Henry Baldwin" when they objected to being turned back at the gates. Mr. Baldwin turned out to be the Republican County Chairman as well as coordinator of plants and processes for the Consolidated Water Power and Paper Company, owner of the plant which Senator Taft was visiting. Asked for an explanation of the ban on the press, Mr. Baldwin said: "Our policy is that politics stops at the gates." Asked why under such a policy Taft was permitted to speak in the plant, Baldwin replied that the Senator was visiting as "a statesman rather than a politician." We hope Senator Taft continues to have plant officials, who are his local political henchmen, turn out the employees as "captive audiences." The more workers forced to listen to him under these circumstances, the fewer votes he is likely to receive. Even so, it seems pretty harsh treatment for the workers: what ever happened to that lost freedom—the freedom *not* to listen? *

WHEN GOVERNOR DAN THORNTON OF Colorado approved the continuance of a Survey Committee on Migrant Labor early last year, he was not troubled by any intimations of future embarrassment. But when the committee recently submitted its findings, the Governor took noisy exception to one part—condensed into a booklet entitled "Colorado Tale"—which painted a rather dark picture of the conditions of migratory labor. "It's bad publicity," he said. The committee took the hint, and distribution of the booklet was not pushed. The sequel was interesting. Under the law Colorado's General Assembly in even-numbered years can consider only appropriations and legislation specifically recommended by the Governor. Last week Governor Thornton presented a thirteen-point program to the legislature which omitted mention of migrant labor. Evidently the powerful sugar-beet industry, which employs most of the state's migratory workers, has lost little of its influence at the state capitol in Denver. *

THE IRAQI PARLIAMENT HAS RATIFIED A new agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company—which comprises British, French, Dutch, and American interests—providing for a fifty-fifty split in profits between company and government. With this point settled, the company proposes by 1955 to raise output five-fold as compared with 1950 and to increase the capacity of its pipe lines to the Lebanon coast of the Mediterranean from just over 100,000 to 500,000 barrels a day. Meanwhile an expert commission sent out by the World Bank has recommended the adoption by Iraq of a five-year economic-development plan requiring an investment of \$470,000,000. The heart of this plan is the construction of irrigation works to make possible the cultivation of large areas of rich soil on which landless peasants could be settled. The mission also proposes im-

portant industrial developments, including a big chemical plant in the Kirkuk oilfield which would use natural gas and local gypsum as its chief raw materials. On paper this plan, which can be financed wholly from prospective oil royalties, appears well designed to give the country a start toward the productivity its natural resources warrant and toward raising the dismally low living standards of its masses. But many obstacles lie between the blueprint and its realization. The United Nations could perhaps provide the technicians required, but they would have a heartbreaking task combating the inertia, inefficiency, and corruption of the Iraqi bureaucracy. An even more serious difficulty might be sabotage by the large landowners, who would not welcome a scheme that offered their exploited laborers and sharecroppers a chance of escaping to the new farms and factories.

★

THE SUCCESS OF IRAQ IN OBTAINING AN equal profit-sharing agreement, like that of the Sheik of Kuwait, may owe something to the intransigence of the Iranian government, although the pattern was set over a year ago when Aramco acceded to Ibn Saud's demands for a revision of its contract on similar lines. But whether or not these and other Arab governments have reason to be grateful to Premier Mossadegh, they now have no particular interest in seeing him win his battle. The fact is that since last June increased production in Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and some smaller fields has completely filled the gap in world supplies that opened when Iranian oil ceased to flow. Thus if the World Bank were successful in its present efforts to persuade Mossadegh to accept a workable compromise, and Iranian oil again became available, there would be a threat of overproduction which would make things awkward for other Arab countries and the oil companies operating in them. Any reduction in output which led to a considerable fall in oil revenues would create political reactions; on the other hand, oil storage facilities are limited, and a large surplus exported from the Middle East would upset markets elsewhere. The oil companies might, of course, cut prices which are based on United States Gulf Coast quotations, with a view to creating new demands. They could easily afford to do so, since production costs in the Middle East are much lower than in Texas or Louisiana. And undoubtedly cheaper oil would do a great deal to accelerate the economic development of Asia. Nevertheless, there will be tremendous resistance to the adoption of this solution of the problem, for it would require revision of a world price structure that the great international combines have long and profitably maintained. For all these reasons, the demands of conflicting national and economic interests seem likely, in the months ahead, to outweigh the ideals of Moslem solidarity.

Eisenhower As Symbol

SINCE the appearance of General Eisenhower's Paris statement of January 7, the public has been provided with several summaries of his views on matters foreign and domestic. We believe these summaries are sufficient to reveal the political nature of the man behind the uniform. To be sure, the General has spoken in meaningless generalities on many important questions and on others he has remained silent. But he has said enough to give a fairly consistent impression of his opinions and his approach.

As to Eisenhower's general political views, we concur with Joseph C. Harsch of the *Christian Science Monitor*, who wrote on November 26 last that they are "to the right of center—perhaps even farther right than those of Senator Robert A. Taft. . . . The sum total would seem to be that while General Eisenhower's foreign policies amount to a much more eloquent and persuasive version of the Truman policies, his domestic thinking is harmonious with that of Senator Taft." On domestic issues the difference between Taft and Eisenhower seems to be principally in the quality of their thinking. Senator Taft is a convinced reactionary; General Eisenhower, on the other hand, seems to have improvised himself into one. On most issues his aim apparently has been to adopt the position least likely to arouse controversy and opposition. Senator Taft is reactionary by conviction; General Eisenhower is reactionary out of expediency—and few American public figures have been more skilful in avoiding criticism.

Although the General's entire career has been spent in the oldest, most extravagant, and most inflexible of bureaucracies, he nevertheless regards "bureaucracy" and "raids on the Treasury" as more dangerous to American security than any external threat. He is opposed to federal aid to education and has defined a liberal as "a man in Washington who wants to play the Almighty with your money." He believes it is impossible to have a democracy without free enterprise. He regards the profit motive as sacrosanct. He is afraid the people might be lured into a dictatorship through hand-outs. He has scoffed at cradle-to-the-grave social security; in fact he regards the craving for security as degenerate. If all that Americans want is security, he has said, "they can go to prison." In this connection it is interesting to recall that while Eisenhower has spoken with scorn of the "cloying effect of subsidy," his entire career has been spent in a service which provides complete economic security at public expense.

The puzzle about Eisenhower is how, holding these views, he can be such a genuinely popular national figure. The answer would seem to be that he has become a kind of "dream image" of what the average American likes and admires. He is sociable; he is modest; he is in-

formal in manner; his words have a warm, "inspirational" quality; he likes people and wants them to like him; he has a friendly, outgoing personality; and he is pleasantly naive—even his admirers refer to his political views as being sometimes "immature" and "uncomplicated."

His most striking personal characteristic seems to be his ability to "get along" with all kinds of people—even at a price which some might regard as too high. On this score, the General's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on April 2, 1948, was most revealing. He began by saying that "there is race prejudice in this country" which creates "social problems on a post," particularly "if you have a dance for your soldiers." Besides, if Negroes were to be integrated throughout the services rather than kept in separate platoons, which he approved, competition would relegate them to the menial positions because they would not be as well educated as other groups. Such problems, in his view, could not be solved "merely by passing a lot of laws to force someone to like someone else." When Senator Richard Russell proceeded to cite misleading statistics about the Negro crime rate and the incidence of venereal disease among Negro troops, the General sat silent and

attentive. Only at the close of the hearing, and then only in the mildest way, did he voice some disagreement, and he managed to do this in a way that won Senator Russell's "complete" consent.

The danger is not that in electing General Eisenhower to the Presidency the people might be buying "a pig in a poke" but rather that he is so perfect a symbol of the country's collective political fantasies that he might easily sweep with him into office a bevy of Senators and Representatives who would give us the most reactionary Congress in decades. Franklin D. Roosevelt was another dynamic symbol, but Roosevelt was at all times fully aware that he could unite only those elements that had certain common interests; he never sought an all-embracing unity. The "unity" for which Eisenhower appeals is spurious because it ignores the conflicts inherent in contemporary politics, because he belongs to the right and if elected will inevitably be the right's President. As the symbol of a spurious unity he could easily be used to commit us to ends that no evil-purposed Machiavelli in the White House could ever sell us. The question, then, is whether we want "dynamic" leadership of the charismatic variety or leadership based on democratic understanding.

"ISN'T THERE A MOVEMENT WHERE THEY
DANCE BACK TO BACK?"
"NOT THESE PEOPLE."



IKE'S SQUARE DANCE CLASS

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Communists in Unions

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, February 14

A SENATE labor subcommittee headed by Senator Humphrey of Minnesota is opening hearings next week on the problem of Communists in labor unions. The committee's approach has been the exact opposite to McCarthyism. Its staff members have sought information and advice from union leaders, defense officials, management spokesmen, civil-liberties champions, and others as to whether or not Communist control of certain unions is a major security threat and, if it is, what can be done about it. The public hearings are intended to furnish light, not heat, and the subcommittee is in the hands of liberals.

No honest person can deny that a number of unions in strategic industries are still under pro-Communist leadership, though the C. I. O. expelled unions which allegedly followed the Communist Party line and chartered new unions to compete with them for members. The new C. I. O. International Union of Electrical and Radio Workers has captured most of the membership of the departed United Electrical Workers, but not all. In secret balloting under NLRB processes the U. E. has held the workers in key Westinghouse and General Electric plants. Communists still occupy high positions in unions of miners, maritime workers, and workers on secret defense projects.

Any outside attempt to purge unions of Communist leadership must be at the cost of civil rights and democratic union procedures. It cannot be assumed that this cost would necessarily be balanced by a corresponding gain to national security. But even from the point of view of those who do assume this, the non-Communist-affidavit provisions of the Taft-Hartley law have been worse than useless. Suspected Communists simply file affidavits of non-membership and keep on running their unions. The Department of Justice has not been able to bring successful perjury indictments against suspected Communist union leaders.

Undeniably a problem exists. In the event of war with the Soviet Union, individual Communists in defense industries can be expected to commit sabotage. They may even now be guilty of espionage. The question is how to deal with the danger. The recommendations forwarded to the Humphrey subcommittee in response to its inquiries are of three general kinds. William Green of the A. F. of L. and Philip Murray of the C. I. O. oppose special legislation. The problem, in the opinion of these top union officials, can be handled by tightened security regulations, the repeal of Taft-Hartley restrictions, and self-cleansing processes within the union.

Other informed persons agree that there should be

no broad substantive anti-Communist legislation but believe that administrative procedures should be altered so as to deny bargaining rights to Communist-led unions in defense industries. The Atomic Energy Commission has already refused contracts to employers that bargained with the U. E. and the old United Public Workers. Its action was not wholly arbitrary, for it offered the unions a hearing. Benjamin Signal, counsel for the U. E., has made the interesting suggestion that tripartite boards be created, on which labor, management, and the public would be represented, and that these boards be empowered to hold hearings and make findings. If a union were found to be Communist-controlled, procurement agencies would be instructed not to issue contracts to employers on defense projects who bargained with it.

A third group maintains that legislation is needed to deprive all Communist-dominated unions of bargaining rights. Such unions would be treated as if they were company unions: to bargain with them, even though they were chosen by a majority of workers in a plant, would be an unfair labor practice.

The Humphrey subcommittee has already proved its usefulness. By taking the initiative it has assured that decisions about Communist-controlled unions will not be left, by default, to crackpots and reactionaries. It is approaching the problem carefully and apparently without preconceived notions. For a democracy to study whether its security is jeopardized by Communist leadership of key unions and what, within the limits of our Constitution, should be done for self-protection is not "red-baiting." We have recently been warned, however, that measures designed to safeguard individual rights may be distorted and turned into instruments of oppression. When President Truman set up his loyalty-security program in 1947, it was considered better for him to authorize a minimum program than for the Eightieth Congress to pass more drastic legislation. But the Truman program itself became steadily more severe, though it still did not satisfy the fanatics and fear-mongers.

The presence of Communists in trade unions gives rise to two separate problems. The first is that of Communist-control of the union. Presumably, the danger here is that Communist leaders might precipitate strikes and general labor unrest for political reasons. *En passant*, it might be pointed out that Communist labor leaders are not the only ones who have precipitated such strikes in the past. But in any case is it right, merely in anticipation of such danger, arbitrarily to discriminate against men who may have been democratically elected to positions of leadership?

The second problem is that of the ordinary union man who is a Communist. Actually, such a worker could well be in a position to do more harm than a union president; a lathe offers more opportunities for sabotage than a desk. Yet no liberal could support the thesis that

colonies have increased steadily since the end of the war. They were £445,000,000 at the end of 1945 and £908,000,000 at the end of June, 1951. This is the only group of territories whose balance increases all the time. The balances of the dominions and of non-sterling-area countries fluctuate, on the whole in a downward direction; only the colonies have invested more every year in Britain."

In 1951 Malaya was permitted to import from the United States and Britain only about 40 per cent of what it exported to those countries. Its inability to use freely the currency it earns has set back badly its long-overdue development plans. In Singapore in the boom year of 1951 only a third of the housing planned was built. Less than a quarter of the sum budgeted for medical services was expended, and only eleven out of twenty-three projected government schools were built. Steel, cement, and other imported commodities were very scarce, but had Malaya been able to use its dollar earnings in bidding for them it probably would have got a much larger share.

In other words, Malaya is doubly exploited. In selling

its rubber and tin to the United States and using only one out of every six dollars thus earned, Malaya makes the largest dollar contribution to the sterling pool. It contributed \$415,000,000 in 1951. And it is not even permitted to get needed goods for the sterling equivalent of its dollar contribution.

During the election campaign Oliver Lyttelton, who did not then think he was going to become Colonial Secretary, scoffed at Labor's claim to have aided Britain's colonies through such paper projects as the Colombo Plan. The Labor government, he declared, had actually intensified exploitation of the colonies by compelling them to pile up sterling balances instead of supplying them with goods. Since entering the Cabinet he has dropped this theme. After all, if the Prime Minister complains that the Labor government should have welched on its debts to former colonies, Mr. Lyttelton can scarcely suggest that a Conservative government should generously refuse to allow its colonies to accumulate debts. Even at the present level of United States aid, it is only by such forced loans from its colonies that Britain can stay afloat economically.

Soviet Writing Today

BY ERNEST J. SIMMONS

ONE of the troubles with Soviet literature today is that it is the reflection of a revolution grown old and conservative against a backdrop painted in official, right, radical colors. The genuine fervor that inspired the early poetry and fiction with revolutionary idealism and the emergent sense of a world reborn has vanished. During the early 1920's the Soviet literary scene presented a striking contrast to that of today. Freedom—one might almost say a certain degree of anarchy—prevailed among writers. Numerous literary groups sprang up, each with its manifesto declaring a variety of artistic aims and ideological loyalties. Instead of dictator, the Communist Party played the role rather of referee in the major literary struggle of the time—that between the several left-wing proletarian groups which demanded hegemony, party sanction, and government support for the development of literature, and the right-wing and fellow-traveler groups which insisted upon creative freedom.

This position of the party in the matter of literary controls was no doubt connected both with the social and economic conditions of the country at the time and

with the struggle for power within the party. However, with the triumph of Stalin over Trotsky and the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan in 1928, the party felt able to move farther in the direction of regimenting literature. And by 1932 the party boldly dissolved the powerful Russian Association of Proletarian Writers and various other literary groups and two years later set up one big organization of writers for the whole of the U. S. S. R.—the present Union of Soviet Writers. Dividing the opposition in order to conquer it is a familiar party tactic, but so also is the device of combining fractions into one large organization in order to control diverse activities more effectively. In a field so resistant to control as culture, this latter device is possible only when the party has great power, and by 1932 the party had reached that stage. Far from conferring more freedom upon writers, as was widely imagined at the time, the establishment of a single union made for more sweeping controls. There is good reason to suppose that Stalin played a personal role in this move.

From 1932 until the Nazi invasion of 1941 Soviet literature developed in an atmosphere of conformity to party dictates. In general, the party still preferred to remain behind the scenes, exercising its controlling influence largely through the medium of the party fraction in the Union of Soviet Writers. Some critical battles were

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February 23, 1952

fought out in the press during this period, but they were concerned mostly with the problem of how to adorn socialist realism with the trappings of Marxism, and such samovar tempests invariably took place within the bosom of the family, that is, under the aegis of the all-inclusive Union of Soviet Writers. In short, after 1932 critics were asserting in concert that only an author with a Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist world view could correctly portray life in the Soviet Union and abroad, and hence only literature written from this point of view could be considered real art. The Marxian interpretation of socialist realism ended in the closed and vicious circle of declaring that only the reality of socialism is real and that therefore everything hostile to socialism is unreal. Such a position was the logical outcome of party dictation, and its relation to the truth of art in literature is well summed up in a typical statement of one of the critics, M. Serebryansky, in 1938: "Artistic truth is the ability to tell everything necessary but to tell it correctly, that is, from a definite, Bolshevik point of view."

DURING the war, no doubt because of a shift in propaganda emphasis from the Communist Party to the unity and patriotism of the multi-national peoples of the Soviet Union, one could detect a relaxation of party controls over all the media of art and intellectual life. And at the end of the war a public report of the tenth plenum of the Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Writers recorded frank expressions of hope by prominent authors that interference in the arts would be discontinued.

These hopes were blasted by the resolution of the Central Committee of the party on literature shortly after the war (August 14, 1946) and by the subsequent speech of the late Andrei Zhdanov, in which he not only plainly indicated what literature was considered anti-Soviet but also defined the kinds of books that ought to be written by post-war authors of belles-lettres. This resolution, as is now well known, touched off a vast frontal attack by the party on all aspects of Soviet artistic and intellectual life. In this period of "the gradual transition from socialism to communism," the shift in the ideological line must be understood as a reflection of the new post-war national and international policy of the party. In the "purification" drive that followed there were no doubt several objectives, but certainly one of them was the determination that all intellectual and artistic effort must be utterly subservient to party control and should have as one of its aims the exaltation of the Soviet Union and its accomplishments over the capitalist West and America.

Perhaps the most obvious feature of the interference in belles-lettres in the post-war period, as contrasted with the earlier ones, is the direct and openly declared domination of the party in the total direction of literary things. The party now demands that all writers adhere strictly to

the guiding principle of *partiinost*—party spirit—which assumes an all-pervading organic connection between literature and politics. As one recent critic frankly put it, the writer can give a truthful and profound portrayal of reality in its revolutionary development only if he is guided by the policy of the Soviet state!

By now a formidable control apparatus has been developed in the Soviet Union to enable the party to carry out its declared intention of using literature for its own purposes. Since the whole manufacturing process of the printed word—paper, presses, publishing houses, distribution—is ultimately under government control, the party has an economic strangle-hold on the output and content of literature. The propaganda line that determines the broad direction of literary content is usually initiated in the Politburo and announced by the Central Committee in resolutions which have almost the force of law. The Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee has as one of its main duties to compel active observance of the ideological line in literature and to expose what it considers important deviations from it. From time to time it may also promulgate a new aspect or interpretation of the line or emphasize the need for special concentration on some theme. This is ordinarily done through inspired articles in *Pravda*, the *Literary Gazette*, or some other party organ.

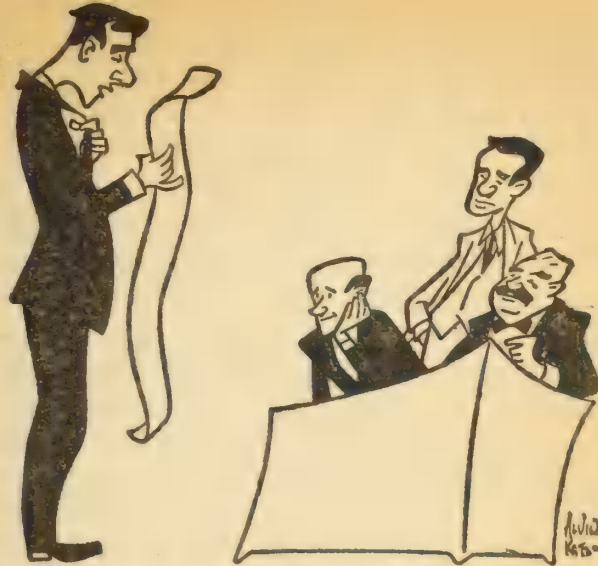
Lower down in the hierarchy of controls, though capable of bringing more immediate pressure to bear on authors, is the Union of Soviet Writers, which is divided into committees corresponding to the various branches of literature. Though Communists do not predominate in the membership of the union, they occupy most of the key posts and control it. Authors are encouraged to read their works in progress to the relevant committee of the union, and there the critical emphasis is on whether the writer has embodied in his work the true spirit of the party line. A further check takes place in the editorial offices of the so-called "thick" magazines, for the best literature, even novels as serials, appears first in these publications. Their editorial boards in turn are made up largely of Communists, and one of their principal functions is to pass on the ideological correctness of manuscripts submitted to them. The same is true of the editorial boards of the huge government book-publishing firms. Finally, all literary work that appears in print must receive the approval of the official government censorship office (*Glavlit*).

Should a literary work pass safely through this formidable array and be published with some undetected ideological impurity, which occasionally happens, it is almost certain to be pounced upon by reviewers—literary magazines as well as books are reviewed. And if there is any hesitation to review the work, which is sometimes the case, or if reviewers have failed to note and criticize ideological faults, an officially inspired state-

ment appears in the press to set matters right. This usually elicits recantation all around—from the author, officials of the Union of Soviet Writers, the editorial head of the responsible magazine or publishing house, the careless reviewer, and often from the editor of the publication in which the erring review appeared.

IT IS safe to say that few of the notable artistic works of Soviet literature of the past—and there have been some very fine ones—would be officially acceptable if offered for publication in this post-war period of tight regimentation. When they are occasionally reprinted, textual changes are introduced in order to bring them "up to date" ideologically. Even so recent a production as Simonov's war poetry, enormously popular and enthusiastically reviewed when first printed seven or eight years ago, was violently attacked a few months ago when reissued in a collected volume.

Thus literature in the Soviet Union since the war has necessarily been devoted largely to the greater glory of the Communist Party. If imaginative literature tends to exalt its subject as the most adequate mirror of life, Soviet literature today exalts it as a mirror of idealized Soviet life. In such recent fiction successes as V. Azhayev's "Far from Moscow," S. Babayevsky's "Light over the Land," V. Zakrutin's "Floating Station," G. Nikolayeva's "The Harvest," and A. Kozhevnikov's "Life-giving Water," real problems of Soviet daily living are dealt with, and often against carefully described backgrounds of village or town, of factory or huge construction effort. However, the psychological presentation of character is hopelessly stereotyped, plainly and tiresomely manufactured out of the whole cloth of official ideology. In the past, fiction reflected with varying degrees of faithfulness the central problem of Soviet life—the tragic struggle between the old and the new in the fierce effort to build a socialist society. Party motivation was nearly always present, but the reality of the abiding conflict was rarely sacrificed to Communist doctrine. The positive hero in this earlier fiction moved in an arena of activity that often had the authentic ring of real life, for the party had not yet found a formula of idealized life and was in no position to enforce one. Today the positive hero of fiction is nearly always a Communist, cast in the father-image of Stalin. He may have certain weaknesses, often the only element of dramatic conflict—impulsiveness, pride, a desire to abandon the collective and do everything himself, hostility to innovation, failure to educate a wife lacking his Bolshevik virtues. In the end, however, these weaknesses are always overcome by an application of stereotyped ideological remedies. Soviet literature today prides itself on portraying only average men and women, but it casts them in the official image of idealized positive Communist heroes and heroines.



The Union Committee Listens to a Work in Progress

Since fiction is sold in enormous quantities in the Soviet Union, one naturally wonders how the average Soviet citizen reacts to these "average" heroes and heroines and to the idealized life they lead. The present writer has been conducting a study of certain features of Soviet literature, through interviews and questionnaires, among Soviet D. P.'s here and abroad, some of them former members of the Writers' Union. The nearly uniform answer to the point mentioned above is that the average Soviet citizen reads between the lines of such novels and develops "an unusual virtuosity" in dismissing positive heroes as unreal and accepting the so-called negative characters, motivated by "bourgeois survivals," as the truly realistic portrayals.

It is almost too much to expect, however, that such virtuosity in interpretation should be very common among the masses of Soviet readers. Some allowance must be made for the effectiveness of the propaganda element in belles-lettres. Then, too, the unflinching success-story of novels and plays today, a socialistic variation of such endless Horatio Alger themes as are found in "Luck and Pluck," "Sink or Swim," "Survive or Perish," must serve psychologically as the wish-fulfilment of countless hard-pressed peasants on the cooperative farms and laborers in the factories. In its post-war development Soviet literature has become the perfect propaganda instrument, for it is presenting for popular consumption a series of consistent, idealized Communist heroes who—the party no doubt hopes—will stand in their personal lives, heroic actions, and unswerving loyalty to the regime as instructive models for the average Soviet citizen. It is through this negative sense of reality—the idealization of life which the party foists upon the public both as a reflection of Communist aspirations and as an opiate to minister to its discontent—that Soviet literature today can best serve the purpose of the social historian seeking to make use of it as evidence of Soviet life.

Harold Ross

A Professional Tribute

BY M. R. WERNER

ROSS, as he was called by everyone who knew him, on and off the *New Yorker*, seems to me to have made a great success in American journalism because he set definite limits to his scope and exhibited both integrity and ingenuity within those limits. I had the privilege of professional association with him for many years, beginning when he got out his prospectus for the *New Yorker* and ending only with his death. I never knew him intimately as a friend, but I developed higher respect for him as an editor than I have felt for any other editor in the United States.

Anybody who worked for Ross was bound from time to time to be exasperated. He worried a great deal about ideas and the words in which to put them, and in that way he was like his writers. Sometimes he did not "get" what one was trying to do. Sometimes he seemed to want to alter too drastically the way it was done. But for all his expletives, Harold Ross was a reasonable, and therefore tolerant, man. When he was wrong, you could usually convince him, for he was completely without arrogance, unlike many editors and other entrepreneurs. Once you had convinced him you could accomplish something with him—never unless you had.

Ross was a profoundly serious man. He often grinned, and I daresay his intimate friends heard him laugh; I never did. One of the limitations he accepted for himself and his enterprise at the outset was that it would never even pretend to have the whole answer for any problem. When in doubt he preferred to shy away from a subject. Once when we had a rousing argument about a piece with political implications, he said to me: "We don't want to get serious, Werner," meaning the magazine. That was an illusion of his. He thought originally that he was going to run a "comic" magazine. By the art of improvisation, which was one of Ross's greatest gifts, the *New Yorker* turned into the magazine that had more effect than any other ever published in the United States, not only on American manners, but also on the ingrained habits and worn-out customs of other editors.

Sloppy reporting gave Harold Ross nightmares, and muddy language made him profane. His comments on the margins of proof, of which much has been said since his death, were valuable and at times hilariously funny. He was often wrong in those comments, but he was never neglectful, and he must have, more often than not, saved his magazine serious errors by them. He

M. R. WERNER is the author of biographies of Barnum and Brigham Young.

was death on truisms, and he had a rage for accuracy. He much admired felicity.

Ross would have shuddered if he had ever "set the world on fire" with the *New Yorker*. Crusading he preferred to leave to men much more sure of themselves. And yet Ross and many of the men in and out of his office to whom he gave opportunity and whose work he influenced have had a profound effect on the development of American decency.

It usually takes a maniacal streak, or, if you prefer, a touch of genius, to become a great editor in the United States, and in that sense Ross qualified, along with Horace Greeley, both James Gordon Bennetts, the elder Joseph Pulitzer, E. W. Scripps, and Joseph M. Patterson. Many editors have tried to copy Ross, but none have succeeded, partly because the effort was half-hearted and partly because none of them had the *New Yorker's* relatively limited but generally sophisticated audience.

Ross's audience enabled him to escape the domination of big advertisers. So many people with perfumes, clothing, books, jewelry, music, liquor, and vacations to sell needed the *New Yorker* more than it needed them that the magazine's writers and artists never had to look over their shoulder as they wrote or drew what pleased them. No church or political party has ever had any influence on the *New Yorker*, although no doubt the customary attempts, mild or angry, have been made.

Through the efforts of Harold Ross and the men he had the good judgment to use and appreciate, the *New Yorker* has originated more devices for expressing human events and characteristics than any other journal ever published in the United States—or perhaps elsewhere. Ross realized the simple fact that the man who was reporting was vital to what he was reporting, even though it was important that he should not distort his subject matter by an ill-grounded bias. The greatest tribute that could be paid to Ross and his magazine is that readers are quick to complain when they think an issue is not as expert as they have become accustomed to expect. No one sees any difference between one issue of *Collier's* or *Newsweek*, for example, and another.

Since Harold Ross died at the age of fifty-nine, there has been much speculation about whether the *New Yorker* can go on long without him. My guess is that it will—unless it should sometime bow to pressure, financial or intellectual, as he would never have done.



Harold Ross

BOOKS and the ARTS

THE WRITER'S DILEMMA IN BRITAIN

BY VINCENT BROME

IT IS curious how many successful authors make austere pronouncements about the value of hardship to young writers. Dos Passos joined the tradition some time ago: "Young writers who believe in themselves should be willing to starve in a garret once more." I have no idea whether Dos Passos graduated to his present distinguished old age through a garret, but I wonder whether anyone undergoing starvation in a garret at the moment would say that it was a prerequisite of creative writing. Hardship recollected is usually romanticized. From the comfort of the high places the discomfort of the low becomes the splendid condition of any "fundamental writing."

Yet in a world where human beings are struggling to get away from nature in the raw—which tended to make them a pretty sorry lot—why hold the writer fast in his own private jungle? Ideally, in a sensitive democracy the novelist, dramatist, or poet would tend to find his own level, and if the toughness of the breed did not vary drastically, the rest of this article would be pointless; but it does vary.

Men of the caliber of Shakespeare, Tolstoy, and Melville will continue to make themselves felt against the worst adversity. Men of genius, even men of tremendous talent, are rarely overwhelmed by environment. It is the writer of considerable talent, enjoying his own peculiar vision but not completely possessed by it and lacking the spiritual toughness to survive interminable frustrations, who finds the present state of publishing—periodical and book—so difficult in Britain.

The word understates the situation for many young and serious writers. Suffocating would be better. Time was in Britain when serious writers could earn a reasonable living from literary journalism and produce their books in between articles and stories. Now literary journalism is virtually extinguished.

With the death of *Horizon* and *New Writing*, those two fiercely contested remnants of a literary heritage dating back to the *Edinburgh Review*, the scene was left desolate. Reviews remain, of course, like the *Cornhill* and the *Fortnightly*, but neither is literary in the sense that *Horizon* was. *Scrutiny* does not offer much scope to young writers, and the *Times Literary Supplement* takes us into the world of reviewing.

Once a second means of sustenance, reviewing is now very limited, largely because of the cost of paper, and is often so poorly paid that those who have any truck with it are looked upon as literary hacks. Not so long ago papers like the *Daily Chronicle* carried long reviews of books every other day and paid reasonable rates for them. Now half a dozen books are lumped together into a thousand words once a week, and one man lives by it instead of four.

The short-story field is no happier. The market for serious work hardly exists. Even the "popular" short-story magazines have collapsed; the *Argosy* alone survives. And now in the last year the elasticity has gone out of British book publishing too. What with no short-story magazines, defunct literary periodicals, and publishers so aware of imminent crisis that they eye every promising newcomer with fresh skepticism unless he has the attributes of Shakespeare, a best-seller, or both, the word "suffocating" does indeed seem justified.

One small glimmer appears on the horizon. The BBC Third Program has given John Lehmann one hour a month to produce a miscellany of new writing, and in one sense this may go some way toward filling the gap created by the death of *Penguin New Writing*. The Third Program apart, what is a fledgling writer to do? Retire to his garret and feed on his own fine sentences? The caloric value of inspiration is not very high, but it is said that inspiration of

the right intensity will sustain vitality in something approaching a corpse. There is only one objection to this. Garrets at ten shillings a week which once sheltered colonies of bohemians in London's Greenwich Village are now three and four times that much, and can no longer serve as the cherished seat of inspiration for the impoverished. More or less vanished, too, is the way of life in which one pound a week kept a writer at least alive in the center of London, while he rose at noon, consumed inordinate quantities of sausages and mashed, drifted industriously from coffee to coffee, and somehow contrived to write. The economics of survival have been revolutionized under inflationary pressures. Three pounds would be nearer the mark today.

IF NOT the garret, what then? In the familiar scale of possible ways of life conjured up by the inartistic for the benefit of writers and their like, the part-time job ranks high. Those who feel that the arts and writing are trivial excrescences on the reality of living would like to see every writer a spare-time writer and they hint at the health-giving life of the mines; the two-way tradition, a very high one, made Fielding a police magistrate, Trollope a post-office official, and—serenest reach of all—Spinoza a lens polisher. In modern times the British civil service has nourished big and small talent, but the civil service, like Bohemia, has changed its character since the war, and the easy ten-to-four day has given place to an exhausting forty-five-hour week. But if the casual ways of the civil service have changed, and the Humbert Woolfs might be hard put to find time for their poetry, the part-time job which sustains life and energy enough for creative work has also suffered serious curtailment. As society has become more and more intensely organized and efficiency has undermined Bohemia itself, part-time jobs have either been swept away

THE VICTIMS

They walk towards us willingly and gently,
Unblemished, the white kid, the calf,
Their new-born coats scarcely dry from the amniotic waters.
Each hair lies in its new place, ripple-marked
By the rhythms of growth, the tides
That washed them up onto the shores of time.

Their young eyes, unsurprised, look towards us.
We see them stand, beautiful on spring grass,
And know that the upgathered perfect form must pass,
Those intricate knots of ganglia and veins,
The rhythmic heartbeat, and the breath of life.
We first receive their wounding in our hearts
With all the inexpressible guilt of love,
For the first worshiping touch of our tragic hands must soil
And trouble the unconscious unicorn
That does not even know it stands on earth.
We offer them bunches of buttercups and young grass
With all the inexpressible love of guilt.
We give, even as we look,
The first wound of sacrifice.

KATHLEEN RAINE

or have evolved into what is called casual labor, a form of activity constantly threatened with cessation. Ask famous writers today what part-time job they covet and they tend to retire into a world of fantasy. "I would like to be a station master on a small country branch line (single track)," says John Betjeman. "A rich wife," says Cyril Connolly. C. Day Lewis is more down to earth: "For the novelist who needs a wide range and diversity of personal contacts, medicine, the law, or commercial traveling. . . ."

As for patrons, the last went out with the nineteenth century. So the patron is dead, publishers less inclined to take risks with new writers, secondary jobs more productive of frustration than inspiration, and the state—the very word rings like a knell. The state and writing seem natural enemies.

There is nothing for it but to return to the starting point and write, starvation or not. But even then what happens in Britain? A man may spend nine months writing a novel and never get it published. Or he may have the novel accepted six months after writing it, and receive £100 advance royalties. Another year elapses, and the book appears. Some time in the following year he may receive another £100—for a year's work £200, considerably less than his typist is paid. And he is far less fortunate than

his typist, for the £200 is paid over two and a half years not one year. If he is among the fortunate, the £200 becomes £500, and whenever a star appears in the East one novel comes out of the ruck and achieves four figures.

[*This is the sequel to two earlier articles by Mr. Brome, in The Nation of December 1 and January 12. The first was devoted to book publishing, the second to periodicals and the press.*]

Cabell's Brief Hour

QUIET PLEASE. By James Branch Cabell. University of Florida Press. Distributed by Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.

JAMES BRANCH CABELL had published unread books for fifteen years when he woke one morning in 1919 to find that "Jurgen" had made him famous. It was, or at least it appeared to be, no mere success of scandal. Magazines and newspapers which had scarcely been aware of his existence broke out in a flood of articles critical and informatory. His earlier novels were reissued, finally in an eighteen-volume collected edition, and the textbooks enshrined him as a classic. A few succeeding books sold on his notoriety, but it was not very long before his works were again falling from the presses al-

most as soundlessly as before. In "The Literary History of the American People," published four years ago, Henry Seidel Canby devotes to Cabell a few sympathetic pages, but so far as the publishing trade, the general reader, or the present-day intellectual is concerned, he no longer exists. The only comparable recent example of a writer who rose so high like a rocket and fell unnoticed like its stick is the late Edgar Lee Masters. Yet "The Spoon River Anthology" is not so nearly forgotten as "Jurgen."

Cabell's fate was a cruel one because few things can seem so utterly lost as fame, and the once famous can take little satisfaction in saying, "I have had my hour," since an hour of fame may be no fame at all. It would be interesting to know how the victim of such a fate feels about it, and—though I am by no means certain its author would accept the statement—this is, in a way, the subject of "Quiet Please." I say "in a way," because Mr. Cabell discusses many things, including the origins of his books and his present way of life at seventy in St. Augustine, Florida. Moreover, he has by no means simplified a style full of strangely displaced phrases—for example, "To the contrary, there, almost always, I believe, is a certain smugness," etc.—which sometimes achieves an elaborate neatness and sometimes descends to the level of a schoolmaster's jocose involutions. But what he actually does say about his career may be reduced in simple words to something like this: He has always enjoyed writing, even books which did not sell, even books which he never intended to publish. Yet he has never been able to write anything except the particular thing which at that moment he wanted to write. He despises the esteemed writers of today, he can read with pleasure very few of those of the past who once delighted him, and he found his hour of fame distressing because of vulgarities incidental to it which he could not wholly avoid. Yet he has had, in a way, a satisfactory life, partly because the amatory adventures attributed to the characters in his fiction were not always based upon pure fancy. And he still holds that wisdom prescribes a contempt for the ways of the world together with a willingness to adjust oneself to them when the cost is not too great.

It is obvious that as a man of letters Mr. Cabell cannot possibly have been as important as he was once proclaimed and be as inconsequential as he is now usually thought. On the other hand, there is no use in arguing the safe contention that the eye of eternity will see him as worthy of less admiration than the twenties accorded but of more than the fifties are willing to grant. But perhaps it is worth while to point out that if the erotic naughtiness of "Jurgen" was precisely what a brief moment wanted, everything which he now has to offer consists of things which the spirit of the age resolutely wants none of, and that, consequently, even if he were as good as his admirers once thought, excellence would not win him much esteem. Anatole France had been longer famous when a generation definitively rejected him, but he is hardly less likely to be praised as once he was. An esteemed writer today may be direct or he may be devious, but he may not be mannered in that particular way. He may be utterly pessimistic concerning the past, present, and future or he may be utopian. But he cannot say, as Mr. Cabell and Anatole France both said, that human life is not very satisfactory, that it will never be any different, but that, nevertheless, "it will do."

In "Quiet Please" Mr. Cabell is still trying to find acceptable ways of saying just that. But he is probably not unaware of the fact that, at the present moment, there is no way of saying it that is likely to prove widely acceptable.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Faith of a Liberal

NEW HOPES FOR A CHANGING WORLD. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. \$3.

A TRADITIONAL office of philosophy is to provide a critique of prevailing tendencies and values, to portray a way of life that can redirect human energies from unworthy to ennobling pursuits, and to supply a perspective within which personal and public adversity may be faced with resolute courage. This moral role of philosophy has always been of intimate concern to Bertrand Russell, even in that long period of his life when he was most actively engaged in those abstract and seemingly remote logical analyses which

assure him a permanent place in the history of thought. He has repeatedly expressed his high esteem for the practical guidance and exemplary fortitude that books like Boethius's "The Consolations of Philosophy" contain; and in a long series of essays and volumes, beginning with his famous "A Free Man's Worship" down to his latest book, he has given overt proof of profound preoccupation with central moral and social issues. His explicit objective in the present volume is to outline a liberal faith for the modern world and to generate a creative hope in the realization of the ideal constituting that faith. For he believes it is the absence of such an ideal which is largely responsible for the sorry predicaments of our time; but he is also convinced that the grave dangers confronting us cannot be surmounted as long as fear dominates our thought and paralyzes remedial action. He rejects as incompatible with the most warranted conclusions of critical thought the "two great systems of dogma lying in wait for the modern man when his spirit is weary"—the systems of Rome and of Moscow. He maintains that when men are liberated from the primeval terrors they acquired in the jungle and acquire instead the spontaneous belief that their happiness depends upon harmony with other men, then "not only their personal problems but all the problems of world politics, even the most abstruse and difficult, would melt away." He therefore proposes with all the arts of persuasion at his command an ethic of "encouragement and opportunity for all the impulses that are creative and expansive," an ethic which will "let the imprisoned demons escape and the beauty of the world take possession."

Mr. Russell states his hopes for a better world with moving eloquence, and against a background of a synoptic world history in which he examines the achievements and follies of men with characteristic insight and ironic wit. He distinguishes three major types of conflict which have marked the evolution of mankind: the conflicts between man and nature, between man and man, and between man and himself. Modern science and technology supply the means for a limited but sufficient mastery of nature, and only the persistence of obsolete moral and political ideas stands in the way of assuring the material conditions

for a good life to all men. But this mastery is made practically ineffective in many parts of the world by a disastrous over-population. Indeed, Mr. Russell is inclined to hold that the habit of a low birth rate is the most important value Western civilization has to offer to mankind at large; and there is perhaps no single thesis he affirms so emphatically as his conviction that unless human fertility is artificially controlled in what are now the underprivileged areas of the world, all of us are in mortal danger of being swallowed up in a new flood of ignorance, destitution, and war.

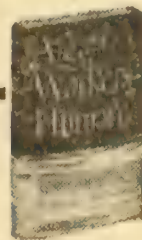
It is in the struggle for food and

FABLE

Fire-drunk, winged Icarus
Essayed taut, gull-wheeling space
To time his pulse by a god's smile.
Alas, its music burned away

In gales and altitudes of light!
Struck, the wax wings fell like snow,
Gently, where blinded Icarus
Saw self, a stone's will, tear the sea.

STEPHEN STEPCHANIEV



• are
• workers
• human?

by Gordon Rattray Taylor

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other primary necessities of life that Mr. Russell finds the main cause for the wars of history, for the development of moral codes, and for the changes in modes of social organization. This struggle still continues, though according to him needlessly and in consequence of the incongruity between our outworn political and economic ideas on the one hand and the actual physical and economic unity of the world on the other. The sole alternative to this suicidal conflict is some form of effective world government. But Mr. Russell appears to be unclear in his own mind as to how such a government can be realized. He suggests at times that a peaceful surrender of national sovereignty can be achieved by mutual agreement; and yet he also declares at other times that international order will replace international anarchy only when the victors of another world war impose a modern equivalent of the Pax Romana upon the entire globe. He exhibits a similar indecision in his comments on the present struggle between Communist Russia and the West. He argues that these social systems embody incompatible conceptions of life and that therefore a fatal conflict of arms between them can hardly be avoided; however, he also claims that but for the occurrence of mutual suspicions engendered by irrational but eliminable fears the two systems can coexist peaceably. In any event, it is clear that Mr. Russell is not a starry-eyed optimist, and his view of the immediate future is on the whole grim though not despairing. But like the rest of us, he sometimes engages in what certainly appears like whistling in the dark.

Mr. Russell's conception of the good life is an essentially pluralistic one, and he is generous and sensitive to the variety and range of human capacities. He foresees an endlessly bright future for mankind, if only we can be persuaded to surrender our "fear morality" of guilt and sin, and to adopt an outlook which is favorable to the maximum exercise of our disciplined powers. In his frankly worldly attitude toward the sources and rewards of the moral life, in his passionate distaste for all mystery mongering, in his serene confidence in the possibility of human progress through rational effort, Mr. Russell thus shows himself to be an eloquent spokes-

man for some of the dominant features of the philosophy of the French Enlightenment. Indeed, there is a distinctive eighteenth-century air about his use of purely psychological explanations in interpreting socio-historical changes, though it is not always evident whether he is entirely serious in adopting such psychological categories. There is also some ground for questioning his neo-Malthusian views. Undoubtedly there is much substance in his warnings against the dangers of over-population; his discussion nevertheless sometimes suggests that there is an optimal maximum population size, independent of the state of technology and mode of social organization—an assumption that is highly debatable, to say the least. But despite such reservations concerning many links in his argument, Mr. Russell has written a stimulating and inspiring book. It is a sermon on the life of man, which articulates without unction and with insight a noble vision of human excellence. It achieves what Mr. Russell set out to do, for it makes attractive to both mind and heart the faith underlying a liberal social philosophy.

ERNEST NAGEL

Form and Feeling

THE SEVEN-LEAGUE CRUTCHES.

By Randall Jarrell. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.75.

THIS volume is divided into three sections called Europe, Children, and Once Upon a Time. The poems in the first section seem for the most part to revolve around some experience in Austria which has great significance for the poet. They are full of a poignant, nostalgic Austrian atmosphere:

At the path out into the wood, a deer
Stood with stars in the branches of its
antlers.

This is beautiful, and there is a good deal like this. But when the poet gets close to the center of his experience, the effect tends to become blurred:

I saw, in your eyes beside my eyes,
A gaze pure, yearning, unappeasable.

The poems seek the rhythm of the speaking voice, and in this there is something very personal about Mr. Jarrell's utterance. His is the voice which knows pity and despair. At present it seems a little submerged by a mixture of

grief and overwhelming but rather fragmentary European impressions.

Perhaps the most successful of these long poems is one about another poet, Tristan Corbière. It is as though the feeling Mr. Jarrell has for Corbière's poetry had heightened the tone of his own utterance, which tends to become a little monotonous in the poems of pure sentiment.

Mr. Jarrell is one of the most interesting poets living, and one of the most alert critical intelligences. He is also a difficult and even baffling poet. Difficult, not because his poems are obscure, but because he combines an extreme critical self-consciousness with a certain naivete of feeling and occasional fumbling of technique. At least, I think this is the case, though his occasional lapses are so surprising that I am left wondering whether they are intended to achieve some effect which I have failed to follow. For example, a poem called *The Island* begins with the confident rhythm:

While sun and sea—and I, and I—
Were warped through summer on our
spar,
I guessed beside the fin, the gull,
And Europe ebbing like a sail
A life indifferent as a star.

The meter continues like this for three stanzas and then in the fourth stanza breaks into

Frosted or salted with its curling smile
The printless hachures of the sand . . .
I lay with you, Europe, in a net of snows:
And all my trolls—their noses flattened
into Lapps'
Against the thin horn of my windows—
wept:

However often I read it, the line "And all my trolls—their noses flattened into Lapps'" spells for me the breakdown of the poem. To say this, in connection with a poet who considers his effects so carefully, may show my own obtuseness. I have to leave it to the reader.

This volume seems to me to represent what is perhaps a transitional state of development. I draw attention to a lapse because I think that such defects are characteristic of an experimental stage while Mr. Jarrell is moving forward to a new and simpler narrative style of writing in which he will succeed very powerfully. There are—to my mind—lapses in feeling as well as in technique. The heavily larded, over-simple German introduced into the poems about Austria

seems to me an example of faulty judgment. On the other hand, to have written these poems, which appear to hang too closely to a very deeply felt experience which does not entirely communicate itself to the reader, shows an admirable seriousness and courage.

The book is particularly interesting in showing how an undigested experience expressed too emotionally in the early poems—or a parallel experience—becomes memorable when it is viewed more from a distance and fused more cold-bloodedly into more conventional forms. *La Belle au Bois Dormant* seems to include all the pent-up emotional quality of the Salzburg poems, and yet to move in a serene air of pure detachment.

Despite his great powers of criticism and self-criticism, I suspect that Mr. Jarrell is a poet who does not always gain complete control over the very strong feelings he expresses. What makes him so interesting is that he has these feelings, as well as intellect. But on the whole he seems at present to be most successful when he hits on a very happy subject, as here he sometimes does—for example *The Black Swan* or the delightful lines about the postman in *A Sick Child*. Without such a discipline of subject and form, when he is writing freely, he tends to be overwhelmed by his remarkably exposed sensibility to the horrors of the world. There is a kind of sobbing despair in many of these poems for which one can only feel the greatest respect but which somehow gives the impression of a great deal of material which has not been adequately dealt with.

What Mr. Jarrell is trying to do, however, is wholly admirable: to write a poetry which hovers between the lyric and the narrative (he always brings me back to thinking about Browning), and to give utterance to the horror of our age. He does not shirk the terribly pressing terrible subjects of Germany and Europe. At present, though, he has not found a way of writing about them with uninhibited freedom (as Lawrence might have done)—that is, with a kind of desperate abandonment to the subject itself which makes form seem irrelevant, and therefore justifies all freedoms; nor does he manage to control them in the crystalline form which he achieved in some earlier poems. His problem is to

fuse his intellectual judgment with a tormented strength of feeling about situations (the oppressed, the poor) which are always there but which, artistically speaking, are hardly ever completely real—that is, completely personal experience—to anyone. But although he might be reproached for at times not writing more personally about his feelings, I think his attempt to penetrate to the center of a suffering outside himself is right. For that suffering is so present in the world today that it demands to be exorcised by art. STEPHEN SPENDER

The Asian Revolution

ASIA AND THE WEST. By Maurice Zinkin. Institute of Pacific Relations. \$3.50.

THIS volume treats the major aspects of the socio-economic organization of Asia, the condition of the several nations there, the needs to be met for giving them an adequate development, the state of their trade, and their requirement of dollars. Through it runs the theme of the Communist advance in the struggle for the minds of men. Because of the scope of the work each topic is treated in very few pages; yet the author has given a great deal of specific information and bolstered it with many tables.

The book starts by contrasting the village agricultural life of Asia with the urban and industrial development of the West. The standards of living are widely apart, and Asia, overpopulated in relation to its production, has been incited to emulate the West. Herein lies the basis for the Asian political revolution, which may prove, the author says, when seen in perspective, to have been more important during the past decade than the war and the changes it has caused in Europe.

The major part of this work was written in 1949 and the Postscript some time toward the end of 1950. At that time Mr. Zinkin viewed China and India as respectively the protagonists of communism and democracy in Asia. He points to the shift in loyalties in Asia during the past few decades. Formerly they were to a religion (Islam, Hinduism, or some other); when he wrote he saw them as being to a region. This is true within limits, though in Pakistan the religion of Islam still has a power-

ful part in shaping national purpose, while in China the force of religion was not so strong as in India. Today the shift has moved farther than when Mr. Zinkin wrote. In India the recent elections seem to show that to an impressive extent the electorate responded to secular economic inducements as offered respectively by Congress, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Party. The appeal of political parties based upon religion was if anything less than expected. The issue now seems clearly joined there between communism and the democratic parties on the question of which will do more for the people economically.

At this point the United States must look to its purposes in Asia, and we must brace ourselves for the expenditures we must make if we are to fulfill them. If we want India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and the countries of Southeast Asia to be democratic rather than Communist, we shall have to assist their governments to develop them economically. It will cost us money to do so, but as Mr. Zinkin remarks, not so much as to finance a series of Korean actions. His description of the large needs of each

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country shows that with the present available resources none of them are self-sufficient but all need supplementary help. The economic situation in Asia is a difficult one; to see it in concrete terms with respect to each country his separate chapters are a suggestive, informative, and useful sequence of introductions.

W. NORMAN BROWN

The Case of Brooks Adams

BROOKS ADAMS: CONSTRUCTIVE CONSERVATIVE. By Thornton Anderson. Cornell University Press. \$3.75.

IN BROOKS ADAMS Mr. Anderson has an enviable subject, one of the most interesting and prophetic minds at work in this country during the period from 1890 to the First World War, and still, despite excellent essays by Daniel Aaron, R. P. Blackmur, and Charles A. Beard, an unduly neglected thinker. The first essential about Brooks Adams was his last name. From the days of John Adams the men of the family, possessed of a powerful sense of the symbolic value of their family story, had been imbued with a strong need to intellectualize and universalize their experience. In the generation of Brooks and Henry Adams these qualities were supplemented by an unhappy awareness of the family's progressive failure to "adapt," as Brooks would have put it, to an American environment which had in many ways coarsened too much to accommodate the Adams integrity. With Henry, who had the more tempered mind and style of the two, this concern with adaptation and failure was internal and personal. Brooks, who was a more concentrated and original thinker, externalized it and expressed it in his historical and political theories. "Nothing is commoner," wrote Brooks, "than to find families who have been famous in one century sinking into obscurity in the next . . ." And it is clear from the passage in which this sentence appears that, much as Brooks's social inquiries were directed toward finding a policy and a strategy for the United States, they were also, perhaps even primarily, an inquiry into the question: why had the Republic shunted its best men aside into places of no real prominence or power?

Brooks Adams's earliest political interests were much like those held during

the thirty years after the Civil War by thousands of gentlemen Mugwumps, a type that was being elbowed into positions of slight public importance by the rise of corporate industrialism and the decline of that old-style republican statecraft that had put two Adamses in the White House and made a third minister to the Court of St. James. Brooks always had that high-minded interest in public service that characterized the Mugwump type, and with it, at first, the same rather narrow reading of social issues that helped to limit its influence. In the raw age they were born into, such men as the Adamses could serve their country only in marginal posts, or in the office of critic or moralist. It was difficult for any ambitious man to accept such a modest and unsatisfying role, and with the exalted and demanding traditions of the house of Adams behind one, it was all but impossible. (It is significant that Brooks prepared a biography of his grandfather which he suppressed and started a study of his father which he could not finish.) The depression of the nineties, which struck a blow at their personal fortunes and convinced Brooks and Henry that their world was going to smash, seems at once to have completely soured Brooks's spirit and galvanized his mind. It precipitated that hatred of the moneyed class, and particularly of the usurer, that animated his study of "The Law of Civilization and Decay," and set in motion an inquiry lasting many years into possible policies by which the United States might escape from the processes of decadence.

There were many aspects of Brooks's work that led him down what will seem today to be extremely destructive ways of thought. He could not free himself from an admittedly parochial frame of reference ("My nation, my race, my blood confine my affections," he frankly wrote); he was convinced of the inevitability and desirability of wars, and urged the country on into the imperialist dog fight that was just beginning among the powers. There was none the less about his thinking a certain magisterial disillusionment and freedom from convention that make him, read in retrospect, a writer of constant marginal suggestiveness. He was one of the first among American conservatives to realize the need for a national social policy; he was perhaps the first to understand fully

the economics of bigness and centralization and to argue the case for the administrative state; he was one of the early prophets of a realistic approach to the study of law and a fresh approach to the tasks of education. Neither the survival in his work of nineteenth-century metaphysical notions nor the sinister and almost totalitarian cast given to his insights by his desperately cynical rhetoric will conceal from sympathetic modern readers the many points at which his mind broke through the veil of temporary issues and seized upon essential problems.

Mr. Anderson's much-needed and valuable book, based upon a study of Adams's letters as well as his published writings, affords a lucid summary of the development of his ideas and some discriminating if timorous criticism. As a personal study it fails to realize the possibilities of its subject. Brooks was a tragic example of the havoc a society can wreak by rejecting and insulating its finest leaders. The earlier Adamses had always had a passion to *plan* things for America, and if they had failed in their grandest designs, they had at least been able to influence the course of events. That Brooks and Henry were unable stemmed from no failure of personal capacity but from the inability of post-Civil War America to make use of men of their qualities. It was, although quite understandable, fatal to the Adamses of the fourth generation that they lacked the courage of their negations. Their need to stand in an effectual and, as they saw it, "realistic" relationship to the power centers of their age overcame, in a measure, their primary sense of values—not enough, unfortunately for them, to change their values and push them into the main stream, but enough to raise in their own minds the constant suspicion that the fault lay in themselves, in some fatal lapse, as Brooks used to suggest, in their nervous organization. Hence the wearisome but not altogether insincere self-depreciation of "The Education of Henry Adams"; hence Brooks's: "I do not know that anything I have ever done, or ever shall do, will be of much moment"; hence his incessant, self-punishing emphasis on adaptability of mind.

Brooks was overwhelmed at his own audacity and at his isolation, as he saw it, after the publication of his heretical

book on "The Gold Standard" in 1894. "I begin to feel as if people pointed at me in the streets. Every great interest, the whole power of this mighty engine is there to crush me, to ridicule and suppress me. . . . I feel that I am deliberately driving the last nail in my social coffin." Unheard, as he felt himself to be, he took refuge in a kind of morbid naturalism, whose formal doctrines were taken out of nineteenth-century evolutionary materialism but whose mood arose from a sense of total futility. "I am not aware," he confided while revising one of his books, "that I am anything more than an automaton, I certainly have no conscious volition, and yet the stuff comes one way, only always more so, and blacker and gloomier." "I see that we made no impress," he once wrote to Melville M. Bigelow concerning an issue that had stirred them, "even on the minds of so small a society as Boston." There were times when he felt that even Henry was closed to his message, when he felt totally alone in a world which he described as "a chaos . . . with which man is doomed eternally and hopelessly to contend." When he shaved, as Mr. Anderson tells us, it was his habit to sing, to the tune of an Irish ballad, three words over and over: "God damn it! God damn it! God damn it!"

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

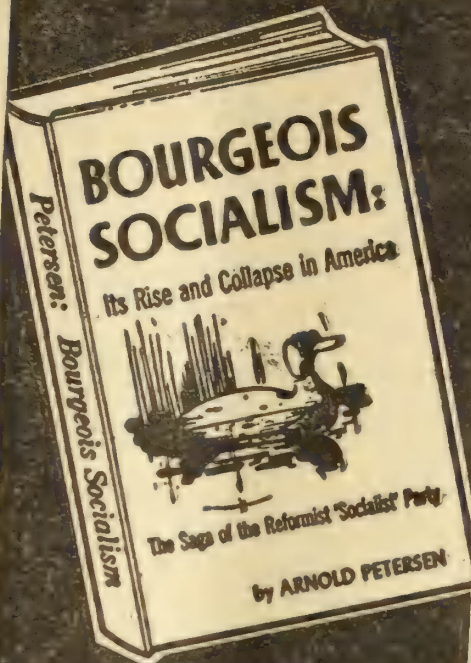
Economic Power

AMERICAN CAPITALISM: THE CONCEPT OF COUNTERVAILING POWER. By John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.

ECONOMISTS as a group have a reputation, not wholly undeserved, for being gloomy slaves of theory who tend to communicate their ideas in an abstruse jargon well larded with algebraic symbols. As a result the average citizen, even though he is constantly called upon to make economic judgments, is apt to assume that economic theory requires a specialized intelligence and to dismiss it as a subject beyond his comprehension. It is incumbent upon economists, therefore, to try to overcome this widespread allergy.

Professor Galbraith is one of the profession who recognizes the responsibility. Now teaching at Harvard, he served in Washington with distinction

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during the war and was later an editor of *Fortune*. Perhaps these escapes from the cloister have encouraged him constantly to sharpen the blade of theory on the grindstone of observed fact. At any rate, his new book, which is both witty and easily comprehensible, represents a bold attempt to dispel illusions based on outworn theories and to provide a rationale for modern American capitalism that takes account of its operational realities.

The primary task that Professor Galbraith has set himself is an examination "into the substance of our alarms concerning the American economy" in the post-war period. In principle, he points out, our economy has pleased no one in recent years; in performance it has satisfied most of us. How is this contradiction to be explained?

Part of the trouble, he thinks, is the obvious divergence between the ideal model of a competitive market economy and the actualities of American business. The ideal model requires such rigorous competition that, to quote Professor Hayek, one of its leading champions, "the individual producer has to adapt himself to price changes and cannot control them." Today, clearly, this condition is the exception rather than the rule. In most of our leading indus-

tries if we do not have monopoly we have oligopoly—dominance by a handful of huge firms which enjoy a large measure of control over prices. These firms may compete in advertising, styling, and other ways, but they uniformly observe the convention outlawing price warfare, since the use of this weapon would mean common ruin.

Professor Galbraith points out that the anti-trust laws have not proved an effective remedy for this situation. However, he believes that concentration of economic power not only has certain advantages but has produced important compensating forces. For instance, while the incentives operative in the typical American industry no longer tend to produce maximum output at minimum prices—the test of efficiency in the competitive model—they do encourage technical innovation, which has become "one of the important weapons of market rivalry." In fact, Professor Galbraith demonstrates, only large firms with market power to protect the fruits of development can stand the heavy costs involved.

He illustrates this point by contrasting the "admirably competitive" but technically backward coal industry with the semi-monopolistic but extremely progressive oil industry. And he suggests that the inability of the individual farmer to control his prices explains why agricultural research and technical development have had to be "socialized."

Still more important as a safeguard against the dangers of oligopoly is the development of what Professor Galbraith calls "countervailing power" on the opposite side of the market.

The fact that a seller enjoys a measure of monopoly power, and is reaping a measure of monopoly return as a result, means that there is an inducement to those firms from whom he buys or those to whom he sells to develop the power with which they can defend themselves against exploitation. It means also that there is a reward to them, in the form of a share of the gains of their opponents' market power, if they are able to do so. In this way the existence of market power creates the incentive to the organization of another position of power that neutralizes it.

It is impossible in the space of a review to do justice to the evidence, such as the growth of the chain stores and mail-order houses, with which this con-

tention is buttressed. Nor can I do more than mention Professor Galbraith's analysis of the role of the government in this development, a rather erratic record, incidentally, thanks to failure to recognize the nature and function of countervailing power.

Nevertheless, history may support Professor Galbraith's belief that the judicious fostering of countervailing power has become one of the two major economic functions of the federal government. The other is the task of assuring stability at a high level of production, a problem succinctly discussed in the final chapters of this book. Professor Galbraith's conclusion is that, with the aid of Keynesian prescriptions, the dangers of deflation can be overcome. But he recognizes the difficulties of using Keynesian remedies, sound as they may be in theory, to combat inflation, which he sees as the most serious danger to American capitalism.

Conservatives and liberals alike will probably challenge many of the ideas in this book. The first will not relish the author's justification of labor's development of countervailing power and will violently dispute his thesis that the progressive income tax is a stabilizing device. Liberals, on the other hand, may consider that he is too complacent about the effectiveness of countervailing power as a brake on monopoly. But only the most bigoted of both persuasions should fail to admit that he has written a most stimulating book.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Quantity vs. Quality

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Text by Maurice Raynal. Translated by James Emmons. Skira, \$12.50.

DEGAS. Text by Daniel Catton Rich. Harry N. Abrams, \$10.

THESE two books offer an interesting contrast in quantity as against quality. The first attempts too much: a coverage of thirty painters from Goya to Gauguin in sixty-four color plates with running text. The text is inevitably chopped up into sections with ambitious titles but little development. Some seem interpolated like afterthoughts. The faults of this book are similar to those of the third volume of the same publishers' series on modern painting. The plates are often garish (Ingres' *Odalisque* and

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Slave looks like a chromolithograph), often misleading (the big Courbet at Smith College is blue-green instead of a pervasively sober limestone-gray), and sometimes shockingly bad (where are the springtime greens in Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, where the Delft blues and slate grays of the *Déjeuner dans l'atelier*?). The deep olive ground of the Fifer Boy is here bleached to a pale putty, and the top and bottom so badly chopped as to destroy the relation between the figure and its inclosing rectangle. Many of the plates are good, but the unsuspecting reader may be trapped into thinking the quality is consistently so.

It is a relief to turn from the vulgar color plate of Degas' *Café Concert aux Ambassadeurs* in the Skira volume (page 120) to that on page 73 in Rich's admirable study of Degas: here the subdued beauty of Degas' tonalities are properly echoed. On the whole the fifty color plates are acceptable, even good. The chief complaint must be that the dusty texture of pastel cannot be caught in the mirror surfaces of glossy paper.

While Rich's study is necessarily general, it takes the reader far into Degas' life and art. It penetrates the grim façade of the first to the veiled splendor of the second. It is a readable and gracious account, and it surpasses many books on Degas in following him into the later years, in the time of his failing eyesight, when he gradually developed a new pictorial language, decreasingly dependent on the precision of Ingres and the early Italian masters, and more and more sympathetic to the sonorities of Delacroix and the Venetians. The reader will find an honest critical guide in the director of the Chicago Art Institute, and he may be confident that he has seen and learned the best in Degas.

In the analysis of certain pictures I could wish for more attention to the "empty" shapes between solid objects. Degas projects the bird-like grace of some of the dancers and the swift torsion of one of the nude bathers as much by the shapes surrounding the figure as by the outlines of the figure itself. In his accent on elegance Degas often chose forms with very acute angles: hence the many umbrellas. But there are many invisible umbrellas in Degas to reward the persistent observer.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Mr. Jefferson

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume I: 1760-1776. Edited by Julian P. Boyd; Lyman H. Butterfield and Mina R. Bryan, Associate Editors. Princeton University Press. \$10.

JEFFERSON AND HIS TIME. Volume II: **JEFFERSON AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN.** By Dumas Malone. Little, Brown and Company. \$6.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: A BIOGRAPHY. By Nathan Schachner. Appleton-Century-Crofts. Two Volumes. \$12.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, it is said from time to time, still survives. That classic remark has sometimes been an expression of hope rather than a self-evident truth, but it has proved to be an enduring and dynamic hope. One might even venture to call it the American faith, for it was Jefferson who dreamed the American dream and formulated the American creed. He survives because, over and above his statesmanship and other achievements, his vision of an ideal United States has

made him the first and most telling critic of the reality. Ever since the Continental Congress cut from the Declaration of Independence his angry denunciation of black slavery, he has been a kind of national conscience. We might put him to additional uses—his significance is not to be comprehended in a few sentences—but so far we have made only a beginning.

Almost a generation ago, in the aspiring early years of the Wilson Administration, interest in Jefferson began to revive. Instead of flickering out, as such movements usually do, it has continued with increasing strength, and one may speak of it without exaggeration ■ ■ Jefferson renaissance. It is now approaching its first culmination with the publication of the "Papers of Thomas Jefferson" and of biographies more ambitious and inclusive than any since Henry S. Randall's of 1857. Randall's work was done in the great decade of American literature and is worthy of it, but it does not satisfy the needs of our time.

A biographer of Jefferson, like an actor called on to play Falstaff, knows

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in advance that more will be demanded of him by his audience than mortality can deliver. Until the life-span of a sedentary scholar is extended considerably, there will be no "definitive" biography: that is, one that undertakes to say everything worth saying, answer all questions, allay all controversies, and do it all in just the right way. Partial studies, disclaiming completeness or finality, are the rule and must remain so until the great enterprise in progress at Princeton is nearer its goal.

Within certain manageable limits Dumas Malone seems destined to approximate the ideal. "Jefferson and His Time" began handsomely in 1948 with a first volume subtitled "Jefferson the Virginian," and the second volume, "Jefferson and the Rights of Man," covering the years in Europe and the first three in Washington's Cabinet, is even better. The biography expands as it advances, despite various signs, already apparent in the previous instalment, that Professor Malone was having to compress his materials more than he had anticipated. Even so, the four volumes originally announced have proved insufficient; the completed work will extend to at least five.

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"Jefferson and His Time" is, generally speaking, a political biography, with other aspects of Jefferson's career subordinated though by no means neglected. Mr. Malone is well aware of them, and his understanding of Jefferson is deepened by his appreciation of their significance for the interpretation of Jefferson's ultimate purposes, which were not confined to the realm of politics.

Mr. Malone is equal to his theme at all points, but he is at his best where the progress is roughest and there is most need for his rigorous historical technique and delicate insight into the workings of Jefferson's mind. From the time when Jefferson entered on his duties as Secretary of State, he is enveloped in the smoke and fog of partisan controversy, through which students have groped uncertainly. Mr. Malone penetrates the smog as an infra-red ray. Since historical facts are hardly separable from the values attached to them, the acrimonious old debate will doubtless continue, but here is the clearest, most searching account of the matter yet written. Its continuation will be awaited eagerly.

My general observation about the state of Jefferson's biography should be remembered in judging Mr. Schachner's closely printed, well-filled volumes. His work has been in preparation over a period of twenty years—laborious years, it is quite evident—during which he has also produced able, rather controversial studies, on the whole the best so far published, of Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton. His masterpiece is also controversial, but the controversy should not obscure its merits.

With the possible exception of the ever useful Randall, who wrote while Jefferson's personal archive was still preserved intact, it is the most inclusive collection of information about every aspect and period of Jefferson's life that has ever been worked up into a biography. An astonishing amount of it has been collected from unprinted sources, the harvest of Mr. Schachner's independent, wide-ranging study of the basic materials for Jefferson's life. This feature alone would insure a long period of usefulness for this biography, which is highly readable and generally well documented.

Mr. Schachner has not contributed as much to our understanding of his subject. His admirable collection of infor-

mation about the man has been imperfectly transformed into knowledge of him. For the most part he writes, to put it succinctly, in the spirit of Montaigne. Although such an attitude has excellent biographical uses, it is not the best way of looking at Jefferson: some underestimation of his stature becomes inevitable. Even this attitude is not maintained steadily, for at times he lapses into harsh judgments and a willingness to believe the worst about Jefferson. These lapses, though unfortunate, are not characteristic of the biography as a whole; it clears Jefferson of many a long-standing and sometimes plausible charge. What one misses is that firm grasp of Jefferson's underlying character that would have warned his biographer when he was on treacherous ground.

"The Papers of Thomas Jefferson," publication of which began in May of 1950 and has proceeded at a steady pace, is the most elaborate and significant edition of an American writer ever undertaken, and it is the one most needed. The publisher states that "no previous edition has included more than 15 per cent of the total, and only about a fifth of the documents included in this edition have ever been published anywhere." If these unpublished documents—to locate them the five continents have been explored—were of interest only to a company of historians and their pupils, one could bridle one's enthusiasm. But Jefferson is, or should be, a precious part of our cultural heritage. Because of the occasional nature of his writings it is necessary to sift them all and, in Nietzsche's meaningful words, "to read him philologically" in order to understand the man and the nature and course of his thinking. Such sound work as has been done in Jeffersonian studies has been accomplished under heavy difficulties.

There are compensations in having had to wait so long for an authoritative edition. The art of the historical editor has attained a clear understanding of its function and has instruments for its use unavailable not so many years ago. Nor could such an edition, monumental in the best sense, be executed, or even planned, until an auspicious intellectual climate had formed. The old view of Jefferson as a statesman, law-giver, and party founder with an amusing string of foibles and recreations had to yield to a

more spacious conception of his significance. The new understanding of Jefferson finds its expression in Mr. Boyd's General View of the Work prefixed to Volume I, and that understanding pervades the entire work. Consummate editorial skill is united with sympathy with every least detail of Jefferson's thought and activities. The result could not be happier. Few writers have been so well presented to a world that needs them.

GEORGE GENZMER

Books in Brief

UNAMBO. A Novel of the War in Israel. By Max Brod. Translated by Ludwig Lewisohn. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3. The newest addition to the growing library of novels about Israel's war of independence was apparently written in the midst of the struggle by the Israeli man of letters who seems fated to be remembered primarily as Kafka's friend and literary executor. The stirring events are seen through the double vision of a sensitive film director who, by means of a supernatural gadget—Unambo—given him by the devil, leads simultaneously a positive existence fighting for the new state and a negative one consorting with black-marketeers and a shady movie actress. Despite an intriguing portrait of the actress and some good battle scenes, Mr. Brod's new novel is muddy, weakly constructed, and in the main unsuccessful as an analysis of the clash of good and evil at a critical point in recent history.

LONDON LADIES. TRUE TALES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Lucy Poate Stebbins. Columbia University Press. \$3. Brief lively sketches of six ladies, all except Jane Carlyle of the eighteenth century and all except the same lady among the not too well known. They include the amiable and talented Martha Ray who comforted the life of her lover, Lord Sandwich, until she was shot down on the street by a love-crazy divinity student; the beautiful but chilly Elizabeth Inchbald who came to London from a farm to scribble farces and translate the sensational plays of Kotzebue; and the tragic daughters of Mrs. Siddons, both loved by the painter Lawrence, whom the younger could never marry because of a death-bed promise extracted by the

elder. Mrs. Stebbins, best known for her previous book on the Trollope family, writes briskly and skims the cream of picturesque and dramatic incident from her wide reading. There is no attempt at great profundity, psychological or otherwise, but there is a good deal that is genuinely entertaining.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

THAT old saying about two planks and a passion is receiving its ultimate illustration during the present season. It seemed astonishing enough that the First Drama Quartet could fill a theater, but the Quartet's production was lavish compared with the "Readings from Dickens" which Emlyn Williams is offering—all by himself—at the Coronet Theater. Moreover, the whole thing has reached the proportions of a Trend. Cornelia Otis Skinner is scheduled to appear soon in a one-woman drama, and Mr. Laughton is to offer readings from assorted classics. Before long those two-character dramas which occasionally appear will seem positively cluttered, and some day we may have, by way of variety, that ultimate theater proposed by an enthusiast in one of George Kaufman's comedies: "No actors, no text, no audience; just scenery and critics." A good many people have expressed the fear that modern man was forgetting how to read. Perhaps he has already forgotten and perhaps he is developing a taste for being read to. And that suggests an idea for TV. Has anyone yet tried televising a printed page? With, perhaps, a voice dubbed in for those on whom the intricacies of type impose too much of a strain.

None of this is intended to minimize the fact that Mr. Williams's performance is a tour de force remarkably successful from every standpoint, including that of the audience, which, at the performance I attended, stayed behind to applaud until the performer made a curtain speech. Obviously this is no casual parlor stunt but a virtuoso demonstration very carefully worked out to provide great variety where little variety seemed possible and to employ all the resources of voice, facial expression, and

a fluid gesticulating which stops just short of acting properly so called. Mr. Williams appears, not as himself, but as Mr. Dickens, complete with whiskers, white gloves, and the geranium in his buttonhole. He advances with great dignity to the replica of that somewhat Rube Goldbergish reading desk which Dickens himself devised; he slowly removes his gloves, carefully selects a volume, and then suddenly plunges into a baroque presentation of the baroque characters and baroque language of his original.

In some curious way the fact that Mr. Williams is not reading Dickens but pretending to be Dickens reading Dickens is essential to his success. The device seems to constitute some kind of apology. It suggests that the whole thing is offered as a sort of period piece and that therefore an audience which might consider itself too sophisticated to attend a "reading" and, for that matter, too sophisticated to be either amused or

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touched by Dickens's old-fashioned humor and old-fashioned pathos may permit itself to enjoy the whole thing if it is allowed to regard it as quaint. But having thus saved its face, this same audience settles down to enjoy precisely what its grandfathers enjoyed somewhat more directly.

To call the performance a "reading" is inaccurate in at least two respects. In the first place, no page is presented straight through. These are "adaptations" which link bit to bit and which, despite the fact that the matter is by no means confined to dialogue passages, actually constitute set pieces. In the second place, Mr. Williams does not read, he recites. As a matter of fact, his method, far from being novel, is almost precisely that employed for a generation or two on the Chautauqua circuit and taught at various institutions, notably the Emerson School of Oratory in Boston. He varies his voice and his facial expression to fit the character or even the tone of a descriptive passage. He also interprets in gesture not merely the action of the speakers but even inanimate objects, as when, for example, describing the corpulent épergne on Mr. Podsnap's table, the one which, you may remember, was "blotched all over as if it had broken out in an eruption rather than been ornamented," he raises his joined hands over his head and imitates

for our horror this repulsive but costly object. Perhaps if he were interpreting any other author Mr. Williams would seem to be overdoing things a bit. But Dickens happens to be a writer whom it is almost impossible to overdo, and as an admirer of his works I can only say that Mr. Williams actually does succeed in making a Dickens passage produce precisely the effect which the writer of it intended.

Since the present performance seems assured of great success, certain vertiginous possibilities are suggested by the thought that some ambitious actor may some day be inspired to imitate Mr. Williams imitating Dickens. There are, moreover, even more disturbing possibilities. One-man shows might promise to solve the problem of the self-defeating costliness of normal theatrical production, but unfortunately there seem to be no solutions to the problems of our times. If whatever is expensive leads to bankruptcy, whatever is inexpensive leads to unemployment. No doubt Actors' Equity will awaken to the threat as the stage hands' union awoke to it long ago. I envisage in the not distant future a back-stage and a below-stage crowded by an orchestra of twenty pieces, a group of four or five featured players, and eight or ten ordinary actors, as well as by the now familiar complement of unnecessary stage hands. They

will all be stand-ins. Out front, before a simple drop "in one," a single working actor will be impersonating Mr. Williams, impersonating Dickens, impersonating Paul Dombey.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

FOR A while, at the beginning of the concert by the Budapest Quartet that I attended at the Y. M. H. A., I enjoyed the fine performance of a Haydn quartet in which Roisman's tone was clear and agreeable and effectively completed the sound for which Mischa Schneider's wonderful cello-playing provided the foundation. But as the concert proceeded with Mozart's Clarinet Quintet and Schubert's Quartet Opus 161 Roisman's tone was frequently coarse and scratchy, with damage to the joint performance. Clark Brody's playing of the clarinet part in the Mozart piece was admirably sensitive.

At a Carnegie Hall concert of the Boston Symphony I sat too close to the stage to be able to hear whether the blended sonority of the entire orchestra was what it used to be; but the continuing refinement of its execution and style was something I could perceive and delight in. Ansermet, usually the steadiest of musicians in Mozart, this time produced a performance of the G minor Symphony which had no continuity of pace or momentum. But after Bartok's Viola Concerto and Hindemith's "Nobilissima Visione," neither of which I found interesting, the concert ended with a brilliant performance of one of Stravinsky's most beautiful and fascinatingly contrived scores, "The Fairy's Kiss."

On the radio I have heard Cantelli conduct performances of Beethoven's Fifth with the New York Philharmonic, of Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet" and works by Vivaldi with the N. B. C. Symphony, in which every precisely modeled phrase has fallen into place in the beautifully shaped, continuous, and effective progression.

London's previously issued recording of Act 2 of "Die Meistersinger" (two LP records) has been completed with Act 1 (two records) and Act 3 (three records). This makes it the most ex-

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pensive version; but it is incomparably the best; and one can be satisfied to acquire Acts 2 and 3 which have most of the loveliest music. The superb Vienna State Opera cast includes Schöffler as Sachs, Edelmänn as Pogner, Dermota as David, Gueden as Eva, and Treptow—his voice as yet undamaged by the constriction in his singing—as Walther. The performance is reproduced with London's characteristic spatial depth, with the balance of singers and orchestra that Act 2 didn't have, and with clarity in the dense Wagnerian texture; and the spreading of the performance on seven records results in the sound remaining clean to the ends of the sides (distortion at these points is the thing to watch out for if, as is rumored, the completed performance is later put on six records). There are some defects: Knappertsbusch's tempos—often too slow, often uncohesive (most obviously in the Prelude); the dryness of the violins, the muffled sound of the brass in the Prelude to Act 3, the blanketing of Gueden by the other singers near the end of the quintet. But their sum is small in comparison with the excellences. The recording, finally, gives the entire work without any cuts; and the listener will be confused by the Metropolitan Opera cuts in the accompanying libretto.

Another of London's operatic hodgepodes, Vienna State Opera Concert, offers the fresh rich bass of Edelmänn again in Pizarro's *Ha, welch' ein Augenblick* from "Fidelio" and Falstaff's *Ehi; taverniere* from "Falstaff" (in German), together with excerpts from "Tannhäuser" and "The Barber of Bagdad." On the reverse side are the introduction to Act 2 and Florestan's aria from "Fidelio" with Patzak—his voice hard but his singing effective in the slow portion, the voice less agreeable and adequate in the fast portion; and excerpts from "The Tales of Hoffmann." The Vienna Philharmonic is conducted by Böhm and Moralt.

London also has issued the complete Bayreuth Festival "Parsifal" of 1951. This recording was made under the disadvantageous conditions of a public performance—disadvantageous above all for proper balance. The solo trumpet at the beginning of the Prelude is blanketed by the strings and woodwinds; the orchestra in the Good Fri-

day Spell is blanketed much of the time by the voices. I listened to only a few passages in addition to these—only as much as was necessary to be able to report that the cast includes two superb singers, George London and Ludwig Weber, as Amfortas and Gurnemanz, Hermann Uhde as an excellent Klingsor, Wolfgang Windwassen as a hard-voiced but adequate Parsifal, and Martha Mödl as a tremulously shrill Kundry who occasionally manages a clear climactic high note; that the woodwinds, and especially the flutes, are again shockingly poor and inadequate for the radiance which the score calls for them to produce; and that Knappertsbusch's tempos are again uncohesive and destructive of momentum in the flow of the music. I listened only to these few passages because I could not bring myself to listen to more and would not ask anyone else to do so. The philosophical pretensions, the verbal jargon, and the endless declamation of the "Ring" are hard enough to endure; but Wagner's dramatic theme in "Parsifal"—this sensualist's exaltation of chastity decked out in religious mumbo-jumbo—I find extremely repellent (I would expect a religious person to be outraged by it); and though the music includes pages as miraculous as the Good Friday Spell, most of it reveals an astonishing and boring enfeeblement of the powers of invention and development that are so prodigious in preceding works.

From Urania a complete recording of Smetana's engagingly melodious "The Bartered Bride," sung in German by Böhme (Kezal), Traute Richter, Sebastian Hauser, and other good singers with the chorus and orchestra of the Berlin Civic Opera under Hans Lenzer's direction. The brilliant overture is played with less than the speed and verve it calls for; but after that the performance is well-paced and effective. The singers sound too close to the microphone; but the balance of singers and orchestra is good. The German text in the libretto often doesn't correspond with what is sung.

Sayao's somewhat over-expansive performance of *Ahi fors è lui* and superb performance of *Sempre libera* from "La Traviata" of several years back have been issued on a Columbia LP, with a Villa-Lobos piece.

CONTRIBUTORS

VINCENT BROME is the author of "H. G. Wells, A Biography."

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GEORGE GENZMER is working on a critical biography of Thomas Jefferson.

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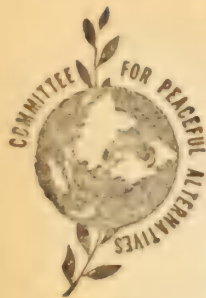
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Students' Petition to McGrath

Dear Sirs: Your readers may be interested to know that the Committee Against Violence in Florida at Central Michigan College has obtained from a student body of 1,600 approximately 559 signatures to a petition which was sent to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath on January 20 demanding that the Justice Department take action against the recent violence in Florida. The committee has also prepared a pamphlet entitled "Democracy as Practiced in Florida" which has been sent to the editors of 118 college newspapers in the Midwest.

The Nation deserves applause for its splendid exposé of the products of reaction in Florida and elsewhere.

THE COMMITTEE AGAINST

VIOLENCE IN FLORIDA,

Central Michigan College

Mount Pleasant, Mich.

Governor Stevenson's Record

Dear Sirs: The article by Len Schroeter in the February 9 issue of *The Nation* on racial violence in Cairo, Illinois, does not give an accurate account of the role of Governor Adlai Stevenson and the Illinois Commission on Human Relations.

It may be true, as Schroeter suggests, that the Governor did not reply directly to a telegram from Roy Wilkins, but he answered it by being closely and personally in touch with the brewing violence in Cairo. The director of the Illinois Commission on Human Relations, Russell Babcock, was in Cairo on January 26 and intermittently afterward. As a professional race-relations adviser with vast experience with racial violence, he was not foolish enough to tell anybody that—as Schroeter says—"there was nothing to worry about." Indeed, Schroeter, before making these serious charges against the Governor and Babcock, did not talk with either of these gentlemen.

The tragic fact is that the Cairo school board has been breaking the state law for years in maintaining segregated public schools and that after some Negro children enrolled in "white" schools in January, there was violence; and there

is still high tension in the community. For this, many are to blame, and probably no governor and no official commission can do enough. Yet two days after the bombing, four white persons were arrested, and the Governor and his commission have been doing a great deal to establish law and order—and justice—in Cairo. Thus in our judgment Schroeter is mistaken in asserting—whenever he wrote his article—that "more energetic action might have been looked for from the liberal Governor Adlai Stevenson."

Nobody is perfect, but we were tremendously impressed with the vigorous and courageous role of Governor Stevenson and the Illinois commission during and after the race riots in Cicero last summer. We have continued to be impressed with the role of the Governor and the Illinois State Employment Service in recently eliminating all discriminatory job orders. And in the handling of the Cairo tension and violence the Governor has not marred his enviable record.

WAITSTILL H. SHARP, Director,
Chicago Council Against Racial
and Religious Discrimination;
EDWARD MEYERDING, Executive
Secretary, Chicago Division,
American Civil Liberties Union;
FAITH RICH, Chairman, Education
Committee, Illinois State
Conference, N. A. A. C. P.;
HOMER JACK, Minister, Unitarian
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HERBERT K. WALTHER,
Chairman, Department of Education,
University of Denver

Denver, Colo.

Crossword Puzzle No. 453

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Ethel's Daddy from Mississippi? (6, 2, 6)
- 9 See 15 across.
- 10 An end for the one who repairs wires or tackle, perhaps. (7)
- 11 Look forward to an event (not necessarily blessed). (6)
- 12 Figures, perhaps, on being representative. (8)
- 14 Sixth most famous Madonna? (7)
- 15, 9, 5 down, 21 down. Implying the testament is invariably associated with means. (5, 6, 1, 4, 6, 1, 3)
- 17 One of these might be just dandy! (5)
- 19 Fresh, if official. (7)
- 21 Wet wash rather than dry cleaning. (8)
- 23 Famous gates where a truce talk is scarcely interrupted? (6)
- 25 NHHH. (7)
- 26 See 20 down. (7)
- 27 Shrubby, and long-lived; some might think they make a perfect picture. (6, 3, 5)

DOWN

- 1 Going after oil? 1 across is! (3-6)
- 2 A Greek ship set out from it. (7)
- 3 Setting up practice? (9)
- 4 Tentmaker for Bradley? (4)

5 See 15 across.

6 Something that can be held both ways. (5)

7 Is violence merely an inclination to take your time? (7)

8 Just look for it in a million lyrics! (4)

13 "A" might stand for Adam. (5, 2, 3)

15 If the wish comes true, I'll eat it! (9)

16 His business reputedly belongs to nobody. (9)

18 There isn't a single answer to this problem. (7)

20 Why some people went to 26 in '33? (3, 4)

21 See 15 across.

22 Continuous progress of a singer. (5)

24 Conduct a foot examination. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 453

ACROSS:—10 SHORTEN; 11 TO CELIA; 12 ORDINANCE; 13 MITES; 14 SUMMER; 16 SCHUYLER; 19 DISHONOR; 20 MISSES; 22 HUMID; 23 REHEARSAL; 25 VALIANT; 26 NOISOME; 27 INTERPOSINGLY.

DOWN:—3 OVOID; 4 ENTENTE CORDIALE; 5 OWNING; 6 PATIENCE; 8 EXCOMMUNICATION; 7 TALL TALKS; 9 ESPOUSED; 15 MUSKMELON; 17 RESULTED; 18 DOOR STOP; 21, 22, 1, 9 THINGS HAVE COME TO A PRETTY PASS; 24 SPOIL.

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SPARTACUS

The Strange Story of a Book

IN A PREVIOUS statement in *The Nation* I told the readers of this magazine something about why I and no commercial publisher brought out my new novel, *Spartacus*. I feel that it is of great importance now to detail something of the history of this book since its publication not so long ago. For the history of this venture becomes more than the story of just a book.

When I made the decision to publish this book myself late in October of 1951, I ordered a thousand copies to be printed, to be sold by subscription at \$5 apiece. While the manuscript was still being corrected, these thousand copies were sold, and I increased the first printing to 2500 copies. However, these books were so quickly subscribed to that while the book was still on press I ordered a second edition of 7500 copies.

I still had not plated the book, nor did I yet consider it in terms of mass publication. People who had no idea of the contents or the value of the book were ordering it and sending money in advance to pay for it. However, there were sufficient of these amazing orders for me to decide to make plates and to go to press with a third printing.

Plates were manufactured, and at the end of December I ordered a third printing of 5000 copies, bringing the total now printed to 15,000 copies. At the same time Liberty Book Club had ordered its own edition of 6500 copies, so I could say that 20,000 copies of the book were already in print. By January 15 the bulk of the 15,000 copies I had ordered for myself had been sold, and I ordered a fourth printing of 3600 copies.

By February 1st it became apparent that these 3600 copies would soon be exhausted, and at the time of this writing I am giving instructions for a fifth printing of 5000 copies. Thus only a few days after the official date of publication, there are 23,600 copies of *Spartacus* in print, not including the Liberty Book Club Edition.

The price of *Spartacus*, clothbound and in a dust wrapper, is \$2.50. Use the coupon below. Send check, money order or cash. If sending cash, 50¢ in stamps may be enclosed along with the bills.

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NATION

I do not wholly know how to account for the strange success of this book. But I realize that in publishing it I have had an experience unique to American writers, for over 4000 letters have been written to me concerning this book and my writing in general.

From these letters I came to understand that through my own life and struggle, books I write have symbolic importance in terms of the struggle for American culture and for the rich American traditions of freedom and democracy. Reading these 4000 letters has been one of the most moving experiences of my whole life. From them I learned enormously. I came close to people who read books and who know what they want in reading.

I had gentle and generous and warm and good advice from the very old, the very young, the worker, the professional, the housewife, the artist. I have nameless letters from people in government service, and heart-rending letters from young men in the armed services. I have letters from Negro people, from Jewish people, from Americans whose ancestors came over on the Mayflower, and from Americans whose ancestors came over in steerage a generation ago.

From these letters I have learned a tremendous lot, and I am profoundly grateful for them. I have quoted many of them, but now there are too many to quote from here, and I do not think that there is too much point in quoting.

Spartacus is a book which tells of struggle, of the fight for human dignity, and of the age-old and timeless resistance to tyranny which will some day liberate all of mankind. It is a book which people have not been afraid to buy. Storekeepers, who only a year ago were intimidated, are carrying this book on their shelves, and already more than two hundred public libraries have ordered it directly from me.

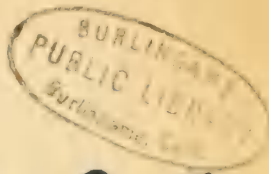
Now I want to use this book, if it is possible, to batter down some of the ramparts of ignorance, intolerance and censorship that have been erected in America over the past several years. I already have some indication that this book, which commercial publishers were afraid to publish, may be a unique best seller of our times. But that depends, in the last analysis, upon you.

I urge you to order *Spartacus*, to read it, to let me know what you think of it and how it can be distributed even more widely in a land where so much of the process of distribution is concentrated in the hands of a few.

I am not simply asking you to help me. I am asking you to help in a mutual struggle upon which so much depends.

Corporate Cupid—*Juanita Tanner*

THE *Nation*



March 1, 1952

The Fifth Freedom

Our Paper Curtain - - *Fowler Harper*

The Nazis Come In - *Milton Friedman*

Passport Procedures - - - - *A Report*

*

Needed—a Victor Hugo

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*

Lisbon: Peace or Provocation?

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Lawmakers on Television

Oklahoma City

TELEVISION has had a multitude of "firsts" as it has integrated itself into the life of the nation, but perhaps the most important was marked up by WKY-TV in Oklahoma City when it televised the proceedings of the Oklahoma legislature twice weekly during the whole past session. Considered an experiment by many, although not by station manager P. A. Sugg, who conceived the idea, the program was so successful that it will undoubtedly be continued, and perhaps expanded, in the future.

The first of these telecasts was made on January 2, 1951, when the outgoing governor, Roy J. Turner, addressed the opening session. The cameras were on hand again to cover incoming Governor Johnston Murray's address a week later. The following week the lawmakers granted the station permission to begin its twice-weekly telecasts.

Several of the legislators objected to having their actions exposed to the candid eye of the TV camera. "It's the silliest thing I ever heard of," one said. "We have some ham actors in both houses," he went on, "and if one man gets up and makes a fool of himself, the people back home will think we're all that way." Another complained, "The press and radio are continually harassing us every time we open our mouths. I don't see why we should let television do it too."

The state's newspapers were jokingly pessimistic. The *Shawnee News-Star* said that house members would have to decide among themselves who were to be the heroes and who the villains of the show and make their roles clear—"the public doesn't like to be puzzled." J. Leland Gourley, publisher of the *Henryetta Daily Free-Lance*, declared: "All may go well at first, but just wait until the lawmakers start getting their fan mail and their constituents tell them what a bunch of jackasses they are."

Actually the conduct of the legislators before the cameras was exemplary. Television even accomplished, on its first day, what the lieutenant governor had

been unable to do for sixteen years. Senators marched into the house in a body for the house-senate joint session. The reaction of the public soon dispelled the fears of those who had worried that television might give a false view of them. It was seen that there could be no bias or political prejudice in the report of a session by direct telecast.

Television, of course, cannot follow all the work of the legislature, for much is done in committee meetings, and some sessions last all day. The WKY-TV telecasts were scheduled from 2 to 3 p. m. each Tuesday and Thursday. House and senate leaders tried to discuss the bills of greatest public interest during those hours, but the audience still caught only a brief glimpse of what the legislature was doing.

One of the most valuable results was the stimulation of public interest in government. As all journalists know, people are always eager to read about something they have seen happen. "When WKY-TV started its telecasts of the legislature we had a great increase in calls about the bills they were debating," reported Ralph Sewell, city editor of the *Daily Oklahoman*. "Viewers who had been watching the debate on a bill would call up to find out what had finally been done about it." Television also helped clarify some of the parliamentary procedures that we had been trying to explain for years—such as the difference between the 'committee of the whole house' and the house itself."

WKY-TV's news bureau chief, Ewing Canaday, handled the commentary for the telecasts and interrupted the continuity only to identify a speaker or explain a complicated parliamentary procedure. He usually had the clerk of the house on hand to help him do this.

Preparing for the one-hour telecast required about six hours' work by three or four engineers. WKY-TV has a special mobile unit for remote telecasts, but after it was parked outside the Capitol building, engineers had to carry in hundreds of pounds of equipment—cameras, tripods, and cables—and set it up in the house galleries. The microwave relay parabola also had to be

lined up with a relay station on top of a downtown skyscraper, from which the signal could be sent to the transmitter building north of the city. Technical direction was handled from the control room in the mobile unit.

Skepticism about the legislative telecasts among the legislators changed to wholehearted approval in a short time. Representative Kessler of Oklahoma City said he only wished it were possible to have a camera and microphone in every committee room so that no secrets could be kept from the public. Another member of the house called the program a great step toward bringing the people and the legislature closer together, "and that, of course, makes for better government." He recalled how difficult it used to be, in the days of bad roads and poor communications, for the people to keep in touch with their representatives. "About all they could do was elect a man, send him to the legislature, and hope he would do the right thing. Instead, most of them did as they pleased."

During the past session one member, when asked if he would yield the floor, answered, "No, I'm not going to yield. I've got five minutes on television and I'm going to use it."

RAY SCALES

RAY SCALES is a member of the staff of Station W

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On his re
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An attempt to answer some of the questions posed so insistently by the recent succession of airplane disasters. Mr. Engel writes on scientific matters for *The Nation* and other magazines.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

FINAL RESULTS OF INDIA'S FIRST GENERAL election since attaining independence are still to come, but one thing is clear: a bold democratic experiment has been triumphantly vindicated. Universal suffrage, introduced by the new constitution, raised the electorate from 30 to 176 million men and women, 85 per cent of them illiterate. Yet the polling was carried out with complete order, and there have been very few reports of fraud or corruption. Moreover, the right to vote was exercised by more than 50 per cent of those eligible—a greater proportion than in our own last Presidential election. As anticipated, the Congress Party, headed by Prime Minister Nehru, won a large majority. In the central Parliament, or House of the People, it will have about two-thirds of the seats, and it will control most of the state assemblies. The chief surprise was the concentrated strength shown by the Communists and their allies in certain districts, particularly in the south of India. They will apparently form the second-largest party in Parliament, and if they can obtain the support of a few independents, should be able to organize governments in two important states—Madras and Travancore-Cochin. Both of these mainly rural states are exceptionally poverty-stricken, and the Communists successfully exploited the long-smoldering discontent of millions of peasants owning little or no land. On the other hand, the Communists made no headway in industrial areas like Bombay, where they might have been expected to do well. Their victories, therefore, are a warning to the Nehru government to tackle land problems more vigorously. It should be the better able to do so, and to meet this new challenge from the left, since the extreme right-wing, orthodox Hindu groups were heavily defeated.

★

ON MAY 15, 1941, ACCORDING TO TESTIMONY developed at the Nürnberg war-crimes trials, a Luftwaffe physician wrote to his friend Himmler asking for "two or three professional criminals" to be used as guinea pigs for medical research. The physician got his two or three; in a matter of days the number grew into two or three hundred; in a matter of months, into thousands and tens of thousands—all drawn from Himmler's inexhaustible store of concentration-camp humanity. Thus was ushered in one of the most fiendish chapters of Nazi

history. The great tradition of German science degenerated into senseless butchery in the hands of Nazi "researchers." The Roentgen ray became a weapon for mass sterilization; the discoveries of Koch were harnessed, not to the cure of disease, but to its propagation. The researchers froze their victims, cooked them, crushed them in vacuum cabinets, inoculated them with diseases known and unknown. Reports on the experiments were submitted regularly to German army and S. S. medical leaders, including General Walter P. Schreiber, commander of the German Military Medical Academy, who on several occasions himself assigned doctors to this kind of experimental work. Today Dr. Schreiber, brought to the United States by the army, is teaching at the Air Force School of Aviation Medicine at Randolph Field, Texas. A group of Boston physicians, their consciences outraged, are demanding his prompt expulsion and an investigation of his admission to this country. The *Boston Globe* and other newspapers and individuals have taken up the fight. It is inconceivable that any American should want to stay out of it.

★

THE LARGEST WHITE-COLLAR STRIKE IN history ended last week when 15,000 members of the Insurance Agents International Union (A. F. of L.) voted by a narrow margin to accept a compromise settlement offered by the Prudential Life Insurance Company. The workers had asked for a \$20 increase in their weekly minimum wage. What they got was an average increase of \$5.36—not in their minimum wage, but in commissions and expenses—plus a per capita lump payment of \$150. Moreover, the increase was provided for in a two-year contract which is not subject to wage review. This was the best that could be offered, apparently, by a company which had spent \$5,000,000 in advertising to fight the strike and which in the course of the dispute was able to lend the International Business Machine Company \$115,000,000. The workers did win compulsory arbitration of grievances, pension-plan concessions, and under certain circumstances the right to work week-ends on other jobs. But they lost their demand for a union shop. "Our most significant gain," said a strike leader, "was the fact that we now have a union recognized by the company as well as the workers." It is apparently a tough union, too; the rank-and-file vote to return to work ran only three to two after a

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strike that lasted eighty-one days. The Prudential strikers have shown that the white-collar worker will not forever remain the orphans of the trade-union movement.

★

WHOLESALE ARRESTS IN ARGENTINA ARE being justified by stories of conspiracies and assassination plots directed against President Perón and his wife, Evita. A more probable explanation is that Perón, unable to arrest the inflationary crisis produced by his economic policies, is seeking to prevent in advance the organization of an effective opposition to take advantage of growing discontent. Since 1949, when the government announced that wage-price relationships had been stabilized, prices have risen at least 80 per cent. For a time real wages kept pace with this increase, but in recent months they have been declining and they seem destined to drop still more since Perón is being forced to reverse his agricultural policies and pay farmers higher prices in an effort to check the steady fall in production of wheat and meat. Hitherto the Institute for Promotion of Foreign Trade has bought these and other commodities for much less than the prices at which it sold them to foreign markets. The profits accumulated in this fashion have been used to stimulate industrial production and finance grandiose public works. Thus the urban workers, organized in Perón's trade unions, have been kept happy. Farmers, however, have cut back production, while in the past two years output has been further reduced by severe drought. As a result exports have declined sharply and Argentina's trade deficit has attained record proportions. Now Perón, in an attempt to save the situation, is calling for austerity, to be signalized by two meatless days a week, and has promised the farmers a 33 per cent increase in prices. But if he is to check further inflation, he will have to clamp down on the expansion of urban investments, which will cause unemployment, and limit new wage increases. Evidently, under these circumstances, he is not sure how far he can rely on the loyalty of the "shirtless ones" who have been the mainstay of his regime.

★

THE AMERICAN ISOLATIONIST IS A QUEER political animal. He is not really opposed to war; he merely wants others to do his fighting for him. Like the late Henry Ford, the isolationist says, "Let's you and him have a fight." Consider, for example, recent remarks by Senator Taft about American policy in the Far East. He would arm and equip not only the Nationalist Chinese on Formosa but also the anti-Communist forces in Burma, Thailand, and other Asian countries. But under no circumstances—that is, "unless we were absolutely sure of winning"—would the Senator favor sending American forces to the areas where American-equipped Asians are fighting the good fight against Com-

munists. Asked if American forces should be sent to areas where it was clear the "anti-Communist" forces could not hold out alone, the Senator replied: "No, they would just have to fall." Asians, both Communist and anti-Communist, will surely take note of this cynical remark.

★

A WELCOME SIGN OF GROWING MATURITY in the political arm of American labor was seen early this year when the C. I. O.'s Committee to Abolish Discrimination and the United Automobile Workers' Fair Practices and Discrimination Department participated in hearings before Secretary of the Interior Chapman on the proposed regulations governing contract relations between Indians and their attorneys. Apparently labor has finally recognized the political importance of alliances with "have-not" groups. So far as the memory of living Westerners extends, this is the first time organized labor has taken a stand on behalf of American Indians. Behind this departure is the significant fact that Indians, formerly denied the franchise, are now voting in several Western states, and that their vote could represent the margin of victory in a close election. Incidentally, the Indians and their allies, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Jewish Committee, the American Bar Association, and the unions, won a sweeping victory, convincing Mr. Chapman that the proposed regulations should be withdrawn.

Lisbon: Peace or Provocation?

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

AFTER so much initial pessimism it was natural that the decisions at Lisbon should have been greeted in the American press with almost breathless enthusiasm. On paper at least, a step of revolutionary significance was taken in the handsome Parliament building which ordinarily serves such narrow and formal uses. The unborn European defense community with its still more embryonic six-nation army was unanimously endorsed by the fledgling North Atlantic Council against political odds which had recently seemed too great to be overcome. How great were these odds is made evident by Alexander Werth in his story this week of France's agonized retreat on the issue of rearming Germany. The result at Lisbon was an American victory, and the general in command was Secretary Acheson. Whatever sort of history was made there, the chief credit or blame will be his.

But Lisbon is a small paragraph in a long tale, most of it still untold. The next chapters will open in the far more real parliament halls of the Allied powers, and at Bonn, where the neatly dovetailed plans must be ratified

if they are to be anything but votes recorded on paper. That ratification will mean an even tougher fight than the pre-Lisbon debate reported by Mr. Werth, is indicated in the prompt defiant statements issued by the chief non-government parties in France, both left and right. In Germany a different but almost equally bitter struggle is promised; its next rounds will take place in the negotiations over the new "contractual relations" between Bonn and the chief Western Allies. And beyond ratification, if it is won, lie the monumental problems of financing and bringing into physical and political being the European-NATO defense system. Viewed in the context of Europe's economic crisis and the profound instability it has bred, the prospect is one which should provide sober second thoughts to the most exuberant editorial page. The fact is, everything but the decisions remain to be accomplished, and the real obstacle to accomplishment is the feeling, first, that the danger of Soviet attack is not great enough to warrant the fantastic effort and sacrifice demanded by the American program and, second, that it may be increased rather than exorcised by the creation of an armed alliance stretching from Turkey to Norway—including the Germans.

This feeling, voiced in the French Assembly even by Jules Moch, the bitterly anti-Communist former Defense Minister, can hardly have been diminished by the analysis of Russia's aims and intentions which the North Atlantic Council deputies submitted to the NATO Foreign Ministers at a "highly restricted" session at Lisbon. Summarized in the *New York Times* by C. L. Sulzberger, the unpublished report presented a picture of intensified cold-war activities on the part of Russia, ranging from efforts to "prevent harmony in ideas between Western Europe and the United States" and neutralize and unify Germany, to an attempt "to extend Communist influence over India," reinforce Soviet bonds with Communist China, neutralize Japan, "foment tension in Southeast Asia," sap Western influence in the Middle East, and "encourage anti-imperialist moves in such areas as Egypt and Morocco." The significance of the analysis, described by Mr. Sulzberger as "exceptionally important," is obviously not in its familiar ingredients but in the fact that it was prepared as a basis for determination of policy by the Western alliance. As such, it is truly an astonishing document, for it offers no hint that Moscow plans to carry out its purposes by military means—not even in Asia. While the report declares that Russia's policy is, in Mr. Sulzberger's words, "revolutionary, expansionist," and aimed at establishing a "world Communist system under Moscow's domination," it also insists that Moscow wishes "at all costs to avoid 'excessive risk' to the Soviet Union itself." As a result Soviet policy "is always sensitive to the real or imagined fears of encirclement and preoccupied with the

security of the highways leading to the Eurasian land mass." The document also ascribed to Moscow "the desire not only to prevent the rebirth of Europe's economic development but then, afterward, to push Communist governments to power in that area." While the report sees no likelihood that the Soviet Union intends to withdraw from Germany to support its unification propaganda, it considers as certain Moscow's refusal to permit a "rearmed and unified" Germany to associate with the West.

One could not read Mr. Sulzberger's outline of this "exceptionally important analysis" without wondering what earthly relevance it had to the revolutionary scheme of an integrated, armed "free" world agreed upon in unfree Portugal. Rather it was an argument for moderation in military planning, a warning against the creation of a German army, a clear call for positive, democratic solutions in Asia and the Middle East. It made a case for diplomacy rather than force alone; for an effort to dispel compulsive fears and suspicions, rather than match and top them. In fact, the NATO deputies produced a document which could be better used by an opposition party in the French Assembly than by M. Schuman.

The same copy of the *Times* reported the collapse of the Mexican-United States talks on military aid. The headline blamed "red pressure," but Mexico's resistance to any agreement which commits it to "the defense of democracy" throughout the world needs no nudge from Moscow. Next day Indonesia's Cabinet fell on the same issue; some eight nations are balking at the conditions imposed by the Mutual Security Act. Even more pertinent perhaps is the challenge to military commitments abroad contained in the Berry resolution adopted last week by Congress and on the foreign policy debate in the House of Commons. From one side of the world to the other men and governments question the validity of American insistence that arms come first and all else, even food and shelter and independence, comes only after Russia and its "revolutionary, expansionist" purposes have been contained. There is the further suspicion, spread not by Moscow agents but by men in our own Administration, in Congress, and in the armed services, that containment means the active instigation and support of counter-revolution, that no matter how much we talk of "defense" and "peace" we plan the ultimate rolling-back of Soviet power. To such a program few nations will voluntarily commit themselves, the less if they feel themselves directly in the way of that power.

An interesting if unintended commentary on the pre-conceptions of American policy was made by John Foster Dulles on the very day the Lisbon agreement was announced. Demanding a revival of "dynamism" in our international relations, Mr. Dulles said that Soviet

communism "represents today the active, dynamic element, and the free world represents the static, passive element." Although he may fully approve of an armed Europe and surely disapproves of Moscow, the State Department's Republican adviser declared that communism had won its victories primarily through social ideas and that almost no part of its expansion had been due to the old-fashioned method of open military aggression. Pointing to our vast expenditures on arms and for loans and grants to other countries, Mr. Dulles emphasized the urgency of "non-material" methods. "Today," he said, "a revolutionary spirit grips over half the human race. There are passions that cannot be allayed by oil royalties or suppressed by foreign guns." The statesmen assembled at Lisbon drew up a plan that makes sense only if Russian "dynamism" is harnessed to a policy of old-fashioned, open military aggression. On any other assumption it is a self-defeating monstrosity, for it stands squarely in opposition to those social and political changes which, if Moscow's purposes are being accomplished chiefly by ideas rather than war, alone could check the expansive force of communism and counter its revolutionary appeal.

Needed—a Victor Hugo

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN THE present state of the world—with former fascists and collaborators regaining power and anti-fascists persecuted or pushed aside—no literary figure of the past century has a more pertinent message for us than the great Victor Hugo. It is appropriate, therefore, to celebrate the centenary of his exile, which was an event of primary importance for France and all Western Europe, and to listen again to his formidable voice, denouncing not only the tyrant but even more the cowards who always find some pretext for giving up the struggle. His love of liberty and hatred of oppression are an inextinguishable flame.

Victor Hugo was above all one of those embodiments of the French spirit in whom thought and action are one. He was not satisfied simply to "agree in principle" with the people's aspirations and express his resistance to arbitrary power in disillusioned and impotent verse. He denied that a poet could excuse his retirement to an ivory tower in the face of injustice by claiming to be too sensitive to enter the political arena or too sophisticated to agitate for a cause. "If in our epoch of social and revolutionary change," he wrote a century ago, "an author feels that he is required to defend the people's rights, he must accept the requirement, unless he would betray the people, as an order to perpetual combat." But for Hugo there was an even lower category of intellectuals than the ones

who withdrew from the struggle—those who fought on the wrong side, absolving themselves on the ground of "defending their country" or pretending that their "first duty was to prevent anarchy." Change "anarchy" to "communism," and his words are beautifully applicable today.

Goethe believed that a poet should turn his back on the turbulence and pressures of contemporary life and construct a private Olympus, where his sensibility would be protected from the clamor of the masses. Hugo, like Voltaire and Rousseau and the more enlightened leaders of the French Revolution, threw his whole being into the great battle of the age. His political development was extremely significant. He came from a conservative family, his father having been a general under Napoleon, and in 1818 the young Hugo was a royalist. In 1824 he called himself a royalist-liberal, in 1827 a liberal, in 1828 a liberal-socialist, in 1830 a liberal-socialist-democrat, in 1849 a liberal-socialist-democrat-republican.

It was in this last year that he became the poet *par excellence* of the struggle for liberty; Péguy called him later a pagan prophet. His anger at the intervention of French troops against the Roman Republic in aid of the Pope completed his ideological progress from conservatism to extreme radicalism. After that he joined the left leaders, Alexandre Ledru-Rollin and Jules Favre, in defending the republic in fiery speeches. When actual fighting broke out, he abandoned the usual weapons of a writer of his rank—the platform and the press—and helped man the barricades across the Paris boulevards, where the people challenged the government's armed forces.

He was a statesman; underlying his virulent imprecations against tyranny were the constructive ideas of a man eminently qualified to rule. He used his pen with a unique mixture of aggressiveness and charm against the Emperor and the intellectuals who would see liberty betrayed rather than risk their careers. When he referred to Napoleon the Little, in contrast to Napoleon the Great, he used the phrase to castigate all the moral pettiness of the regime. If someone reminded him of what he owed to France, he replied that he placed devotion to justice and to the common man above conventional love of country. In his poetry was coined the language of the people's tribunal. He was at the same time prosecutor and judge. He brought the accusation and passed sentence. He disregarded a public opinion "artificially created by using the money of the rich to distort the truth." "That is not the voice of the people," he said; "that is the voice of lackeys."

While he became more and more radical as time went on, his early writings expressed a sense of humanity which made his evolution entirely logical. His dramas, especially "Cromwell," which denounces the greed for

power of the English revolutionary leader, and "Ruy Blas," in which a commoner dares to oppose the nobility, and his powerful novel, "Les Misérables," still read with emotion by European workers, are clearly the precursors of the new theater and the new social novel. "Les Misérables" was admired by both Tolstoy and Dostoevsky and strongly influenced Russian literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

But it was as exile that Victor Hugo attained his full grandeur. When he crossed the Belgian border dressed as a workman, his disguise symbolized his identification with the proletariat. He had the worker's determination never to give up, no matter what temporary defeats he might suffer. His exile did not lessen his ardor. It only made him a stronger, more resolute fighter and heightened the splendor of his burning lyrics. His finest poems were composed in exile. When his companions fell prey to dejection and fatigue, they could always be roused by his words. In one of his poems he said: "If we are a thousand—magnificent; if we are five hundred, here we are; if we are only a hundred, that hundred will fight; and if I alone remain, I will keep the banner of liberty flying." He rebuked the pessimists who despaired because for the moment the French people were so apathetic: "You may think the French are dead. But that is not so. A people needs a long time to digest a revolution. A people which has devoured a monarchy is like a boa which has swallowed a tiger. It sleeps, but beware! It sleeps, but it will wake." Attacking the stupidities of clerical reaction, he wrote: "Does anyone believe that the instinct of liberty, the Europe of Luther, the France of Voltaire, can be destroyed by the blows of a cross? What idiocy!"

With his keen political sense he understood that he must wage war simultaneously on the monarchy and the papacy. Bonapartism and clericalism were two aspects of the same despotism, and if for Bonapartism one reads fascism and if one perceives the parallel between the support given to Napoleon the Little by the Catholic church and the support now given by that same church to reaction everywhere, Victor Hugo's glorious exile seems an episode of our own time.

The stage is set again for Victor Hugo. In "Histoire d'un Crime," which he wrote during his exile, he described the betrayal of the French people. Today he could tell the story of the crime committed against the spirit of the Liberation, which aroused such great hopes at the close of World War II. His irreverent and incisive pen would find abundant material in a period like the present, when reaction, recovered from its defeat in 1945, is again gaining ascendancy over the confused and divided progressive forces. Victor Hugo would not abandon the struggle. As in 1852, he would rally the people to new efforts.

The Fifth Freedom

Last year President Truman, speaking to the American press but addressing President Nikolai M. Shvernik of the U. S. S. R., urged the Kremlin to permit freedom of travel. But it is not the Kremlin which has arbitrarily barred hundreds of distinguished foreigners from our shores in the last few years. Nor is it the Kremlin which, by administrative decree, is preventing hundreds of Americans, distinguished and ordinary, from traveling abroad. In truth, the marvel is not that President Truman's excellent advice has not been heeded by the Kremlin; the marvel is that it has gone unheeded by our State Department and Congress.

Freedom to travel is by no means an exclusively American concept. But it is one especially cherished by us. It was at American insistence that Paragraph

2 of Article 3 was included in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, *including his own*, and to return to that country." For a variation of the principle, known as the freedom of the seas, we have fought long and bitter wars. And having defended it successfully against Barbary pirates, British men of war, and German U-boats, it seems inconceivable that we should now be losing it to Washington bureaucrats moving in obedience to arbitrary rulings and legislation born of cold-war hysteria.

In the three articles below *The Nation* presents a broad review of several aspects of this threat to the "fifth freedom," together with a program designed—in part at least—to remove it.

OUR PAPER CURTAIN

BY FOWLER HARPER

SOMEWHERE in the neighborhood of a quarter-million American citizens apply each year for passports to travel in foreign countries. A much smaller but nevertheless substantial number of foreigners apply for American visas to come here. All sorts of people travel abroad for all sorts of reasons. Business men, artists, scientists, students, scholars, writers, foreign correspondents, and invalids travel in the pursuit of their business, their profession, or their health; still others merely in the pursuit of happiness.

But a foreigner can pursue none of these things in the United States, nor an American abroad, without the consent of the State Department. Last spring Dr. Ernest B. Chain, a British chemist, a Nobel prize-winner and co-discoverer of penicillin, was denied a visa to come to this country on business of the World Health Organization, of whose antibiotics committee he is chairman. In the late fall he was again denied a visa when he wanted to attend a dinner in New York in honor of the seventy-seventh birthday of the President of Israel.

In 1947 Dr. Martin Kamen, professor of biochemistry and radiation physics at Washington University, St. Louis, and a distinguished scientist, was denied a passport to go to Israel, where he had been invited by the Weizmann Institute of Science to deliver a series of lectures. In 1948 Dr. Kamen was denied a passport to attend a scientific conference in Paris on isotopic

exchange and molecular physics, sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation. In the same year inability to get a passport prevented him from accepting an invitation from the Australian government to be a visiting professor at the national university at Canberra. In 1950 he was, for a fourth time, denied a passport, on this occasion to attend a scientific symposium in England.

It seems pretty clear that the professional work of these two scientists has been seriously interrupted and their careers interfered with. What is more important, perhaps, the progress of science, which knows no political or geographical boundaries, has been retarded. In the case of Dr. Kamen, the usual reason was given by the Passport Division—that his travel abroad would not be "in the best interests of the United States." In the case of Dr. Chain, no reason at all was given. Presumably, however, he was refused entry because the State Department did not think his visit here was in the best interest of the nation. These, of course, are not isolated cases. Corliss Lamont, scholar and writer, was recently denied a passport to travel in Italy and France in connection with his work. In 1948 Representative Leo Isaacson, a member of a political party headed by an ex-Vice-President of the United States, was not allowed to attend an international conference in Paris as an observer for the American Council for Aid to Democratic Greece, although passports were granted to several members of the Council. In 1950 Paul Robeson, singer and lecturer, was prevented from fulfilling engagements abroad by revocation of his passport.

On September 10, 1951, the International Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry opened its meeting in New York, but a dozen of the world's leading chemists,

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several of them official delegates, were not present. They had been denied visas. Among them were five scientists scheduled to deliver important papers. One was Professor L. Ruzicka, a Swiss chemist, a Nobel prize-winner, and one of the distinguished scientists awarded an honorary degree at the Harvard Tercentenary Celebration in 1936. Another was Mlle Marguerite Perey, discoverer of chemical element 87, called Francium. Ironically, President Truman, a few days before, in a message to the American Chemical Society on the occasion of its Diamond Jubilee, had written: "It is a striking tribute to our democracy that so great a number of scientists can assemble here free from suspicion of one another, and free from fear of outside interference. This kind of personal freedom is our most precious national asset." It is too bad that the President's speech writer does not always know what the chief of the Passport Division is doing.

Chemistry is not the only science that is suffering from the current dearth of American visas. According to the *New York Post*, scientists of international reputation have been barred from attending recent sessions of nuclear physicists and geneticists. The *Post*, moreover, reported that the American Psychological Association, which planned in 1954 to play host here to the International Congress of Psychology, will transfer the sessions elsewhere unless "the McCarran act is changed in such a way as not to embarrass our guests."

THE Internal Security (McCarran) Act prohibits the issuance of a visa of any kind to anyone who is or ever has been a member of certain described organizations, which of course include the Communist Party and the Nazi Party. The law as to passports is not so clean-cut. The McCarran act forbids the issuance of passports to and their use by persons who are members of "Communist-action" or "Communist-front" organizations after they have registered as such or have been ordered to register by the Subversive Activities Board, as provided in the act. But to date no organization has registered or been ordered to register by the board, and when such an order is issued, the case will go all the way through the courts. It is clear that the State Department, in denying passports to Dr. Kamen and hundreds of other American citizens, has not acted under the McCarran act.

What, then, is the source of the Passport Division's authority to deny American citizens the right to leave the country? The "authority," if such it be, is pretty slim. An act of Congress originally passed in 1866 merely provides that the Secretary of State may issue passports under rules and regulations made by the President. The Secretary, through the Passport Division, handles these matters under an Executive Order from the President which empowers him to deny passports or restrict their scope and use in accordance with the "best interests" of the United States. The department has interpreted

this order as vesting in the Secretary of State unrestricted discretion, subject to the review of no court in the land, to say who may and who may not travel abroad. In practice, this means that the Passport Division has that power—except in the rare instance when, owing to the political pull of the applicant or other reason, a higher official overrules it.

On some occasions—when the applicant has been convicted of crime or when a traveler abroad engages in criminal or highly immoral activities—the division will assign specific reasons for refusing or canceling a passport. But if the grounds are political, the applicant is merely advised that his exit from the country is deemed not in the "best interests" of the United States.

People who want to leave the country are advised by the department that "any applicant who has been refused a passport may request further consideration of his case and may present any additional evidence or information which he may wish to have considered." This sounds fair enough so far as it goes. But it does not go very far. When an applicant is merely told that his attendance at a scientific meeting in Paris or acceptance of a visiting professorship in Sweden is not in the "best interests" of the United States, what "additional evidence or information" can he submit which would have a bearing on whatever reason may be in the Passport Division's individual or collective



Senator McCarran

mind? There are many disappointed applicants to testify that if they try to pry into the matter, they get the run-around. Thus all they can do is guess.

Dr. Kamen guessed it was because he had been accused of releasing classified information concerning the Manhattan Project, on which he worked during the war. He had denied this vigorously. The Un-American Activities Committee found that he had, in fact, made some such disclosure but also found that he had done so innocently. In any event, his present scientific interests have nothing to do with atomic research, and the Atomic Energy Commission advised the State Department that it saw no objection to his going abroad. But the Passport Division did.

An applicant for a visa is, if possible, even more in the dark about the reason for refusal. He is told nothing except that he cannot get the visa. Dr. Chain guesses

that since he has never engaged in any political activity at all, it is because he went to Czechoslovakia for the World Health Organization to restore a penicillin plant. It is surmised that Professor Ruzicka was considered a threat to the security of the United States because he had failed to resign from an academy of science in one of the Iron Curtain countries to which he had been elected before the curtain was dropped. And Mlle Perey is thought to have been excluded because she had invited Mme Marie Curie to the dedication of her research laboratory some ten or a dozen years ago.

The unsuccessful applicant for a visa gets no semblance of a hearing. All he can do is try to pull wires if he is lucky enough to know somebody who knows somebody. In the case of the citizen who is denied a passport, it is pretty clear that such hearing as he gets is not worth much. He finds himself in the intolerable position of having to convince somebody that it is in the "best interests" of the country for him to leave it when an adverse decision has already been made for reasons he is not told. It is little wonder that the Passport Division seldom changes its mind once the exit permit has been refused.

Bad as it is, the McCarran act is much fairer in this respect. Members of subversive organizations are forbidden to use passports. But before an organization is proscribed, it has a full hearing before the Subversive Activities Board, with an opportunity to cross-examine adverse witnesses and the power to subpoena favorable ones. Thereafter the organization is entitled to full judicial review. The assumption that Congress, in authorizing the President to issue passports, intended to vest in him unbridled discretion to deny them without a hearing is hardly consistent with the elaborate safeguards provided by the Internal Security Act.

Before World War I anybody could leave the country and travel almost any place without a passport. Most countries now refuse to grant a visa for entry unless the applicant holds one, and so long as the national emergency continues, it is a criminal offense for a citizen to leave the United States without a passport. Thus, one of the great liberties recognized and protected by the common law, freedom to go where one wants as long as one does not interfere with the person or property of somebody else, is arbitrarily restricted by a procedure that has none of the safeguards usually associated with due process of law.

Nor is it an answer to say that it is a "privilege" and not a "right" to leave the country. When the applicant's profession or business depends in large measure on his chance for foreign travel, something more than a privilege is involved. To be sure, all or at least most legal rights are qualified. They may be restricted when the public good so requires. And no one will deny that the national security is a public good of the highest

order. But in finding that a Corliss Lamont or a Paul Robeson would be more of a threat outside than inside the country, the government must act with a modicum of respect for the decencies of legal procedure which have prevailed since Magna Charta. And while a foreigner has no right to visit us without our permission, arbitrary discrimination without explanation does not foster that good-will in other countries which we so sorely need today. We can hardly expect the French or the Mexicans to take seriously the notion that a transit visa for the rector of the University of Paris to fly from LaGuardia Field to Mexico City to attend the four-hundredth anniversary of the University of Mexico would be a threat to the security of the United States. The State Department took it very seriously.

THE NAZIS COME IN

BY MILTON FRIEDMAN

NAZIS and others with bona fide fascist records are experiencing little difficulty with the United States visa regulations which are keeping from our shores so many distinguished democrats. It is true that there is a paper barrier against fascists. An amendment to the Internal Security Act of 1950 bars all present or former members of "totalitarian" parties except those who were coerced into joining or were not more than sixteen when they enrolled. But the ninth proviso, third section, of the Immigration Act of 1917, which gives discretionary power to the Attorney General to admit "otherwise inadmissible aliens applying for temporary admission," makes the barrier very fragile indeed. Moreover, the Central Intelligence Agency is empowered by Congress to import annually 100 aliens who possess strategic skills. It is not required to divulge their identity.

The ninth proviso and the C. I. A. are affording avenues of admission to some interesting people. Dr. Walter P. Schreiber, former commanding officer of the Department of Medical Science of Hitler's Supreme Command, to whom some unflattering references were made at the Nürnberg war-crimes trials, recently arrived to join the faculty of the United States Army Air Force School of Aviation Medicine at Randolph Field, Texas. Dr. Otto Reuleaux and about fifty other Germans were granted visas to attend an international meeting of industrialists held in New York in connection with a convention of the National Association of Manufacturers. Dr. Reuleaux held the Nazi title of Defense Economy Director and is on the original 1945 War Department list of those who participated in and benefited from the Hitler regime. Some of his colleagues who accom-

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panied him to New York were also Nazi Party members and beneficiaries of the regime.

Dr. Andrija Artukovic, war-time Minister of Justice of the Nazi puppet government of Croatia, traveling under an assumed name, entered the United States as a visitor on July 16, 1948. His signature is recorded on anti-Semitic decrees, and he is charged with zealously implementing Hitler's extermination program. His temporary visa was extended three times. To escape extradition, Dr. Artukovic has applied for status as a "refugee from communism." Another Balkan collaborator cleared by the immigration service is Viorel Trifa, who participated in the pro-Nazi revolt in Bucharest in 1941 as a leader of the Iron Guard and also played a role in anti-Semitic activities.

Although the Displaced Persons Act expired last December 31, the official machinery has been kept functioning to admit 54,774 additional *Volksdeutsche* from Eastern Europe. Many of these people, according to Rabbi Irving Miller, ex-president of the American Jewish Congress, "volunteered for service with the execution squads which gassed and otherwise exterminated six million Jews and millions of other faiths." When Congress amended the D. P. act in 1950 it provided especially for immigration visas for General Wladyslaw Anders's Polish Corps. Among those who joined Anders's group after the war were such personalities as Roch Mankowski, commander of the Nazi concentration camp at Krems; Father I. Nahajewski, chaplain of Hitler's Ukrainian S. S. division, which murdered thousands of civilians; Dr. Wladyslaw Dering, named on the international list of war criminals for surgical experiments on living human beings at Auschwitz; Henryk Gutman, commander of camps in Austria. Approximately 11,000 visas were issued to Anders's men, who were welcomed under the Statue of Liberty as part of the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

PASSPORT PROCEDURES

[The American Civil Liberties Union, disturbed by restrictions on freedom of travel imposed by the United States, last week published an extensive memorandum on the subject, including in it a series of suggestions for amending passport-issuance procedures. An abridged version of the A. C. L. U. recommendations is printed below.]

1. THE Secretary of State should be asked to appoint a commission of three eminent citizens to examine the files of the Passport Division, the Secretary to use [the commission's report] as a basis for the formulation in advance of standard grounds for denial of passports and for the creation of administrative machinery for conducting a review.

2. While the A. C. L. U. recognizes that the United

States government must have the power to protect the nation against any "clear and present danger" (and under present circumstances perhaps also against dangers which are neither wholly clear nor demonstrably present), the "right to travel" should be recognized subject only to reasonable restrictions and safeguarded by due process of law. No restriction is reasonable unless it is expressed in clear criteria defined before the event. An Act of Congress is needed which will make the issuance of a passport to an American citizen mandatory, and will prohibit its revocation, except for specifically stated reasons.

3. The A. C. L. U. is convinced that the Department of State has on occasion denied or revoked passports for reasons connected with the applicants' political beliefs or associations, as in the case of members of extreme left-wing groups who wished to go abroad to attend conferences or to fulfil speaking engagements. While the union recognizes that criticism of the United States by citizens traveling abroad has some tendency to impair the prestige of the United States, and that many such criticisms are untrue and unfair, it sees no reason for foreclosing abroad utterances of the sort that constitutional guaranties permit within the United States. On the other hand, if the State Department has evidence from which it can reasonably infer that the passport will be used for the purpose of engaging in conspiratorial activities against the peace and security of the United States, refusal of the passport would be proper.

4. The passport provisions of the McCarran act, in their present form, should be repealed, because a passport should not be denied solely on the basis of membership in an organization.

5. Whether or not clear and comprehensible standards for the issuance or denial of a passport are established, procedural safeguards against abuse of discretion are urgently needed. A formalized procedure should therefore be established within the Department of State to review initial determinations respecting passports; the department should be required to reveal the basis for denials or revocations (except when it appears and is demonstrated to the satisfaction of a court that the applicant may be involved in espionage or sabotage and that the disclosure of sources might impede counter-intelligence); and judicial review of abuse of discretion should be provided.

6. Appropriate cases should be selected or instituted to test (a) the constitutionality of the denial of notice and hearings of any sort to persons refused passports; (b) the constitutionality of denials or revocations of passports on the basis of political beliefs and associations; (c) the applicability of the Administrative Procedure Act to the issuance of passports; and (d) the extent of right of judicial review, independent of that act.

France in Torture

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, February 20

A DYING man, supporting himself on crutches, made his way to the rostrum of the National Assembly and told of his experience in Buchenwald—he had been a cripple ever since, and now, very soon, was going to die. "We Frenchmen who survived Buchenwald swore that never again should Germany be allowed to build up its military power. I have come here to renew that oath. I am going to die, Mr. President. I am going to die because of what the Germans did to me. I warn you, do not trust the Germans!" Deeply moved, the whole Assembly rose and cheered. Men had tears in their eyes as they watched George Heuillard, a Radical deputy, painfully make his way down the steps and start back to the hospital.

In terms of practical politics this kind of scene has no weight. But emotionally it has a great deal, and it was typical of the atmosphere of the five-day debate on the European army. "The gravest decision since Munich," "the most difficult problem France has had to face since the war"—that was the way many of the speeches began. Philippe Barrès, Gaullist deputy, said that not in all its long history had France been called upon to make a surrender like this.

The critics of the European army showed the greatest conviction and self-assurance; the government spokesmen were defensive, dwelling continually on the "lesser evil." Even the soprano trills of that prima donna of the M. R. P., Pierre-Henri Teitgen, sounded out of tune, for those who formerly sponsored "Europe" have lost their ardor since hearing what Adenauer means by "Europe." One of Adenauer's underlings recently told the *Monde* correspondent: "Just wait till we have fifteen divisions, and we'll talk a different language to France." And Adenauer himself said at Hanover last December 13: "Our chief reason for wanting to enter the European army is to be able to recover our eastern territories."

"Europe" cuts no ice any more, now that Churchill has made plain the British position. "Yes, we wanted Europe, but we don't want this abortion of a Europe," Jules Moch said. A Europe—or a European army—without Scandinavia, and especially without Britain, made no sense at all. Britain alone could give it balance. Without Britain, there was only a Franco-German tête-à-tête in which France would become, before long, the junior partner. M. Schuman must be absolutely firm about not allowing Germany into NATO, M. Moch went on. Germany was bursting with territorial ambitions and only too ready to provoke a war with Russia. He (M. Moch),

was one of the authors of the Pleven plan, but now he felt like "denying his paternity of the European army." He warned that if the government did not take sufficient notice of the wishes of the Assembly, or was overruled by the United States, the Assembly would in the end refuse to ratify the European-army treaty.

M. Moch made two other important points. He said it was essential to obtain an Anglo-American guaranty that the Germans, if "integrated" into the European army, would not "at the signal of a clandestine General Staff" suddenly break loose and declare themselves autonomous. And since the Russians were willing to talk disarmament in the U. N. Disarmament Commission, it was only right to give the commission a chance to make its report on June 1 without sabotaging its work by hasty decisions on German rearmament.

The theme that there was no hurry about this rearmament ran through many speeches. M. Daladier horrified the government by expressing the view that the "peripheral defense" of Europe by the United States air force was not a myth at all but on the contrary the best solution for France. The Americans would in any event not send many troops to Europe and would therefore rely on the Germans to do the dirty work—and, by heaven, the work *would* be dirty! As for Germany, it could very well remain disarmed and kept under four-power control; unfortunately, the Western powers had never taken seriously suggestions to that effect. Daladier, like others, said that if the United States wanted to rearm Germany, at least France's hands should stay clean.

M. Delbos, speaking for the government, was conscious of the danger that the Germans might suddenly detach themselves from the European army—leaving it, as another speaker put it, as empty as a lobster shell—and insisted that integration would "more or less protect us against such danger." Government spokesmen found it equally difficult to cope with another argument: the original Pleven plan had provided for "gradual" integration; now the whole business (except for overseas troops) would be handed to the Germans on a platter.

The discussion went on for days, with the government looking more and more unhappy. "The paradoxical thing is that the German people as a whole are not keen on rearmament," one speaker remarked. "But Adenauer is able to get more and more insolent every day because he sees the United States on its bended knees begging him to rearm."

In the end M. Schuman got his vote, but he was not given *carte blanche*. The Socialists consented to save the

government from defeat on three conditions: (1) no German units to be recruited until all powers have ratified the European army treaty and a common organization has been set up; (2) no inclusion of Germany in NATO; (3) further attempts to be made to get direct British participation in the army.

February 25

And now Lisbon. Schuman had to present certain face-saving demands, buttressing them with accounts of the high feeling in the Assembly and emphasizing the danger that no agreement would be ratified if the terms were too stiff. He did succeed in obtaining acceptance of the principle that no German soldiers would be re-

cruited until the agreement had been ratified by all six parliaments. This means that the formation of a European German army is postponed for about a year, which is perhaps the most the French could have hoped for.

For the rest, Lisbon was less satisfactory to France. In practical terms Germany becomes a member of NATO. Great Britain refused to yield to the urging that it somehow join the European army. And France obtained no guaranty against the danger of Germany breaking away from the European army. *Le Monde* said bitterly: "Those Frenchmen were right who foresaw that the Atlantic Pact implied that Germany would first rearm according to American wishes and later according to its own."

Ocala: Echo of Injustice

BY STETSON KENNEDY

Miami, Florida

AT THE order of the United States Supreme Court, Florida gave Walter Lee Irvin a brand-new trial, featuring the same prosecutor presenting the same testimony with the same witnesses, a jury as white as ever returning the same verdict, and the same whittling judge handing down the same sentence—death.

There were, however, certain differences from the earlier trial. State authorities, hoping to get a conviction that would stand up, had the trial shifted from Lake County to Ocala in neighboring Marion County, and had a few Negroes summoned as prospective jurors. The white population affected a lack of interest in the proceedings to preclude charges of mob influence, and the local press confined itself to desultory comment.

The story of the "Groveland Four," of whom Irvin was the only one whose fate remained in doubt, began in Groveland, Florida, in 1949 when Willie Padgett met his wife, Norma Lee, coming home after dawn with tavern-keeper Lawrence Burtoft. Both Mr. and Mrs. Padgett said that she had been abducted the night before by four Negro youths, but it was not until some time later that she added the charge of rape.

Mrs. Padgett's charges precipitated a wave of violence. The Ku Klux Klan led a mob which shot up the Negro section, burned three homes, and drove all Negroes from the town. When Irvin, Samuel Shepherd, and Charles Greenlee were arrested, the mob demanded that Sheriff Willis McCall surrender them for lynching. Instead, he deputized the mob and sent it on a man hunt for a fourth "suspect," Ernest Thomas, who when found was killed

by a fusillade of bullets. Irvin and Shepherd were subsequently tried and sentenced to die; Greenlee, only sixteen at the time, was given life imprisonment. Upon appeal to the Supreme Court, the convictions of Irvin and Shepherd were set aside (Greenlee disassociated himself from the appeal, fearing to antagonize the court) on the ground that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the jury, which moreover had been influenced by the mob and an inflammatory press.

While being transported to a new trial originally scheduled for Tavares, Shepherd and Irvin, handcuffed together, were each felled by three bullets from the gun of Sheriff McCall. Shepherd died instantly; Irvin clung to life by pretending to be dead. In the hospital Irvin charged that he and Shepherd had been shot down in cold blood. McCall insisted his prisoners had attempted to escape. A coroner's jury, closing its eyes to a score of holes in the case for McCall, exonerated him.

A new trial was then set for Ocala, opening February 11. Defense counsel argued that Circuit Judge Truman Futch, who had pronounced the original death sentence after presiding over the first trial, should disqualify himself for the second. But Judge Futch rejected the plea, asserting that far from being prejudiced he was merely "familiar with the case." Throughout the proceedings the Judge whittled on a succession of cedar sticks.

Retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to defend Irvin were Orlando attorneys Alex Akerman, Jr., and Paul Perkins. Thurgood Marshall, the N. A. A. C. P.'s chief counsel, and his assistant, Jack Greenberg, both of New York, were also permitted by the judge to participate, but not until they had been castigated by the prosecutor as "outside agitators" engaged in "vilifying our state."

Ocala's white folks joined in a tacit gentleman's

STETSON KENNEDY, author of "Palmetto Country," has described the current racial violence in Florida in several earlier articles.

March 1, 1952

agreement to ignore the courthouse; seldom was the white section of the courtroom more than two-thirds full. Those who showed up maintained a façade of impartiality. But the prejudice was there. A poll prepared by the firm of Elmo Roper was offered in evidence to support the defense plea for a change of venue. Based on interviews with 518 whites in Marion County, the survey indicated that 43 per cent were "positive" of Irvin's guilt, an additional 20 per cent had also prejudged him to be guilty but were not quite so certain, while 25 per cent admitted they did not know. Only 1 per cent thought him "probably"—not positively—innocent. As for the possibility of mob action, 84 per cent of the 151 Negroes queried thought "something might happen" if Irvin were freed, but only 16 per cent of the whites would admit as much. Apparently this was the first time a public-opinion poll had been submitted as court evidence. The judge rejected it as hearsay.

The prosecution sought to answer the poll by parading a dozen witnesses across the stand to affirm that Marion County represented the millennium in harmonious race relations. Among them were five Negroes, well-to-do professional men, who outdid the whites in praise of local conditions. Dr. L. R. Hampton, dentist, spoke of the "love and respect" in which local whites held Negroes, adding that he knew of no Ocala white who was prejudiced against Negroes. Asked under cross-examination if he did not think the refusal to seat Negroes on juries was a manifestation of prejudice, Dr. Hampton replied: "I don't know if we are properly intellectually informed enough to serve on juries." In a more cryptic vein the Reverend L. N. Anderson declared: "Marion County is the only county I would put up against Jerusalem in Christ's time." Only Mr. Anderson knows whether he was likening the trial of Irvin to Pontius Pilate's surrender of the innocent Jesus to the mob for crucifixion.

Of the hundred prospective jurors summoned, seven were Negroes. With Negroes constituting 50 per cent of the county's population, it remains for the Supreme Court to decide whether this represented systematic exclusion. Of the seven called, two excused themselves on the ground that they had opinions about the case; two said they were opposed to capital punishment; three were dismissed by peremptory challenge of the prosecutor.

While the state rested its case on the identification of Irvin by the Padgetts, the defense introduced two new witnesses. The first was Pfc. Burtoft, who flew in from Fort Jackson, South Carolina, to testify that when Mrs. Padgett arrived at his tavern she had said nothing of being raped, and moreover had said she could not identify any of her abductors "because it was so dark."

The second new defense witness was Herman Bennett, private criminologist from Miami, who declared that in his opinion the plaster casts made of footprints at the scene of the alleged attack had been made by

Irvin's shoes—but that the shoes had been empty when the tracks were made! This was strongly indicated, he said, by the fact that the soles were sharply arched, as though the shoes had contained shoe-trees rather than feet. Deputy Yates, who had made the casts although he admittedly lacked training for such technical work, admitted further that he had made them *after* having obtained the shoes from Irvin's home. To discount Bennett's testimony the state merely brought out that he had been employed by the N. A. A. C. P.

Already the N. A. A. C. P. has moved for a new trial in the circuit court. Actually a *pro forma* requirement, the move will certainly be denied, and the appeal will then be addressed to the state Supreme Court. In essence the defense charges that Irvin was deprived of a fair and just trial. Among the errors cited are the court's refusal to admit the testimony of the Roper poll and to grant a change of venue.

Irvin's tragic plight is heightened by the fact that the state, mindful of the unfavorable publicity the trial would bring, tried to induce him to plead guilty in exchange for a life sentence—which, with time off for good behavior, could mean parole after seven years. His attorneys left the decision to him. He made the only choice that would leave him at peace with his own conscience. "If I had pleaded guilty," he told reporters later, "I'd just be lying on myself."

Corporate Cupid

BY JUANITA TANNER

ALUCE magazine survey would hardly be expected to have the voltage of a Kinsey report, but *Fortune's* survey on "The Wives of Management" in its issues of October and November, 1951, turned out to be quite engrossing. The magazine's own editors say that it gave them the "heebie-jeebies." What startled them was the eagerness of the wives interviewed to adapt themselves to the requirements of the corporations for which their husbands worked.

That such amenability should astonish and alarm the editors of *Fortune* seems a little odd in view of the magazine's basic premises and the results of its previous surveys of women and business. These have dealt chiefly with the girls as consumers or as employees, but they have been revealing. For instance, there was a depression-era survey in which *Fortune* gravely used its yardstick on the height of hemlines and showed statistically that skirts and the stock market rose together; hems dipped to the ankles in hard times, when manufacturers needed

JUANITA TANNER is the author of "The Intelligent Man's Guide to Marriage and Celibacy."

to dispose of surplus yardage. Then there was the survey which established that executives tend to regard female employees much as the Victorian father regarded his daughters—pleasant creatures to have around to feed the male ego in those later, harsher years when reassurance is required.

Taken together, these earlier surveys should have given a smart trend-spotter all he needed to forecast the results of the recent one on corporation wives. The report on style changes proved women's infinite adaptability. The executive views of the feminine function in business, with their implication that salaries are defined in terms of daughterly allowances, made it certain that the brighter girl would seek another kind of career. Balked in her expectation of equal pay for equal work she will find a way to command a man's salary even if it involves marrying the man and buttering up his boss.

The gentlemen, then, were warned. And if *Fortune* now finds such an embarrassing pliability in the girls that it heads its editorial conclusions "In Praise of the Ornerly Wife," what was to be expected of women denied direct rewards yet asked to be the equals—the survey stresses this—of alert, aggressive, and "dedicated" executives? Does anyone seriously suppose that a demand for wives who will keep up with husbands described as willing to knock themselves out in the company's interest can do other than produce women able to outdo their husbands in yessing management?

Does this show the girls really mean it? Don't be silly. A woman who does what she can to increase her husband's earnings is simply, like the corporation, exploiting the worker. Her interests and those of the corporation are, as *Fortune* somewhat wonderingly observes, identical up to a point. The wife may well object to the over-exploitation which kills the worker; her interest, unlike the company's, is for life. In the same way a sea captain's wife may question the tradition which invites the captain to risk his life to save a company ship. But that doesn't mean she wants her husband to relax on the bridge—or around the office.

Only business conservatism could so long have overlooked the obvious alliance. Even now the companies are relying on wives' doing their part with little prompting. A salesman's wife may win a deep freeze as a reward for cooperation in record sales, but no company offers Paris frocks or Elizabeth Arden treatments or diamond bracelets for wifely aid. Nor do the corporations as yet recruit wives in the women's colleges in the way that they go after the bright boys. But since a girl's suitability shows earlier—as the surveyors remark, the attitude is fostered in nursery schools—we may yet see management's talent scouts observing the conduct of Cynthia, aged four, and Shirley, six.

Halfway through the survey the magazine began to have misgivings. The second article confesses some re-



Jack Morley

grets over the whole undertaking; perhaps too many wives read *Fortune*. An even more dangerous possibility is surely that men, given the lowdown on how their wives groom them for jobs, will balk. What man smart enough to be a big executive wants surveillance in the company's interest for twenty-four hours a day?

Will not men with enough gumption to be useful to industry shrink from marrying a female of the foreman type? If divorce were the only result, corporations, the *Fortune* survey showed, would not object, but a revolution against marriage would be different. Masculine coyness might have to be countered by incentive raises and marriage-counsel bureaus, the beginnings of which can already be discerned in the more elaborate corporations. But surely, if the present trend continues, the occasion for marriage counseling in the sense of teaching a man to distinguish one woman from another will disappear. The survey emphasizes the standardization of women to the point of interchangeability, like car parts.

Surprisingly, it is this standardization which *Fortune*, in its final editorial pronouncement, seems to deplore. What do the gentlemen want? You can't cut wives to a pattern and then object to their lack of individual character. It is somewhat as if a successful Lothario should complain that the girls were too easy. Some things, such as freedom of thought and expression, must be given up in efficient corporate organization, state or business.

Women are realists. And so any time the corporation gets disgusted with the wire-pulling of wives, it should know what to do. Give the smart secretary—who admittedly makes the ideal executive's wife—a chance at the top executive job herself, with a man's pay. Test the plan by asking, in strictest confidence, which she would really prefer—marriage to a vice-president or a chance at a pay check and expense account of her own, on even the lower, \$10,000 level? Then watch fashions in feminine aspirations change again.

BOOKS and the ARTS

General Willoughby and the Sorge Spy Ring

SHANGHAI CONSPIRACY. By Major General Charles A. Willoughby. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.75.

WHILE he was Chief of Intelligence for General MacArthur in Japan, General Willoughby got access to the Japanese police records on the activities of the "Sorge spy ring." According to these records, Dr. Richard Sorge was an extremely successful agent for the Soviets in Japan from 1931 to 1941, when the Japanese police at last caught up with him. While in the custody of the Kempetai and the special higher police, Sorge made a long confession. He was then secretly tried and duly hanged. General Willoughby's story is mainly based on his confession and the confessions made by his associates in similar circumstances. It is a rattling good spy story.

Yet General Willoughby, like General MacArthur, who writes the preface, considers it to be much more than that. They feel that it is of immense significance to every good citizen. It should excite burning indignation against men like Sorge and his assistants, for their work was "sinister" and "vicious"; it was sabotage and betrayal. And the story should make good citizens perpetually vigilant lest their friends or neighbors be secretly working for some Soviet spy ring, since Soviet spies are everywhere and are very clever. They do not usually openly proclaim their devotion to communism and the Soviet Union, and if they speak Russian they tend to conceal it even from their intimate friends. General Willoughby finds all this "frightening." "One begins to wonder," he writes, "whom one can trust, what innocent-appearing friend may suddenly be discovered as an enemy."

While there can be no doubt about the genuineness of General Willoughby's indignation and anxiety, it is often hard to trace the roots of his emotions. According to his account Richard Sorge was sent from Shanghai to Japan in

1931, when it seemed that Japan's attack on Manchuria might be the prelude to more ambitious aggression. Mainly through his own intimacy with the Nazi diplomatic and military representatives in Japan and through the intimacy of his chief assistant with Prince Konoye, Sorge was able to assure Moscow that Japan would not attack Russia. It was this assurance that enabled Russia to withdraw its troops from the Far East for the desperate and successful defense of Moscow. If General Willoughby's account of this is authentic, it would seem that Sorge played a critical part in enabling the Soviets first to halt and then to defeat Hitler's invading army. Surely all the Allies should feel gratitude to the man whose skill and courage contributed so much to the Allied cause at such a critical phase of the war. It is not clear from his account of this period whether General Willoughby recalls that in 1941 the Soviet Union was Britain's ally and Nazi Germany Britain's enemy. In 1942, if my memory is right, General MacArthur declared that the hopes of the civilized world rested on the courageous shoulders of the Russian army. Maybe Sorge felt the same way in 1941. It is puzzling to know why General Willoughby is so indignant.

Many things are puzzling in this book. General Willoughby states that Sorge, through his influence over German embassy officers in Tokyo, was "a primary architect of the Tripartite Anti-Communist Pact of September 1940, which inevitably hastened the war." This is bewildering.

It is just as hard to discover the principles by which General Willoughby evaluates evidence as to discover the principles governing his moral judgments. The great body of evidence he produces against Sorge, and against those who he alleges worked in "the ring," comes from the confessions extracted by the Japanese police. In his preface General MacArthur mentions that his command worked against Communists with the "modernized" Japanese police force during the Occupation, but the force had not been "modernized" in

1941. General Willoughby expresses his admiration of the Japanese authorities for giving "the most dangerous spies ever captured" "the benefit of every protection offered by Japanese law" and for sentencing only two of the twenty "guilty" men and women to death when all had earned the death penalty under Japanese law. He concedes that the police may have treated some of the accused a bit roughly.

Is General Willoughby really as innocent as this? Have his researches not given him any fuller information about the methods of refined and sustained mental and physical torture which it was the established custom of the police to use in order to extract confessions from political prisoners? Would General Willoughby accept as authentic the confessions which Soviet courts extract from political prisoners? Does he know of any important difference between the Soviet and Japanese methods of getting confessions? It is impossible, from reading his book, to know what evidence General Willoughby considers necessary to establish guilt. It would seem that he places great confidence in the notion of guilt by association. Against some of the people whom he charges with Soviet espionage this seems to be the main, or only, evidence he produces. But the people who associated most intimately with Sorge and who trusted him most completely were the senior men in the German embassy, including the Gestapo chief. Is it not possible that some of the Americans or British who associated with Sorge were equally ignorant of his mission?

It is true that General Willoughby attempts to supplement and strengthen his evidence by vague references to reports by the Shanghai Municipal Police, and by publishing a statement by four lawyers in Tokyo who seem to take his report on the Sorge activities seriously. It would still be impossible for a reader of this book who has even an elementary training in the appraisal of evidence to reach firm conclusions about the truth of the General's assertions. For some of his statements the evidence seems strong if not conclusive; for others it seems

non-existent. And his whole approach is too highly charged with spleen and pettiness to win easy assent from any except those who already share his personal and political attitudes. It is hard to get excited when he considers it worth while, ■ part of his indictment of some British or American writer, to reveal that this writer, at a time when the Soviet Union was our ally, had some articles published in magazines for which known Communists also sometimes wrote. Yet this is the sort of evidence which General Willoughby seems to feel a rich reward for his researches.

It would still be wrong to take his book too lightly. It has some importance. It is important, not for what it proves or fails to prove about individuals whom it charges with Soviet espionage, but because it reveals so clearly the professional standards and the political values of the officer in whom General MacArthur presumably placed full confidence to help him assess the military and political situation in the Pacific from 1941 to 1951. General Willoughby is right in believing that he has written ■ frightening book.

W. MACMAHON BALL

The Victorian Ethos

LESLIE STEPHEN: HIS THOUGHT AND CHARACTER IN RELATION TO HIS TIME. By Noel Gilroy Annan. Harvard University Press. \$5.

THE rigors of the Victorian fate have worked grimly with Leslie Stephen. In his own age he was a man of signal rank: heir, product, and apostate of Clapham Evangelicalism; member of the "aristocracy of intellect" that ramified the tangled genealogies of Arnolds, Huxleys, Mills, Macaulays, Trevelyan, of Wilberforces, Darwins, Thackerays, Prinseps, Stephens; editor of the *Cornhill* and the "Dictionary of National Biography"; author of "The Science of Ethics," "An Agnostic's Apology," "Hours in a Library," the monumental "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," and ■ long list of literary studies; husband first of Minny Thackeray and then of Julia Jackson Duckworth; friend of Meredith, Morley, Hardy, James, and ■ virtual pantheon of illustrious contemporaries; ■ hero of liberal rationalism, an arbiter of

sanity in criticism, and a character who epitomized the central conscience and noblest scruples of his era. As such he was commemorated in F. W. Maitland's admirable memoir of 1906. Yet he who rebelled against the generation of his fathers was in turn rebelled against by the generation he fathered. Except to specialists he survives today less as ■ hero of his time than its victim; less as its conscience than as its spirit grown vexed, morbid, and mortified.

Meredith probably initiated this rueful verdict when he drew his friend, in Vernon Whitford of "The Egoist," as "Phoebus Apollo turned fasting friar." Lytton Strachey elaborated it when, in ■ sweeping devastation of Arnold, he used Stephen as ■ peg on which to hang the whole Victorian ineptitude in aesthetics, its "essential and fatal weakness," its "incapability of criticism"—a judgment later seconded by J. W. Mackail and Desmond MacCarthy. And when Virginia Woolf, who knew her father's virtue as intimately as his failings and had testified to it in her Mr. Hilbery of "Night and Day," created her Mr. Ramsay of "To the Lighthouse"—the egotistic, thought-dried skeptic in whom rationalism has become introverted and life-resenting—the verdict of Bloomsbury seemed complete. Stephen, it appeared, had found his appropriate legend, and it was a legend of frustrated spirit and the "undeveloped heart."

This legend Mr. Annan has undertaken to correct in a book that proves to be one of the most attractive studies in the Victorian ethos yet produced by the conflict between sanity and sensitiveness, the accounts left standing in the red by "Eminent Victorians." In the first full examination Stephen's thought and mind have yet had, he assesses the defects but also the worth of the Clapham heritage; the honesty if also the aridity of Stephen's agnosticism; the austerity but also the sustaining vision of his moral ideal of man and society; the conflict between sanity and sensitiveness, between ■ self-sufficient philistine ethic and an intense emotional hunger, that found release less in Stephen's irritable devotion to his brilliant family than in the strenuously mystical Alpinism which drove him to conquer that Schreckhorn in whose "spare and desolate figure," "quaint glooms, keen lights, and rugged trim," Hardy, in his moving tribute son-

net, saw a "semblance" to his friend's personality.

He examines with particular care Stephen's caliber ■ critic of literature: not only the inflexible suspicion of its "feminine" or "singular" elements that deprived him of any intimate experience of Donne, Keats, Coleridge, Tennyson, or lyric poetry in general, but the severe sense of moral and social values that enabled him to write estimates of certain Elizabethans, of Defoe and Eliot, above all of his hero Wordsworth, which, if they lack Arnold's finer perception, still succeed in defining the moral relevance of art, in correcting the excesses of aestheticism, and in suggesting valid social bearings in a way that makes them crucial documents in modern criticism. Mr. Annan admits Stephen's incapacity in treating poetry, but when he meets the Strachey-Mackail-MacCarthy charge of total insensitive-

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ness by suggesting that "he had not too little, but too much poetry in him and drank it in such draughts that he could not savour the delicacies or tell the vintages," he begs the question in his effort to cope with the self-denying contempt in which Stephen held both criticism ("After all, what does a real genius ever learn from criticism?") and literature itself ("Literature is, in all cases, a demoralising occupation, though some people can resist its evil influences. It is demoralising because success implies publicity. A poet has to turn himself inside out by the very conditions of his art, and suffers from the incessant stimulants applied to his self-consciousness").

The defense of Stephen's criticism made by such apologists as the Leavises, like the place Mr. Annan accords him in "the judicial tradition of Johnson-Arnold-Eliot," rests, finally, less on what he wrote directly about literature than on the force of his moral seriousness, the severe ethical and personal honesty in which he framed his judgments; more on the scholarship and rational method—derived from his other hero, Mill—of his non-literary investigations than on the direct experience of poetry or prose he deliberately hindered by a moral suspiciousness from which he never could or wished to free it.

"A rationalist is always a bad life if one wants to insure against the short memory of posterity," Mr. Annan concludes. It is "muddlers like the imaginative Coleridge, intricate minds like F. D. Maurice . . . prophets, seers, even charlatans," who "have a longer life." But that fate, he believes, "a positivist such as Stephen" would accept. To him a life is "well spent in destroying superstition and selflessly working for the future"; his "future insignificance is a sign that others have built on his work and profited by his blunders." Lowes Dickinson, for one, would not admit this martyrdom to be the appropriate sentence on such sons of Cambridge as Stephen, Henry Sidgwick, and Maitland. For him they constituted "a type unworldly without being sentimental . . . able to be skeptical without being paralyzed; content to know what is knowable and to reserve judgment on what is not. The world could never be driven by such men, for the springs of action lie deep in ignorance and madness. But

it is they who are the beacon in the tempest, and they are more, not less, needed now than ever before."

This judgment Mr. Annan has documented with tact and sympathy; and his book, enhanced by some fine unpublished photographs of Stephen, his wives and children, and of Henry James, does sound justice to a character whose worth now reemerges from post-Victorian strictures to declare its value to its own age and to ours.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Early Virginia

BEHOLD VIRGINIA: THE FIFTH CROWN. By George F. Willison. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$4.75.

AMERICAN history began at Jamestown; the earlier settlements up the Atlantic coast and the Spanish outposts in the Far West were out of the main stream of the developments from which the American nation grew. The poor plantation of the Virginia Company, which struggled for decades at the edge of disaster, laid the foundation upon which an independent nation was built 170 years later.

Yet the early years of the Virginia colony have remained obscure. Despite the meticulous research of a generation of scholars, Virginia is still, in the popular mind, enveloped in a vague haze of legends in which John Smith, Pocahontas, and the gallant cavaliers are hopelessly confused. Perhaps the Virginians lacked the flair for public relations by which New Englanders spread the fame of the Puritans and Pilgrims; certainly this history is not as well known as it should be.

George Willison's book is therefore welcome. In concise, readable form he tells the story of the establishment of Jamestown and the emergence from it of a mature and stable culture. With proper emphasis on the difficulties and hardships of the process, upon the diversified quality of the early settlers, and upon the knavery and greed from which so many miseries proceeded, he traces in lively and entertaining manner the coming into being of what the Crown had hoped would become its fifth dominion.

The book falls into two uneven sections. The first twenty chapters, dealing with the years of establishment from

1607 to 1624, are detailed, tolerably accurate, and well written. There are gaps in Willison's understanding of the subject even through these pages, but he displays here the knack of incorporating contemporary statements into his narrative and imparts to his account an authentic flavor of the times.

In its last eight chapters, however, the book falls apart. This section attempts to cover the century and a half between 1624 and the American Revolution. It is disappointingly cursory and unsatisfying. Perhaps this section fails because there are not readily at hand the convenient compilations of documents which Willison quotes on the earlier period; his information in these last chapters seems haphazardly gathered and incomplete. A more important reason for the failure is the author's incomplete comprehension of the forces that were involved in the trials of early Virginia.

Willison has rejected of course the once-traditional glamorous view of the first families. But he has gone to the opposite extreme and regards the subjects of his story with undisguised contempt. Those who were not gullible fools were dishonest rogues or stupid money-seekers. No scheme ever worked as it was intended to; disaster attended every enterprise; and the company and the colony "made the same mistakes over and over again." Yet out of the confusion and darkness, out of the greed and ignorance, there did emerge a substantial community in which a civil and social order took root and developed. This was furthermore a community that by the middle of the eighteenth century would advance to the conceptions of human rights and dignity that animated its statesmen of the Revolutionary era. How, from such drab origins, did these grand results ensue? In "Behold Virginia" there is regrettably no hint of an answer to this question.

The art of history is not simply that of telling an interesting story. There is a larger purpose to it—to present to men the knowledge of their past through which they may be able to arrive at an understanding of themselves. Through most of this book Willison tells a story that will hold his readers' interest; but he misses the opportunity of doing them this larger service.

OSCAR HANDLIN

Anchor to the Past

JEFFERSON SELLECK. By Carl Jonas.
Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

THIS book is a life-size portrait of a vanishing American—the conservative Midwestern small manufacturer who has seemed in the past—particularly to himself and to many of those just below him in the social hierarchy—to embody all the civic virtues. It is a retrospective “autobiography” dictated at the suggestion of Jefferson Selleck’s physician, after he has survived a coronary occlusion, and one of its real assets is its admirably successful conveyance of the illusion that Selleck has told us everything about himself there is to know.

The style is determinedly flat and factual. This emphasis on daily statement has its use as social comedy when Selleck ruefully enumerates, item by item, just what happens to his twenty-thousand-dollar annual income (he winds up in the hole every year); but it can also be tedious and unrewarding, as when he grimly repeats the platitudes by which he claims to have lived.

It seems to me that one’s reaction to a painstaking and painful portrait photograph such as this must be directly affected by one’s opinion not merely of the figure who sat for the portrait but rather of the wall upon which it hangs, and indeed of the entire house; for Jefferson Selleck is not so much a person as a collection of attitudes toward American life which are for the most part narrow and uninspired, and the author’s implied sentiment is one of wry sympathy verging on the patronizing for this hero who got along with his wife, loved his children, hated Roosevelt, and was in favor of the great outdoors and Bob Taft. Indeed, Jeff Selleck himself is at his best when he gives us a genuinely individual insight into his relations with an earlier generation with which he was not wholly in sympathy but which he felt had much to offer in terms of the continuity of the American experience.

What Mr. Jonas is saying can perhaps be summarized in something like the following terms: the generation of middle-class Americans who were born into comfortable circumstances, who voted for Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, who were bewildered by the depression and angered by Roosevelt can be seen

in retrospect as men who, if limited intellectually and shallow culturally, were good fathers, good members of the community, and good Americans, essential weavers of the fabric of American life. This basically warm attitude of the younger generation toward boom-and-bust parents, overlaid with a bittersweet irony that has reminded virtually every reviewer, for obvious reasons, of J. P. Marquand, may account for the excellent reception which the book has got from critics and public anxious for an anchor to the past not too obviously incrustured with the barnacles of conservatism.

For me “Jefferson Selleck” is like an extended love-letter from the author to his father. I do not mean this in any personal sense—which would be both unfair and irrelevant—but rather as a somewhat exaggerated indicator of the vast distance separating writers like Mr. Jonas from their immediate predecessors, who looked upon their fathers as symbols of repression and whose books were instinct with rebellion against the entire success myth. Jefferson Selleck’s children have gone beyond the success myth; they mock their father’s stuffiness, but they love him and in the end they respect him. Only the most unsophisticated members of the upper middle class will resent this skilful and profoundly conservative novel.

HARVEY SWADOS

Art

MANNY
FARBER

JAMES BROOKS’S three-dimensional kaleidoscope scenes at the Peridot reveal him to be about eight times more thoughtful and fluent than any other Manhattan abstractionist. Brooks usually achieves something with tangled lines and geologic textures that looks like the cross-section of a rock pile—but a rock pile sledged out of a cathedral. He works simultaneously in all parts of the picture—including the reverse side of the canvas—troweling, blotting, kneading, evaporating the pigment with a sensuality that sinks his imagery into the very threading of the linen. However he does it, he handles his medium with more respect and feeling than I can impute to any of the more prominent daubers in the Rorschach League. What you see from a distance is a rich chunk of harmonized, understressed oranges or greens, curious for its poetically ambiguous intermixing of wetness and dryness, earthiness and restraint. When you get closer, the density of the color fades away into dustiness and gauziness, and the picture, though still compositionally alive, seems as thin as a Brooks Brothers’ shoulder. As he works from plane to

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plane over his Euclidian field, rather than in, out, and around volumes, Brooks falls into a wheel-like motion that leads to hypnosis through rhythmic repetition, contrast, balance. The Pollocks, Poussette-Darts, and deKoonings, more nervous and more emotion-ridden, have set out to destroy this sort of connectivism by a reliance on roughness, complication, and the anarchy of happenstance; yet perhaps it is Brooks—neat, subtle, and quietly profound—who strikes closest home with his skilful, analyses of the Gatsby personality.

Everybody has said all there is to say about the John Sloan retrospective at the Whitney. The formula is this: the early canvases are somber, humanistic, near-masterpieces out of a conservative but prolific era in American art, and as for the rest, especially the last experimental works, one either admires or deplores them, depending on one's opinion about awkward honesty. My own stand here is affirmative; and I find Sloan an admirable example of the unloved lachrymose plodders of art.

Alfred Leslie, at the Tibor de Nagy gallery, is a pseudo-roughneck who likes to thumb his nose at polite art customs. In trying to shock he offers among other things a twelve-foot picture of opaque, brownish-black scum with a three-foot white stripe in the bottom left corner; an incoherent self-portrait constructed vaguely around the four letters of a dirty word; and a tangled, smeary abstraction half on paper half on canvas, fastened together with black plumbers' tape. "Oh, to hell with it all" seems to be his guiding emotion and

ultimate goal in painting. A sort of Bronx cowboy abstractionist, Leslie carries his scorn for "training" to the farthest point, a place where color can never be deepened beyond the simplest, quickest mixture, where paint must never, never be put on smoothly, where the "rough, untrammelled" look and simple bedraggled light-dark harmony are the only possible things to be tried for. Despite the clutter and primitivism, some of the pictures have a nice worn luminosity, as though a shadow had been pummeled and kneaded by other darker or lighter shadows. Each painting looks half painted, but upon closer observation it comes together into a harmony of delicate flickering curves and light waves. His most successful works are seven-tenths empty and three-tenths as busy as Times Square.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THREE unfamiliar works of Vivaldi on a Decca LP—the Concertos in A major and G minor for strings and cembalo and Concerto in D minor for oboe d'amore, strings, and cembalo—have the distinctive poignant loveliness and charm of his music; a fourth, the Concerto in G major for strings and cembalo, I find interesting. The performances by the Virtuosi di Roma under Renato Fasano are excellent, even with a bare-sounding bass line which results from the use of a harpsichord, audible mostly only as a timbre, to fill in the harmony. The recorded sound, which requires stepping up of bass, is somewhat coarse.

Mozart's Piano Concerto K.503 is performed on a Decca LP by Carl Seeman with the Munich Philharmonic under Fritz Lehmann. This is the work Tovey chose to illustrate his famous exposition of the Mozart concerto form; yet it is the least played and least known of the great examples of that form; and the reason is that its first movement sets out to affect the listener's ear and mind not with the usual succession of immediately appealing melodies, but with grandeur of style, and a now dramatic, now subtle play with tonality to which the eighteenth-century ear was more sensitized than ours. These

may require repeated hearing to exercise their effect; but it must be hearing of effective performances; and in the Decca performance the music doesn't have the required grandeur (as it happens the recorded sound lacks solidity), nor is the play with tonality projected effectively. Bass must be stepped up; surfaces are poor. Seeman doesn't play any more sensitively in Mozart's Variations K.455 on a theme of Gluck, which still retain for me the additional attractiveness they acquired from Balanchine's "Mozartiana"; and there are cuts in the slow variation near the end.

The beautiful Andante movement of Mozart's Sinfonia Concertante K.364 provides the occasion for one of Balanchine's most wonderful creations; and his choreography is probably one reason why I find the other movements more engaging than I used to. The solo violin and viola parts are played on the Decca record by Joseph and Lillian Fuchs—with superb mastery of their instruments, but with an expansive vehemence which doesn't seem to me suitable to the music; the orchestral part is played well by the Zimmler Sinfonietta, a group of Boston Symphony musicians. The solo instruments are well reproduced; the sound of the orchestra is harsh.

On a Period record are Mozart's Divertimento K.247 for strings and horns, mostly quite charming; the engaging March K.248; and the early Symphony K.182, with lots of flourishes and bustle and a few lovely and startling details in the first movement, a charmingly graceful middle movement, and some striking details again in the finale. The performances by the Ton-Studio Orchestra under Hans Michael and Gustav Lund are very fine; the recorded sound is now veiled, now a little sharp. One side of my review record wavers in pitch.

Two brilliant works of Berlioz, the Overtures to "Benvenuto Cellini" and "Le Corsaire," seem to be played well on a London record by the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra under Münch; but the recorded sound is muffled and indistinct. Ravel's "Bolero" is on the same record.

Dvorak's engagingly melodious Symphony No. 4 is excellently performed by the superb Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Szell. The re-

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corded sound has the characteristic London spatial depth, but lacks radiance and luster.

The densely polyphonic, wonderfully rich and subtle writing that is heard in Debussy's "Iberia" is also to be heard in "Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps," the other two pieces in the set of "Images" that are almost never played here. All three are played by the San Francisco Symphony under Monteux on an RCA Victor LP; and the performances make me wonder all over again at the to-do in recent years about Monteux as one of the giants to whom recognition has come belatedly. For they reveal again his lack of feeling for cohesiveness of tempo and continuity of momentum, especially in "Iberia," which in addition is heavy, graceless, and almost uninterruptedly loud. The recorded sound has the characteristic Victor warmth and richness, but not all the brightness it should have on top, unless one can step up the treble considerably.

In its Treasury series Victor has issued an excellent LP dubbing of the 1936 recording of Toscanini's beautiful performance of the Brahms-Haydn Variations with the New York Philharmonic. His performance of Beethoven's First Symphony with the B. B. C. Symphony comes off the same record with the first movement bright and clear, the other movements not.

Another Treasury LP dubbing reproduces Casals's playing in Dvorak's Cello Concerto excellently; and the orchestra is brilliant in the first movement, but dim in the last. And still another gives us the different sound of Casals's playing in the much older recording of the Boccherini Concerto, with Bruch's "Kol Nidrei" on the reverse side.

CONTRIBUTORS

W. MACMAHON BALL is professor at the University of Melbourne and author of "Japan: Enemy or Ally?"

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL, professor of English at the University of Chicago, is the author of "Literary Opinion in America" and editor of "The Portable Henry James" and "The Portable Conrad."

OSCAR HANDLIN, a member of the History Department of Harvard University, has recently published "The Uprooted."

March 1, 1952

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Where the Voter Is Worse Than the Politician

Dear Sirs: The antecedents of Republicanism in Oregon stretch a good deal farther back than one would suppose from reading Richard L. Neuberger's entertaining article on the Webfoot State in *The Nation* of January 26.

Except for Portland and its environs, Oregon was settled by Southerners, mostly from eastern Tennessee and Arkansas. In 1860 its Governor Lane was on the extreme pro-slavery ticket with Breckenridge. During the Civil War sentiment was strong for the "Republic of the Pacific." The war over, Oregon refused to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments until 1930. In 1924 the state went completely under the control of the Ku Klux Klan, tried to organize economic eviction of Jews, and abolished all parochial schools—an act which was later declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. Six years later Oregon seems to have had a fit of remorse, for it gave Julius Meier, a Jew, and a candidate for the governorship on an independent ticket, more votes than were received by the Republican and Democratic candidates combined. Previous to Meier's election, an anti-Communist law was passed by the state legislature which makes the Smith act appear quite liberal. What is important to understand about the political scene in Oregon is that the voter is much more reactionary than the politician. This fact is borne out by the frequent rejection of reform measures passed by the legislature and submitted to the people in referendums.

ERNEST M. WHITESMITH

Denver, Colo.

Is Duplessis for . . .

Dear Sirs: *The Nation* of October 20, 1951, contained an article, Quebec's Bitter Brew, by Henry Montcalm. The paragraph dealing with "the crux of the matter" says "Duplessis's role in the axis is to insure that the French Canadians submit to conscription, to heavy taxation, and if necessary to foreign war." Dr. Eugene Forsey, in *The Nation* of December 29, points out that "Mr. Montcalm does not offer a tittle of evidence to support this statement," but in his reply Mr. Montcalm avoids the issue.

If Henry Montcalm has the slightest shred of evidence that Premier Duplessis's role "is to insure that the French Canadians submit to conscription," it is his duty to reveal it, because there is plenty of evidence to the contrary, and it would profoundly affect the result of the coming elections. A great many people are going to vote Union National simply because of the conscriptionist record of M. Lapalme's Liberals, and because they believe it is precisely the existence of M. Duplessis's government which, since 1945, has stood between them and "the bitter brew" of conscription.

GORDON O. ROTHNEY

Montreal, Canada

. . . or Against Conscription?

Dear Sirs: I'm sure Professor Rothney knows his Quebec far too well to expect Premier Duplessis to document his position on conscription or discuss it at press conferences. But the fact that all mention of opposition to conscription, national registration, compulsory training, or war has been dropped from National Union propaganda during the past year, and even talk of provincial autonomy, that Premier Duplessis conspicuously refrains from attacks on the St. Laurent government, while directing his fire at the Provincial Liberals who have made some effort to dissociate themselves from Liberal foreign policy, is evidence that the decision on conscription has been made. All emphasis now is on cooperation with Ottawa, and on the great benefits which Duplessis has conferred on Quebec in the way of industrial development. I agree entirely that if the people of Quebec realize the changed role of the Duplessis government, it will have a profound effect on the election. But none of these matters, I think, will be brought out clearly until Duplessis in Quebec and the Liberals in Ottawa are safely in power for another five years. Then we shall see. I refer Dr. Rothney to the following passages quoted from *Devoir*, the Montreal Catholic daily, doubtless already familiar to him.

Is there a non-aggression pact between M. St. Laurent and M. Duplessis? National Union had always fought the foreign and military policy of the Mackenzie King regime, and exploited the grievances of the French Canadian against this policy in the electoral campaigns of 1944,

1948, 1949. But confronted with the invasion of Korea, N. U. did not react. The Minister of Roads in the Duplessis Cabinet even talked of building strategic routes. It was widely rumored that M. Duplessis had given orders not to oppose the military policy of the Federal Government in the by-elections held last fall in Quebec. That seemed rather unlikely. But now [after the St. Laurent speech praising Duplessis] the wisecracks will not fail to cry that they were well informed when they affirmed that M. St. Laurent would observe a sympathetic neutrality with regard to M. Duplessis.—February 28, 1951.

The new Quebec-Ottawa axis passes through Washington. M. Duplessis will show us that is the best way to Rome. Mr. Howe agrees. Vive American national unity.—March 1, 1951.

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For considerations of federal politics, M. St. Laurent has believed he must reach an understanding with Premier Duplessis. What are these considerations?—of an international order, the wish to avoid Quebec resistance to the participation of Quebec in eventual war? of an economic order, exploitation of Ungava ore and canalization of the St. Lawrence? It is not clear as yet, but the desire for rapprochement with M. Duplessis is evident and admitted by all the chief interested parties at Quebec.—March 1, 1951.

HENRY MONTCALM

Montreal, Canada

A Partial Victory

Dear Sirs: In your issue of September 22, 1951, you printed an article on the Pechan bill then under consideration by the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Readers of that article may be interested to know that teachers and other public employees in Pennsylvania have weathered the storm of reaction which set in during the 1951 session.

In January, 1951, a bill was introduced in the legislature which authorized a state-wide investigation of subversive activities, and another which required registration of "subversive persons" with the Attorney General. Later in the session a bill was submitted, written by Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno, outlawing members of the Communist Party and "other" revolutionary organizations. In a wave of hysteria the Musmanno bill was passed by an overwhelming majority. But bills aimed specifically at public employees fared differently.

As a result of a widespread campaign initiated by the Teachers' Union of Philadelphia, only one of these latter bills finally got through the legislature. That bill was the Pechan "loyalty oath" bill which was heavily amended during the closing days of the session. While up for consideration this bill was under constant attack from over a hundred organizations—the Pennsylvania Association of Universities and Colleges, the state A. A. U. P. chapters, the Private School Teachers' Association, the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.), and so on—which sent over eight hundred lobbyists to the capital to fight the bill. The only groups which favored the measure were the old-line veterans' organizations and the D. A. R., and even they faced rebellion from local affiliates.

The American Legion, which had boasted that it would march 6,000 legionnaires to Harrisburg to lobby for the bill, delivered about 200 men, in

full uniform, accompanied by a band which played military marches in the rotunda of the Capitol while the House of Representatives was in session. Veterans representing the A. F. of L., C. I. O., and church and teachers' groups opposing the bill outnumbered the legionnaires.

The measure itself is a bad piece of legislation. Under its provisions a person can be found to be "subversive" if he belongs to an undefinably "subversive" organization. But the pressure brought to bear against the bill did modify some of its provisions. For instance, "reasonable doubt" of loyalty was struck out of the bill as a cause for discharge of a public employee (including teachers), although it was retained as a cause to deny employment to new applicants; a provision which would empower the state Attorney General to require sworn answers from public employees to questionnaires to be drawn up at his discretion was dropped from the measure, as was the use of the United States Attorney General's list of subversive organizations as a means of discharging employees. The bill was further amended to allow a hearing for anyone accused of being "subversive," at which court rules of evidence must be adhered to.

The Teachers' Union of Philadelphia has launched a campaign to provide legal aid for victims of the Pechan act, to test the constitutionality of the act, and to rally support in the legislature for the act's repeal during the next session. First step in the repeal campaign is the state-wide circulation of a special issue of the *Teachers' Union News*, which contains the full text and analysis of the Pechan bill. Copies can be had by writing to the union, 13 South Twenty-first Street, Philadelphia 3. Philadelphia FRANCIS P. JENNING

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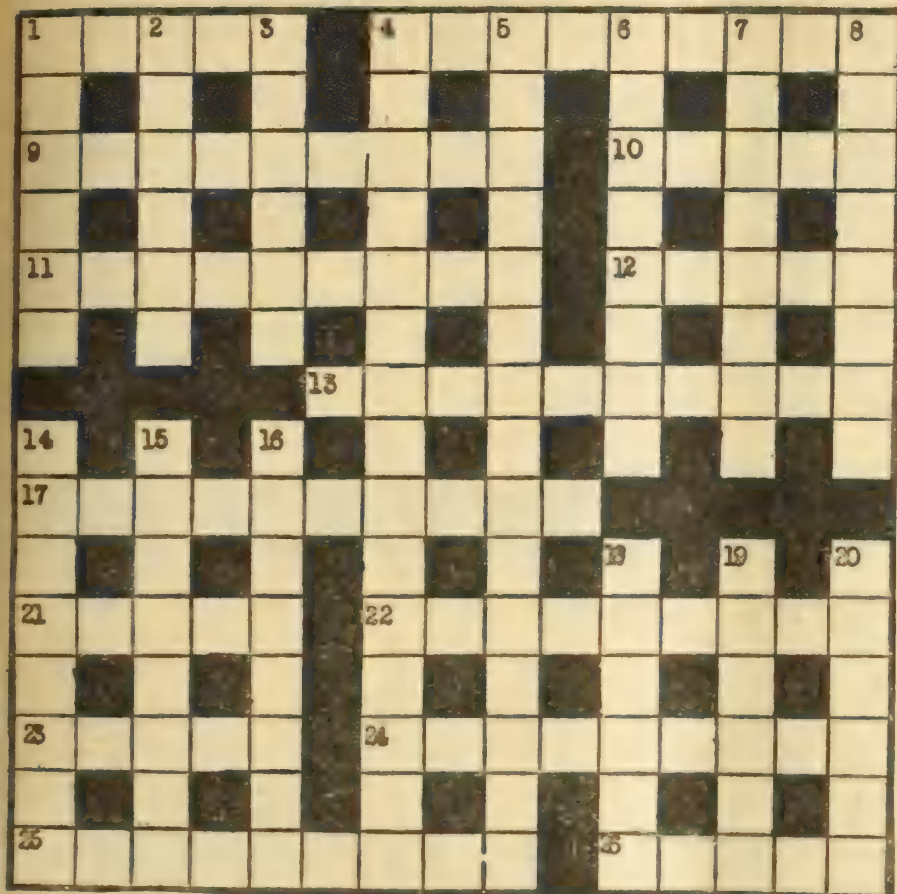
Dear Sirs: Several years ago I arranged for several hundred of your subscribers to exchange copies of *The Nation* with subscribers to the *New Statesman and Nation*. I still receive requests for *The Nation*, and if any of your readers want to make the exchange I shall be glad to help. P. DENIS GOODALL
Basingstoke, England

Correction

In Willard Shelton's article, Communists in Unions, in last week's issue the line "Benjamin Signal, counsel for the U. E." should have read "Benjamin Sigal, counsel for the I. U. E."

Crossword Puzzle No. 454

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 See 3 down.
- 4 People seldom plan on their coming. (9)
- 9 In common surroundings, it returns to nothing. (9)
- 10 Despite the proper total, 1 across and 21 are common examples. (5)
- 11 Keeps the heat out with it, unless a different sort is found. (9)
- 12 Not so fast! (5)
- 13 The wrong pool is open—does it suggest a famous explorer's bearers? (4, 6)
- 17 Caucasian, and the sort of Asians that follow a performance without us. (10)
- 21 See 6 down.
- 22 Take aim with a double gin, and shake well. (9)
- 23 One of the spells Abdul the Bulbul might have. (5)
- 24 A bad actor rode out of this place in Paris. (9)
- 25 Numb? Don't infer so much! (9)
- 26 Call up. (5)

DOWN

- 1 Dine al fresco. (6)
- 2 Don't hit me again, even if I'm negligent! (6)
- 8 and 1 across. A series of coastal raids does for the grumpy. (11)

- 4 See 6 down.
- 5 The pioneer movement was dependent on them. (9, 6)
- 6, 4 down and 21 across. Belied by Priam's experiences, though a chest examination would have been more preventative. (4, 4, 1, 4, 5, 2, 3, 5)
- 7 A nice tour to make, if in need of a steadying influence. (8)
- 8 Is the Brooklyn Bridge held in it? (8)
- 14 One who pitches in a boat, or goes quickly. (8)
- 15 How to make a German miss the French in an unfair way. (8)
- 16 Traveller? (3, 5)
- 18 The value of 3.1416? (6)
- 19 and its application to an emperor in the dramatic field. (6)
- 20 An Italian loses his head? Pay no attention! (6)

•••••

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 453

ACROSS:—1 FATHER OF WATERS; 10 LINEMAN; 11 EXPECT; 12 STATUARY; 14 SISTINE; 15, 9, 5, 21 WHERE THERE'S A WILL THERE'S A WAY; 17 DUDES; 19 SHERIFF; 21 ABLUTION; 23 PEARLY; 25 AMMONIA; 26 CHICAGO; 27 LAUREL AND HARDY.

DOWN:—1 FAT-HEADED; 2 THESPIAS; 3 EXERCISES; 4 OMAR; 6 TENET; 7 RAMPAGE; 8 ONLY; 13 FIRST OF ALL; 15 WHITEFISH; 16 EVERYBODY; 18 DILEMMA; 20 FOR FAIR; 22 TENOR; 24 SCAN.

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Professor Albert Einstein, in his article "Why Socialism" in Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Monthly Review*, (May, 1949, said: "Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of greatest significance in our age of transition. Since, under the present circumstances, free and unhindered discussion of these problems has come under a powerful taboo, I consider the founding of this magazine to be an important public service."

Germany and Lisbon—*Carolus*

THE *Nation*



March 8, 1952

Some Plane Facts

BY LEONARD ENGEL

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JUN 3 1964

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THE *Nation*

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NUMBER 10

The Shape of Things

IF PRESIDENT TRUMAN WAS SINCERE IN saying a few weeks ago that he did not like the Franco regime, he should like it even less today. The scandalous trial of the strike leaders of Catalonia, which provoked a storm of indignation throughout Europe, has been followed by word, not yet officially confirmed, that the death sentences against nine of the thirty defendants have been carried out. It is significant that most of the condemned men belonged to the anti-Communist National Federation of Labor (C. N. T.). In a great protest meeting in Paris called by organizations and individuals representing widely diverse political views, speeches were made by Camus, Silone, Sartre, and other outstanding intellectuals. Sartre said: "How can we claim to be democrats if we remain silent in the presence of Spain—this concentration camp of the Western democracies?" In London the opening of the festival of Spanish dances and songs under the auspices of Spain's ambassador, Miguel Primo de Rivera, was converted into a demonstration of protest, the crowd shouting "Down with Franco the Murderer." Among the many organizations protesting strongly against the new wave of terror in Spain, of which the recent death sentences are only a sample, is the International Federation of Free Trade Unions at Brussels, to which both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. adhere. We hope American labor will join in this public condemnation of a regime to which our government is daily drawing closer in spite of Mr. Truman's expressions of platonic disapproval.

★

A SOLID PHALANX OF SOUTHERN SENATORS backed by exactly half the Republicans present succeeded on February 28 in blocking further progress on the Alaska statehood bill. By a majority of one the measure was returned to committee so that consideration could be given to a fantastic plan for "dominion status." This scheme, which is almost certainly unconstitutional, would allow Alaskans to vote in Presidential elections, to have a representative in the House, and to elect one non-voting Senator. Strangely enough, this cynical proposal to preserve intact the veto powers of the Southern bloc was supported by Senator Taft, who argued that Alaska

was still an "economic dependency" of the federal government and that the 1948 Republican platform had merely promised "ultimate" statehood. However, the Ohioan joined with Senator Knowland in seeking to have the Hawaiian statehood bill taken up as next business, thus giving point to Senator O'Mahoney's charge that he was "on both sides of the statehood question." That seems to be true of other Senators, including Majority Leader McFarland, who supports the Alaska bill but has been using every possible parliamentary maneuver to head off the Hawaiian measure. Thus the aspirations of both territories are being made the football of party politics. It may be that neither will succeed in casting off the shackles of colonialism until their inhabitants make it clear that if they cannot obtain full statehood, they will demand independence.

★

AN ATTEMPT TO INCREASE TAXES TO PAY for defense has proved the downfall of the government headed by Edgar Faure as it did of its predecessor. This does not mean that a majority of the French Assembly is hostile to rearmament. When the Premier asked for a vote of confidence on a resolution providing credits for the French contribution to NATO and for the Indo-China war, he secured a majority of 512 to 104. Nevertheless, a few hours later his plan to increase taxes was defeated by 309 to 283, and his resignation followed. M. Faure fought hard to achieve a balanced budget. "If you refuse your confidence," he told the deputies, "you will be favoring inflation, which is the highest and unfairest form of tax"—an economic truism with which the French people have become painfully familiar. Nevertheless, the pressure of special interest groups adversely affected by one or another of the tax proposals moved some thirty of Faure's fellow Radical Socialists and numerous members of the Independent and Peasant parties to join forces with the more or less permanent opposition composed of Communists and Gaullists. The collapse of yet another effort to maintain a stable centralist coalition revived the idea of a Government of National Union, comprising all major groups except the Communists. However, when the veteran Paul Reynaud sought to organize a Cabinet of this kind, he found the way blocked by the unwillingness of the Socialists to cooperate with the anti-labor

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and anti-republican Gaullists. Nor would the Gaullists participate in a government which excluded the Socialists, which suggests that their aims are such that they wish to sterilize in advance any non-Communist opposition.

★

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE QUICKLY IF internal and external insolvency is to be avoided. French foreign-exchange reserves are now so low that an embargo on all dollar imports may become necessary, cutting off industry from supplies of raw materials. Moreover, advances from the Bank of France to the Treasury are nearing the limits fixed by law, and the next government may find itself without funds to pay salaries and other bills. Nevertheless, it is hardly correct to describe the French economic situation as "tragic"—the expression used by former Premier Paul Reynaud during the Assembly debate. The agriculture and industry of France are highly productive, and as the country is still largely self-contained, its economic position is fundamentally less precarious than that of Britain. French troubles are not organic but nervous. Chronic mishandling of finance has led Frenchmen to hoard wealth instead of using it productively. Tucked away in safe hiding places they own billions in gold and dollars—more than enough to give France one of the strongest economies in the world. But these hoards will not see the light of day until France has a stable government and a balanced budget. Neither of these objectives is in sight, and it may be that they will not be achieved without some kind of political explosion.

★

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THIS COUNTRY and Mexico under which Mexican nationals are recruited for employment here has been extended for three months to give Congress time to consider new legislation for reducing the traffic in illegal or "wetback" immigrants. A similar "emergency" extension, followed by protracted "hearings," was used last year to jockey the Mexican government into consenting to a continuance of the agreement before the terms had been fully approved. Last year more than 518,000 illegal entrants were arrested, 7 per cent more than in 1950, and some 50,000 of them were "air-lifted" back to Mexico at a cost of \$1,500,000. Even should Congress enact pending legislation aimed at curbing the wetback traffic, the damage will have been done, for by the end of the three-month period the new season will be under way, and further extensions will be in order. As a hedge against the possibility that Mexico will refuse to extend the agreement, the Associated Farmers of California have opened negotiations with the South Korean government. According to H. W. Stroble, secretary-treasurer of the

Associated Farmers, the importation of South Korean workers would reduce the cost of caring for the Korean people and would give at least some of them a chance "to see how democracy works." How Mr. Stroble thinks a democracy ought to work was clearly exposed in the report of the 1940 LaFollette investigating committee on the smashing of the Salinas lettuce strike in 1936, a semi-military maneuver directed with great skill by Mr. Stroble.

✱

"VENEZUELA SHOULD JOIN THE COUNTRIES Which Work Their Own Oil," reads a recent headline in *El Universal*, leading daily of Caracas, capital of a dictatorship in which anything written about oil can hardly escape censorship by the ruling Junta. Moreover, the opinions quoted in the article are those of Venezuela's chief oil expert, Dr. Ezequial Monsalvo Casada of the University of Caracas, who in 1949 was a member of a diplomatic oil mission abroad. Thus the shadow of Iranianism falls across the holdings of Standard Oil and Shell on the shores of Lake Maracaibo, the world's biggest single oil-export area. Dr. Monsalvo argues that Venezuela has enough competent man-power—much of it schooled in Texas and Oklahoma petroleum institutions—to run its own oil industry and urges nationalization in three steps: (1) action "to repair the grave injustice" of the present practice of refining all Venezuelan crude in the neighboring Dutch islands of Aruba (Standard Oil) and Curaçao (Shell Oil); (2) building up of Venezuela's own tanker fleet; (3) "the exploiting companies must drag out by the roots the colonial prejudice with which they still regard us and treat us." This is a large order, especially—as Iran has already found out and as Dr. Monsalvo undoubtedly is aware—the building up of a tanker fleet. It is a fairly safe bet that Dr. Monsalvo and the Junta are interested not in nationalization but in dangling the threat of it before Shell and Standard in order to wangle better terms. But it is a dangerous threat to use, for regardless of whether the oil companies take it seriously, one day the people of Venezuela might. Where will the Junta be then?

✱

IN A SERIES OF AMUSING EDITORIALS, William T. Evjue, editor-publisher of the Madison *Capital-Times*, has been lambasting the latest political shenanigans of the National Association of Manufacturers. The N. A. M. is not only sponsoring a coast-to-coast chain of "workshops" and "clinics" on "freedom" but going in heavily for "old-time" religion. A recent pamphlet entitled "Christianity and Capitalism" develops the thesis that Christian ethics can flourish only in the friendly and altruistic environment of a capitalist society. The same theme runs through the publications of many religious "fronts" active in the Middle West, such

as the Christian Freedom Foundation and the American Council for Christian Laymen—the latter run by Verne P. Kaub, recently retired from the public-relations office of the Wisconsin Power and Light Company and a member of the advisory board of Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education. Individual corporations, such as the Texas and Pacific Railway, are harmonizing with the religious note through full-page newspaper advertisements which drive home "sound" economic principles under the guise of an "institutional" religious message. All this has emboldened the Republican National Committee to hire, for the first time in its history, an official party chaplain. He is the Reverend W. H. Alexander of Oklahoma City, who claims that the Lord gave him direct orders to be a candidate for the United States Senate in 1930. "I will do my best," he told the press after the announcement of his new appointment, "to win a victory for Christian America." The "Christian American" section of the Republican National Committee intends to use Mr. Alexander in small towns and rural areas where the "old-time" religion is still strong. As Mr. Evjue suggests, the N. A. M. and the Republican high command are out to prove that the Lord is a Taft Republican.

✱

SOUTHERN REACTION TO THE FBI ARREST OF the ten Klansmen in North Carolina has been encouraging. From the governor's mansion in the Tarheel state, Kerr Scott said, "I think people all over the state are pretty happy about the arrests," and the mayor of Tabor City in Columbus County—where the arrests occurred—declared that "Columbus County is just like the rest of the nation, and we feel that there is no place for this outlaw action. Any organization that tries to break up democracy is riding for a fall." Superior Court Judge Henry A. Grady of New Bern, North Carolina, who was the state's Grand Dragon of the KKK when it was disbanded some twenty-five years ago, commented, "There is no place in North Carolina for the Ku Klux Klan . . . if those fellows are guilty, I think they ought to suffer the severe penalty of the law." Elsewhere throughout the South similar editorial and civic commendation for the government's swift justice appeared. William G. Cole, editor of the *Whiteville News Reporter*, and the Reverend T. C. Gant, Baptist pastor, warmly applauded the event. Other publications, such as the *Charlotte Observer*, the *Raleigh, North Carolina, News and Observer*, the *Richmond, Virginia, Times-Dispatch*, and the *Atlanta, Georgia, Journal*, also favored the federal police action. Perhaps this small measure of positive news from a South so recently shamed by racist outrages in Florida and Texas might provide the United States Department of Justice with the incentive needed to bring the perpetrators of the Moore murders before our courts of law.

Lattimore Strikes Back

O WEN LATTIMORE spoke for all free-minded Americans when he launched his lusty counter-attack on the McCarran Internal Security subcommittee. Indeed, he did better than that, for his testimony must have put heart into many Americans who have been cowed by the campaign of insinuation, bullying, and slander conducted from the privileged sanctuary of House and Senate hearings. It takes courage these days to march into battle bearing the weapons of outraged patriotism and a clear conscience; too many of those attacked have been reduced by fear to humble protestations of innocence or apologetic alibis. Lattimore is a man, not a frightened bureaucrat. And if his blazing indignation led him into small inconsistencies or lapses of memory, the broad truthfulness of his testimony remains undamaged.

But Owen Lattimore, besides proving that courage still breathes in America, has performed another major service. He has challenged the courts to test the accuracy of the charges against him, and his own honesty. The McCarran committee, like the House Un-American Activities Committee, has welcomed the testimony of the most suspect witnesses—men and women processed by the Communist Party machine who have recanted and turned state's evidence. The reputations of high government officials and other citizens of standing have been laid waste by a word from such witnesses. Undoubtedly the conviction of Hiss helped spread the feeling that denunciations by informers constitute valid proof. Their power has been further fortified by the backing they have had from committee members and counsel, from Joseph R. McCarthy, and from outside pressure groups like the China Lobby. The result, as the New York

Times said last Saturday, has been to build up "a corrosive atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion throughout the country and particularly within the government of the United States."

We have seen the by-products of this evil business in the growing timidity of officials in Washington and the foreign service. In the name of "Americanism" the Congressional inquisitors have deliberately undermined the nation's integrity and effectiveness and diminished us in the eyes of democrats in all countries. Panic is not the full explanation of this miserable business. It stems largely from crude motives of political advantage, exaggerated by the oncoming Presidential contest.

The methods of the various Congressional loyalty inquiries have nothing to do with "security"; on the contrary they dangerously distort the whole question by making security procedures appear synonymous with police-state techniques. This distortion and its evil results Professor Lattimore has challenged. No doubt he has done so in his own behalf, but if the committee succeeds in catching him in a misstatement they think might be construed as perjury, the bigger issue also will be fought out where it should be—in a court of law with proper democratic safeguards. And if he wins a victory there, it not only will clear his name but will defeat the plans of McCarthy, McCarran, and Company to bring down bigger game than Lattimore. For without question their real targets are Ambassador Jessup and Secretary of State Acheson—and through them the Administration as a whole.

It is in the context of these broad political purposes that we present the sections of the Lattimore testimony which follow.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

EXCERPTS FROM HIS TESTIMONY

On "Perjurer" Budenz

ALL kinds of attempts have been made to depict me as a Communist or a Soviet agent. I have in fact been falsely identified as a fellow-traveler, sympathizer, or follower of the Communist line or promoter of Communist interests. Now I want to make my position clear. I am none of these things and have never been. . . .

One of the most shocking things that has happened in the proceedings is that not one of the witnesses against me has ever been asked in examination or cross-examination a question that would test his motives or his reliability. Most shocking in this respect has been the suppression or at least the bland ignoring of evidence already of record. The counsel of this subcommittee, Mr. Morris,

was the counsel of the Republican minority of the Senate subcommittee on Foreign Relations (the Tydings committee) and therefore had intimate knowledge of this record evidence. It has also been widely reported in the press, I will cite just one example, a rather striking one—that of Louis F. Budenz.

The proceedings of the Tydings committee show that Budenz's accusations of me before that subcommittee were a complete fabrication concocted for the specific purpose of his appearance there. They show (1) that until he was recruited to tell his fantastic yarn Budenz never mentioned me to the FBI despite hundreds of hours of testimony (transcript, p. 1116); (2) that in 1949 when he wrote an article for *Collier's* denouncing many persons for their participation in the Chinese situation, Budenz

made no mention of me (transcript p. 1096); (3) that when he published a book in 1950 dealing with the same subject, he made no reference to me in his manuscript, inserting a passing mention only after I was publicly attacked by Senator McCarthy. All of this material was available to your committee, and your counsel, Mr. Robert Morris, was thoroughly familiar with it, but not one syllable of it was entered in your record, nor was Mr. Budenz asked a single question concerning it. . . .

In connection with this man Budenz, Senators, I call your attention to the fact that the personal history and character of Louis Budenz was thoroughly gone into in the hearings before the Tydings committee in 1950.

I exposed him as a liar before the Tydings committee. Since then a distinguished newspaperman, Mr. Joseph Alsop, has publicly challenged him as a perjurer, and has demanded of this committee that the record of Budenz's testimony be sent over to the Department of Justice for examination to see whether he should be prosecuted for perjury. . . .

On Freedom of the Press

I want to say clearly that in my own work as editor of *Pacific Affairs* [official publication of the Institute of Pacific Relations] from 1934 to 1941 I was not dominated or directed or influenced in any way by Communist or pro-Communist people or attitudes. *Pacific Affairs* was not an American publication. It was an international publication. . . .

I call your attention to my analysis of *Pacific Affairs* during the years I edited it which appears on pages C 1 to C 5 of my statement of May 2, to the Tydings committee, which I have just handed to you, and from which I wish to quote a few paragraphs.

May I remind you that throughout this period there was nothing reprehensible or even unusual about the occasional publication of significant left-wing views or the analysis of left-wing movements in Far Eastern countries? Such views and analyses appeared in all the leading journals of the United States and the whole Western world. In those days, before Kohlberg, McCarthy, and Budenz undertook to revise the American tradition of free inquiry and free speech, nobody dreamed of accusing an editor or publisher of being a Russian spy because such views were printed.

I have made a new tabulation for you of all material published in *Pacific Affairs* under my editorship. Of a total of 250 contributions, only 17—written by 11 persons—could possibly be called, by anyone, left of center because of facts or opinions favorable to Russia, Chinese Communists, guerrillas, or leftist movements in Asia. Remember this was an international magazine. Ninety-four articles were definitely right of center, and 143 either dealt with non-political and non-economic

subjects or presented purely neutral points of view. There was nothing even remotely like a "mobilization" of Communist or leftist writers.

I would also like to point out that the same 11 people who contributed the 17 articles I have mentioned as representing left-wing positions contributed, during the same years, a total of at least 204 articles to reputable non-Communist periodicals, including the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Reader's Digest*, *Literary Digest*, *American Mercury*, *Fortune*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*. . . .

By promoting the publication and discussion of important facts and opinions the I. P. R., in my opinion, was making and is still making a valuable contribution to our shockingly meager information about the Far East. To use political intimidation to curtail or eliminate the free market of facts and ideas to which the I. P. R. has contributed would be a catastrophe to the best interests of this country.

In a free country the discussion of foreign policy cannot be monopolized or patrolled by the government. The people of a democracy and the officials who handle foreign policy in the government need to be able to draw upon a wide field of academic and private research, done by people who are not subject to bureaucratic controls. It is right that the Congress should interest itself closely in both the issues and the conduct of foreign policy, but it is not right that the Congress should make itself the censor of academic research and personal opinion. . . .

On a Strong State Department

I believe that it is as important to the welfare and safety of this country to have a strong State Department and an able foreign service in our diplomacy as it is to have effective military forces. I believe that the usefulness of our foreign-service personnel has already been jeopardized by the work of this committee—both directly by attacks on irreplaceable personnel and indirectly by impairing the confidence of the nation and our foreign allies in our State Department and by instituting a reign of terror among our foreign-service personnel.

First, as to the direct injury: it is a fact that almost all the few men with outstanding experience and knowledge of China have already either been eliminated from the Department of State or are working in other parts of the world, in the hope of keeping them out of the line of fire of a bitterly partisan political fight and out of range of the venom of men who are determined to find evil where none exists.

The three outstanding examples of men sacrificed to the hysteria that has been whipped up in this country by the China Lobby—a hysteria to which this committee, I am sorry to say, is contributing—are John Stewart

Service, O. Edmund Clubb, and John Carter Vincent. Any one of these men would have been capable of holding, in our Far Eastern policy, the kind of respected position that is held with regard to Russian policy by George Kennan; but where are they now? . . .

Each of these men is a loss to the State Department—and there are few men of the same caliber left. The indirect damage to the conduct of our diplomacy is even greater. The more politically controversial our problems of diplomacy are, the more vital it is that the experts in the State Department should be able to discuss them fully, frankly, and without fear, and should be free to consult with academic experts. But we have reached a point of general intimidation at which our diplomatic representatives must feel under great pressure to report back to Washington only what it is safe to report, and make only those policy recommendations that they feel sure will not result in political attacks on their careers.

I am reminded, Senators, of something that once happened to the Russians. In 1939 they invaded Finland, sure that they were going to have a walkover, but suffered serious military defeats and tremendous damage to their prestige. Does anybody doubt that this was because political intimidation had made yes-men of the Soviet diplomats reporting to Moscow? Communist doctrine and the party line required them to report that the Finns were groaning under bourgeois-capitalist oppression and would welcome the Russian invaders. They dared not report the truth: that the Finns were a democratic people, willing to fight against even the Russian colossus in defense of their liberties. The consequence was that Russia walked into a booby trap.

The anger of the American people will be great, Senators, if the political reporting of the State Department degenerates to this point because of political persecution, intimidation, and the demand that the China Lobby be empowered to lay down a line to the State Department. What booby traps is the China Lobby laying on the road ahead of us? . . .

On Harold Stassen

In 1949 I was invited by the State Department with about thirty other people to take part in a discussion of Far Eastern policy; and as part of the preparations for that discussion I contributed—also on invitation—a memorandum of my views. To the best of my recollection this is the only time, in more than twenty-five years, that the State Department has asked me for my views.

For the purpose of discrediting the Far Eastern policy of the present Administration, and presumably to keep himself in the newspapers as a perpetual Presidential candidate, Mr. Harold Stassen has attempted to make me the scapegoat of this conference.

Mr. Stassen accused me of leading, at this conference, a "prevailing Lattimore group" which advocated a Communist line. He then described a "ten-point program" which he claimed I had advocated. Mr. Stassen obviously did not expect the record of the conference would be made public. Accordingly, he let his imagination run riot and attributed to me all the opinions expressed at this conference with which he disagreed, and some that he just imagined.

As soon as I learned of Mr. Stassen's statements I appealed to the State Department to release the full record of the conference. I publicly asked Mr. Stassen to join me in this request, which he did not do.

As soon as I could obtain a transcript of my remarks I released it to the press, and later the full transcript of the entire conference was released. You have that in your files, and I ask you to check it against what I say here. This transcript clearly showed that I had not advocated *any* of the ten points which Mr. Stassen had so irresponsibly labeled as a Lattimore program. . . .

In his second hearing, after the full record had been released, Mr. Stassen backtracked. He did not, of course, admit error. That would have been out of character for a Presidential candidate. . . . A member of this committee did his best to help Mr. Stassen. As "evidence" Mr. Stassen cited the fact that I made the not very brilliant or original remark that there was a "new situation" in Asia.

"That meant the recognition of Communist China, doesn't it?" asked Senator Smith, eagerly coming to his aid. "That is right," said Stassen.

How much more silly can the part-time president of a great university get? . . .

On ex-Communist Wittfogel

I turn now to the ex-Communist, Karl August Wittfogel. In his testimony Wittfogel tried to create two impressions—that in the early years of our acquaintance we were friendly with each other on the basis of mutual Communist sympathies, and that after he finally stopped being a Communist, in 1939, he broke off relations with me. Both of these pictures, drawn by Wittfogel's inventive hindsight, are maliciously false. . . .

The flimsy statements by which Wittfogel attempted to show that I knew he was a Communist are complete nonsense. The chief one is a story that in my presence Dr. Woodbridge Bingham had asked him if he had ever been a Communist and he said no. He then tried to suggest that I flashed him a smile implying that I knew that what he really meant was that he *was* a Communist. The truth is that I have not the faintest recollection of this whole conversation, but if I smiled at all, it was certainly a non-Communist smile. Now I would be willing to be-

lieve that Communists have an arsenal of secret signals, but I would never suppose that it included anything as good-natured as a smile. In fact, I thought that these grim conspirators regarded a smile as a bourgeois gesture—practically as an enemy of the state. If I am wrong, and if a smile is a secret red signal, I confess that I used to smile a great deal. In the pre-McCarthy days I used to think that life was lots of fun.

Wittfogel also made the ridiculous assertion that the fact that I used the terms "feudal" and "feudal survival" in describing Asiatic societies showed that I was a Communist. His claim that these terms are nothing but litmus papers for telling Communists from non-Communists is ridiculous. . . .

If the use of terms like "feudal survival" is a test of communism the following quotation may be of interest. It is from the *American Anthropologist*, July-September, 1951, p. 403, and is from a review of a book about Japan: "But here [in Japan] as in Germany, industrialization was so late and so rapid that many feudal elements survived."

The author who thus uses the hideous and forbidden expression "feudal elements" is Esther S. Goldfrank (Mrs. Karl August Wittfogel). I hasten to say I know nothing of her political views, and in any event I wouldn't accuse Wittfogel of anything on account of his association with his wife. . . .

On Collaboration with Communists

One of the principal targets of the China Lobby's criticism in the controversy about the history of our Chinese policy has been the proposal for a coalition between the Nationalists and the Communists—or more properly for a working arrangement between the two, in order to avoid a civil war in which, as informed observers knew and as events proved, the Chiang government would be bound to lose. Even General Marshall's motives have been assailed by the China Lobby because he advocated this, in spite of the fact that it is a matter of record that this policy was first sponsored by Secretary of State Byrnes, who has never been attacked for it and should not be.

It is nonsense to say, as had been dogmatically asserted before this committee, that coalition or cooperation with Communists always ends with the Communists taking over.

The Free French cooperated with the Communists, and the Communists did not take over France. Today about a third of the French Deputies are Communists.

The post-war government of Burma began as a coalition with Communists, but the Communists were later expelled and armed action taken against them.

The Indonesian Nationalist movement began as a

united front with Communists, but the Indonesian government has since taken armed action to suppress them.

The British cooperated during the war with Indian Communists, but the Communists did not take over India.

In saying this I do not want to be misunderstood as advocating collaboration with Communists. This is always dangerous—as dangerous as a partnership with a bear. It should be tolerated only where there is no alternative. My point is only that coalition is not necessarily surrender, and that coalition may reasonably be advocated in particular circumstances by persons whose sole objective is the ultimate defeat of communism. . . .

On Preventing War

In defending ourselves against totalitarian aggression abroad and infiltration within, we must not, despairing of our heritage of freedom, try to take refuge in the brutal kind of police state that we fought against when we destroyed Hitler and defeated Japan. . . .

War may come upon us. We may have no choice other than to endure and inflict its horrors. But the moral values that we are defending cannot be defended if we take upon ourselves the inhuman and brutal responsibility of preventive war. The demands of civilization and humanity are that we make every effort, unless and until we are forced into war, to protect ourselves and the values of civilization by means short of war.

The policy which I have described, as well as the policy to which our government and the United Nations are committed at the moment, is the policy of containment of aggression and of building up the conditions and forces of freedom. . . .

Gentlemen, of this I am certain: so long as this program of maneuver is our policy, so long as we choose the difficult and great course of peace, we are completely dependent for success on the validity of our information, the skill with which we analyze the information, and the ability not only of our diplomats but of our non-government, academic, and private research students and analysts. We cannot hope to play this dangerous game, and certainly not to win it, unless we have the facts as to what is going on. Our observers must be allowed to report the facts as they see them, without the fear that their motives will be misconstrued if they tell the truth. We must know the facts favorable to our enemy as well as those that we like. Of equal importance, we must have the views and opinions of all who have any special competence. Their views must be freely stated and stoutly maintained, so that those who have the ultimate decisions to make may have the fullest choice of various alternatives and so that the people may understand the issues at stake. . . .

Germany and Lisbon

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

THE West German press published the results of the Lisbon conference on Ash Wednesday, and to the German people, who learned they were to be remilitarized whether they liked it or not, the news seemed darkly in keeping with the day. In the Catholic provinces of the Federal Republic the carnival season was over and the gloomy period of fast was beginning. Two days before, on Rose Monday, at the climax of the revelry in Cologne, judgment had been pronounced on Lisbon. A million people stood in the streets, in front of the ruined buildings, to watch the carnival parade. One of the humorous floats was labeled "European Army." It showed a huge amorphous figure mounted on a truck, a futuristic monster, more fantastic than any creature of Picasso's imagination. Behind it marched a company of German soldiers in ragged, crazy uniforms, armed with canes and brooms, and then came a group of smartly turned-out Allied officers proclaiming themselves "The Victors." The float was greeted with scornful laughter which turned into thunderous applause for the German soldiers and then, at sight of the self-styled victors, into boos and hisses.

Every city and town in Germany, one reads in the local papers, reacted to Lisbon in the same way. The people are furious that the government, against their will and without authorization from Parliament, agreed to contribute German divisions, and billions of marks as well, to NATO defense. The Social Democratic opposition is determined that the agreement shall not be carried out and is renewing its demand for a general election. It maintains that the Parliament has no right to create a German army; that the constitution must be changed before that can be done. The constitution, of course, can only be changed by a two-thirds' vote of the Parliament, and the Adenauer government has but a scant majority. Moreover, the opposition insists, since the present Parliament was chosen under such different circumstances from those prevailing today, the will of the people should be consulted in new elections.

Six million organized workers support the Social Democratic position, although Christian Fette, president of the General Federation of Labor, has declared that Germany has a duty to the European community and should make a conditional military contribution to its defense. His statement has evoked violent protests, and revolts against his leadership are brewing in many

unions. The question what can be done if the government majority imposes remilitarization is passionately discussed by rank-and-file unionists, and occasionally one hears talk of a general strike. That such a drastic measure is even thought of shows how severe is the crisis brought on by the Lisbon decisions and Adenauer's arbitrary action.

German democracy will be the first sacrifice to Lisbon. German social progress will be the second. Bonn has agreed to spend twelve and a half billion marks a year on armament, of which something over one billion will be allocated to Berlin and another billion used for the existing frontier guards and military pensions. Adenauer's Finance Minister says he will not raise taxes but will ask the several *Länder* to increase their contributions to the federal government 13 per cent, which will make them give up 40 per cent of their revenues. That will mean an end to their public-housing projects and a sharp curtailment of relief for the nine million refugees from the east and the even needier pensioners, disabled veterans, war widows, and orphans.

If Dr. Adenauer and his ministers are proud of their success in obtaining a German army, many deputies are deeply disturbed. Even those representing government parties recognize that remilitarization will have serious consequences for both domestic and foreign politics. Their greatest fear is that it will perpetuate the division of the country and increase the danger of war. They might not go so far as to vote against the government, but in secret they hope that rearmament plans will finally be wrecked on French opposition. Like the deputies from the middle-class parties, most of the bourgeois newspapers are skeptical about the results of Lisbon and assert that Acheson claims a great success for domestic political reasons.

No responsible politician, no sober journalist, believes in the much-talked-of fifty divisions. The Bonn *General Anzeiger* recalls Göring's promise before the war that no enemy plane would penetrate to the skies over Germany and cautions against underestimating Russian strength. The Stuttgart *Wirtschaftszeitung* says: "Whatever the Americans do in pursuit of their own aims, and whatever action is taken at Bonn and Paris, we must never cease to demand that the great powers use this critical year not only for rearmament but for an earnest attempt to mitigate the conditions that make rearmament necessary." The Social Democratic Press Service found the Lisbon decisions "astonishing," since they were a virtual admission that "the United States feared it would be un-

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's correspondent in West Germany.

able to implement its European policy." In that case "the value of the policy in defending Europe against the Soviet threat must be questioned." The agreement between the United States and Bonn on the subject of the German contribution had only made the desired European unity more difficult to achieve. Never had France and Germany been farther apart, and passions were being unloosed in both countries that were widening the gap. "New parliamentary elections," the Social Democratic organ continued, "are of international importance for the reason that any rearmament measure that the government forces through the present unrepresentative Parliament will never be carried out."

Many deputies and trade-unionists express themselves in less diplomatic language. "For the first time," they say, "communism has a chance in West Germany."

A Blow to Disarmament

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations, New York

THE reactions reaching the United Nations from the capitals most directly affected by the decisions of the Lisbon conference—Moscow, Paris, Bonn, London—are still either too scanty or too official to offer a real basis of evaluation; the Soviet press, for instance, has limited itself to predicting that the Western rearmament program drawn up at Lisbon will further complicate the economic situation of member nations. But even in the present mood of American exultation over "the huge psychological success," to use Walter Lippmann's definition, achieved at a moment of rather dark anticipations, when the obstacles within the Atlantic coalition had begun to appear almost insuperable, some signs of concern are perceptible. After all it is only a week or so before the new Disarmament Commission, agreed to at Paris, will meet here for the first time—under the shadow of the armament agreements of Lisbon.

The creation of the commission by the Big Four representatives who met privately in the Palais de Chaillot from December 1 to December 10 was in the last analysis the only positive accomplishment of the Sixth Assembly. It was the determination of the small and middle-sized countries to prevent the United Nations from becoming the major victim of the cold war that inspired the resolution, introduced by Iraq, Pakistan, and Syria, later amended by Norway and Lebanon, and finally adopted unanimously. I remember saying at the time to some of the delegates: "This is all very well, provided that before the commission starts work nothing irreparable is done about the rearmament of Germany."

Nobody expected a miracle. The new commission would inherit all the fundamental disagreements that had hampered the efforts of the Assembly. But from the

moment Mr. Vishinsky announced that the Soviet Union would participate there was a feeling that the disarmament question would at least remain in the area of East-West discussion. Now, after Lisbon, some of the small powers that placed more hope in that limited but concrete possibility are asking themselves what the commission can do beyond reviving the well-known spectacle of reciprocal recriminations.

The answers of such delegates as will comment are colored by the different ways in which they interpret the consequences of Lisbon, especially in regard to the American and Russian positions, since it is evident in advance that if neither power is willing to make use of the Disarmament Commission, any attempts the other powers may make in the direction of a rapprochement will be fruitless. About America the sentiment is more clear. It is generally assumed that the United States believes Russia has already lost the chance to prevent the development of the Atlantic coalition on the lines laid down by Washington. Of course as long as billions of dollars and innumerable sacrifices are demanded from the parliaments of the various countries, including the United States Congress, the menace of Russian aggression will continue to be the keynote of American policy within and outside the United Nations. But this does not conflict with the fact that, since Lisbon, the dominant American feeling, expressed privately, is that "Russia is now in our pocket" and while the Kremlin may still cause a lot of trouble, in Indo-China, in Malaya, and even in Korea, it will not be able to keep the West from becoming the most powerful armed combination of all time. In this state of mind the United States is not likely, in the coming session of the Disarmament Commission, to accept any plan that would imply a diminution of the balance achieved at Lisbon.

But of course Russia, in Washington's pocket or not, is still on the scene, and its reaction is awaited in United Nations circles with both curiosity and anxiety. One long-held assumption remains still up in the air. It had been expected that the Kremlin, while ready to meet the West on certain other issues and to retreat diplomatically where necessary, would be adamant on the question of the rearmament of Germany. But German rearmament suddenly dominates the international picture, and, to the amazement of certain people in the United Nations with whom I have talked here, Russian diplomacy appears to be dispersed among various lesser issues. The question arises whether, instead of a frontal counter-attack, Moscow may not plan a flank movement, making the most of the undeniable impact that the recent appeal of the Grotewohl government in favor of a peace treaty has had on Bonn. In any case, whatever Russia's reaction to the Lisbon agreements, it is feared in United Nations circles that the Soviet representative will not appear in the Disarmament Commission in a very cooperative mood.

Another Crisis for Ike

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington

SWEEPING political predictions would be unwise in advance of the New Hampshire primary, which will provide the first test of the relative popularity of various candidates. But certain facts may be noted. The Eisenhower forces are seriously in need of a really smashing victory in the Republican balloting. On the Democratic side, Mr. Truman can afford to lose a few primaries to Senator Estes Kefauver; he can undoubtedly win renomination by his party if he wants to. But an excellent showing by Kefauver, followed by Mr. Truman's voluntary withdrawal from the race, might make the Tennessee Senator a factor in the Democratic convention. If Mr. Truman does decide to step aside, however, his heir apparent still seems likely to be Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, who is working just as hard as Kefauver, though in a different way, to make himself "available" if the occasion arises.

One primary does not decide a Presidential nomination, as was proved in 1948 when Stassen swept Wisconsin and then was abruptly checked in Oregon by Dewey. But in New Hampshire Eisenhower has little to gain and much to lose, whereas Taft has much to gain and little to lose. The Eisenhower people made the mistake of claiming New Hampshire for their own. Eisenhower was backed by the Republican governor and by the organization groups that in 1950 renominated Senator Tobey. But ever since Taft decided to enter the primary, Governor Adams has been rather irritably denying to reporters that Eisenhower is a sure winner.

The plain fact is that the Republican organization in New Hampshire is divided, and Taft is supported by most of the Republicans who in 1950 nearly succeeded in throwing Tobey out of the Senate as "too liberal." If Taft gets from four to seven of the state's fourteen convention delegates and makes a good showing in the parallel preferential voting for candidates, it will be a worth-while victory.

The trouble with Eisenhower's campaign is that owing to his absence from the country it has never got off the ground. Instead, it has run into a series of crises, with Ike's supporters here constantly demanding more overt declarations from him to make up for the failure to materialize of the "spontaneous" draft they once dreamed of. Eisenhower handled the first crisis for them by his "green light" press conference during a flying trip

to Washington, when he said, in effect, that he would not disavow those who were working for him. In the second crisis he let Senator Lodge announce that as civilian president of Columbia University he had declared himself a Republican, confirming Lodge later in a statement issued at Paris.

When a third crisis arose, various Eisenhower supporters began clamoring for him to "come home" by May 1. "He can't win," they wailed, "unless he campaigns." Why they imagine that Ike will "come home," in the face of his very clear statement that under no circumstances would he ask to be relieved of his duty in Europe, surpasses understanding. But the demand is a sign of their fear that Taft is about to seize the nomination by weight of fire power.

They have reason to be apprehensive. Taft is campaigning with intelligence and determination. He is the only front-running candidate in a position to make hard-headed deals for delegates, to promise patronage and rewards and jobs. The Republican professionals who control delegates are not interested in pie in the sky or convinced by theoretical claims that only Ike can win in November. They are beginning to suspect that maybe Taft can win in November—or at least that only an alliance with Taft holds out a clear prospect of reward. Many newspapers are now running syndicated newspaper articles purporting to explain Eisenhower's political creed in his own words. To the delegate-controlling politicians these will not seem a satisfactory substitute for Ike's presence.

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and Senator Ives of New York may feel that their own reelection chances would be ruined with Taft heading the Republican ticket. But Senators ordinarily do not control delegates; governors and state chairmen and party bosses control them. If Eisenhower has the popular pulling power that is claimed, New Hampshire is the place for him to show it.

For the Democrats, nothing will be clear until the President makes his announcement of intentions. Back in 1951 he said that he had already made up his mind, but a few weeks ago he asked reporters to stop bothering him about it, because he had a very difficult question to decide. Mr. Truman obviously would hate to contemplate the possible election of Taft, who has already promised to repudiate the President's foreign policy, change the military leadership, and do something different—nobody knows just what—in the Far East. Whether Mr. Truman will eventually decide that he has made the Administration record and is thus the best person to defend it may

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depend on the extent to which he is influenced by Mrs. Truman's desire to get out of the White House as against the desire of various White House cronies to hang on to their perquisites.

Assuming that Truman does not run, the Stevenson boomlet is at least as important as Kefauver's open drive for the nomination or Senator Robert S. Kerr's role as a Truman stalking horse in Nebraska. The weak men around Truman have an abiding hatred for Kefauver as the "crime buster" who helped the Republicans beat Scott Lucas in 1950 in Illinois. What actually beat Lucas, of course, was the over-ripe record of the Democratic Party in Chicago, its mistake in nominating a wealthy cop for sheriff of Cook County, and the undistinguished Senate career of Lucas himself. The cronies will never understand this and they still despise Kefauver. Of more weight is the fact that there are not enough primaries in the country for the Tennessee Senator to get the delegates he will need to win against Truman's open opposition.

Senator Richard B. Russell, who announced his candidacy late last week, will have strong Southern support, but since 1936, when the Democratic National Convention substituted nomination by simple majority for the two-thirds' rule, the South has held no veto power over the Democratic nominee. Russell is an able man, far more statesman-like than most of his Dixiecrat supporters, but the Democrats will not nominate an anti-civil-rights candidate unless they decide to commit hara-kiri. Northern industrial and Negro votes are more important to the party than the Southern Electoral College votes. The real question about Russell is whether, after being beaten in the convention, he will support the Democratic nominees or bolt to whatever Dixiecrat movement gets under way.

Stevenson has certain clear-cut advantages. He is not challenging the President's control of the party, he is a proved vote getter, and he is considered by some White House strategists to be ideally situated to appeal to the three groups of greatest importance to the Democratic Party—organized labor, farmers, and Northern minorities, including Negro voters. He swept Illinois in 1948 by 570,000 votes, when Senator Douglas obtained a plurality of 407,000 and Mr. Truman one of 33,000. He has administered his state honestly and skilfully. Most important of all, perhaps, he has been getting an excellent press since he visited Truman here last month.

Stevenson will not talk to reporters about his own Presidential prospects, but he willingly discusses national issues, and his ideas square well enough with Truman's. A Committee of One Thousand, with impressive names and leadership, is ready in Illinois to back him if the word comes. In Washington, Stevenson's friends have quietly opened an office under the leadership of a liberal Chicago lawyer, George Ball.

The President has said he "hopes" to make his announcement before April 29—the last day on which he can file in Missouri as a candidate for his old job in the Senate. A probably unreliable rumor is that he may choose to make his declaration on March 29 at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Washington, fourth anniversary of the famous dinner at which he confidently told the \$100-a-plate party faithful that "the next President will be a Democrat—and you're looking at him."

Most of his real friends here would like to see the President voluntarily retire. If he loses in the election he will feel personally repudiated, and if he wins he will face four more years of terrible struggle to implement a program with a divided party.

Mix-up in Minnesota

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Duluth

IT IS hard to say just what Minnesota voters will decide in the Presidential primary on March 18. A peculiar combination of circumstances has reduced the balloting to an absurdity: while six delegations originally filed, only one avowed candidate for the Presidency is entered, namely, Harold E. Stassen.

This will be the first Presidential primary under a 1949 law supposed to have been tailored to meet Stassen's future political requirements. The law provides that if a candidate wants to take his name off the ballot he must sign an affidavit stating "that he is not a candidate for the nomination of President for the party for which he has been filed and that if nominated by

such party he would not accept." Stassen may have had both MacArthur and Eisenhower in mind when this tricky measure was drafted.

The six delegations which originally filed included one for Stassen, one for Eisenhower, two for MacArthur, a favorite-son delegation for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, and a delegation for Senator Estes Kefauver. The last appears to have been a "stooge" delegation entered without Kefauver's consent by elements unfriendly to Senator Humphrey. Kefauver has since said: "I do not wish to be a candidate in Minnesota; I desire that my name shall not appear on the ballot." General MacArthur has also asked that his name be withdrawn, but neither Kefauver nor MacArthur has signed the

March 8, 1952



Alvin Katz

Harold E. Stassen

affidavit which the statute requires. Last week Attorney General J. A. A. Burnquist ruled the requirement invalid, and acting on this ruling, Secretary of State Mike Helm struck the Kefauver delegation and the one formally pledged to MacArthur from the ballot. But a delegation filed for one Edward C. Slettedahl, state chairman of the "Fighters for MacArthur," who refers to

himself as a "stand-in" candidate for the General, remains in the running. Since Senator Humphrey has disavowed any personal Presidential hopes and Kefauver and MacArthur have succeeded in withdrawing, the contest is between Stassen and Eisenhower.

The Eisenhower leaders apparently decided to enter a slate of delegates in Minnesota only after Stassen had barged into the New Hampshire primary. Taft has powerful support in Minnesota but has refused to enter the primary on three grounds: it is his policy not to compete with favorite-son candidates; he is heavily committed in the Wisconsin primary (April 1), which his supporters regard as crucial, and also in the New Hampshire primary (March 11); and he believes that he will get many "second choice" votes from both the Stassen and Eisenhower delegates. Some politicians here feel that he is making a serious mistake, since he might stand a good chance in a three-cornered Taft-Eisenhower-Stassen fight.

Early surveys revealed wide popularity for Eisenhower. In a poll taken among 450 employees in a Minneapolis industrial plant he received more votes than all other candidates combined. Democratic strength in the area, normally 51 per cent, was shown to be down to 28 per cent. A poll taken in Northfield, with the college vote at St. Olaf's and Carleton excluded, gave Eisenhower 274, Taft 195, Stassen 184. A poll taken by Dick Bruner of the *Mankato Free Press* indicated that Republican county chairmen in the Second District thought Kefauver would be the hardest Democratic candidate to beat; Democratic-Farmer-Labor leaders said that Eisenhower would be the strongest Republican nominee.

Nevertheless, enthusiastic receptions given Stassen in such communities as St. Cloud, Willmar, and Rochester have apparently disturbed those in charge of the national

Eisenhower campaign. Senator Frank Carlson, co-chairman of the Eisenhower for President Headquarters, has since been quoted as saying that his organization does not support the Eisenhower slate in Minnesota. Actually Stassen's reception in Minnesota has been hearty largely because he is campaigning as a favorite-son candidate in a state in which he was governor for three terms. Should he roll up a big vote in Minnesota, in default of any opposition, his chances in Wisconsin will be improved. In any case, he has precipitated a real crisis for the Eisenhower forces.

Perhaps the most noteworthy political fact in the Minnesota situation is that for the first time since 1948 the number of professed Republican voters now exceeds the Democratic-Farmer-Labor total. A recent poll indicates that 37 per cent of the voters now think of themselves as Republicans, 33 per cent as D. F. L., 23 per cent as independents, and 7 per cent as interested in minor groups. The same poll shows a marked movement of independents into the Republican Party and a similar movement from D. F. L. into the independent ranks. In short, the independent vote is leaving the Democratic Party, although it may of course swing back.

A court action has been filed to disqualify the Eisenhower delegation on technical grounds.* Stassen denies any hand in this maneuver, but it is widely believed that his supporters engineered it. One of the persons taking part is a former Republican Congressman who appeared on the platform with him when Stassen announced his candidacy in Philadelphia last December 27. State Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner Leonard Lindquist has denounced Stassen for trying to choke off the Eisenhower slate and charged that the "Stassen dictatorship in Minnesota G. O. P. politics is killing the spirit of many party workers." It is interesting that Lindquist, one of the Eisenhower delegates, is a member of a law firm of which Orville Freeman, who is expected to be the D. F. L. candidate for governor, is also a member. In a number of areas I have sensed a pretty close relationship between certain D. F. L. elements and the pro-Eisenhower people.

Stassen has unquestionably lost strength in Minnesota since 1948. The old-line Republicans feel that in many cases he has "used" them and then let them down. On the other hand, the starry-eyed "internationalist" Republicans, who were enthusiastically pro-Stassen in 1948, are now for Eisenhower, as are many of the followers of former Governor Luther Youngdahl. Stassen is re-

**Postscript:* The state Supreme Court has now ruled the Eisenhower delegation off the ballot. It will ease the tension for Senator Edward J. Thy and others who indorsed Ike before they knew that Harold intended to be a candidate in Minnesota. The Eisenhower forces seem to have been bluffed out of this primary by the reception accorded Stassen. The likely effect will be to strengthen Stassen in Wisconsin and to complicate still further the Eisenhower strategy. Yet the latest polls still show Eisenhower a heavy favorite over Stassen.

garded with some cynicism by many elements. A story I heard everywhere is that two states now claim Harold Stassen, but Pennsylvania would gladly yield to Minnesota and Minnesota to Pennsylvania. As usual, he is taking an opportunist line. He is against the "soft internationalism" of the Democrats on the one hand and against the "semi-isolationism of the 1920's" on the other. He favors a "dynamic" policy in which we will use "more American ideas and fewer American dollars." He wants the gold standard restored and advocates inducing corporations to sponsor profit-sharing programs by the grant of tax benefits. Asked how he stood on McCarthy, for whom he campaigned vigorously in Wis-

consin in 1946, he said: "I feel the cure for McCarthyism is to remove all those who have shown a weakness toward the communistic attitude"—which is hardly a repudiation.

Some of the ablest political reporters in the state imparted to me their secret belief that Eisenhower might upset Stassen—a possibility which seemed to be anticipated with universal pleasure. But there is so little real interest in the primary that Minnesota must be put down as a "mix-up," a puzzle. After studying the curious situation, John C. McDonald of the *Minnesota Tribune* decided that he would "take Red-eyed Sadie in the third." I'm inclined to agree.

Clinical Study in Queens

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

THE Fifth Congressional District in the Borough of Queens in New York City, where registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans nearly three to one, has just sent a Taft-minded Republican to Congress in a by-election. News of the event was greeted with considerable apathy by practically everyone in the country except the chairman of the Republican National Committee, who called it "the handwriting on the wall for Truman." That may be putting it a little strong, especially as the defeated Democrat was almost as violently anti-Truman as his successful opponent. Nevertheless, the cozy little election has its points of interest for all parties concerned, including the trend spotters.

The Fifth District is a community of modest small homes interspersed with garden apartments of the hey-neighbor-turn-down-your-radio variety. Politically it is an area in which the Democrats are often more successful in getting out the registration than the votes. It went for Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, wildly for Willkie in 1940, and mildly for Dewey in 1948. It elected a Republican Congressman in 1946 and a Democratic Congressman in 1948 and 1950. In 1949 it sent a Democrat to the City Council by a vote of more than two to one.

The successful Republican candidate in the by-election was Robert T. Ross, a veteran of the Eightieth Congress who was attempting a come-back. The Republican National Committee was so determined he should win that it sent Bernard Lamb, a by-election expert, down from headquarters to help him. Lamb and Frank Kenna, chairman of the Queens Republican Committee, did a bang-up job of machine campaigning. "We hit the people with four separate mailings and reached 75,000 of the district's 106,528 voters directly by telephone," Kenna said. "We figured all we had to do was to get out

the vote—any vote—and we'd win." Well, they didn't exactly get out the vote; only 30 per cent of the qualified voters went to the polls, which is not such a hot figure even for a by-election. But enough of the 30 per cent voted Republican to make Kenna consider that his 75,000 phone calls were not wasted.

The issues? Kenna summed them up in three words—"crime, corruption, communism." He added that sometimes the three words were conveniently wrapped up in one—"Trumanism." He said the word had a magic effect, even on Democrats. "At first we thought we had to remind the Democrats, in our approach to them, of the corruption in their own party. But we soon found out they knew all about it. After that we just told them, 'Get out and vote!'"

Did the Democrats vote? Kenna says sure they did—they voted for Ross. "Look at Forest Hills," he said. "Three hundred Democrats are registered there. But only three votes were cast for the Democratic candidate on the voting machines. Do you mean to tell me that of three hundred Democrats, only three voted?" Conversely, said the persuasive Kenna, it is impossible to believe that the 17,000 who voted for Ross were all Republicans. "Give us a break and say we got out 50 per cent of our enrolment. That still means we captured at least 4,000 Democratic votes."

Were any other issues placed before the voters in the course of the campaign—foreign policy, inflation, local issues? "There was a local issue," answered Kenna. "Airplane crashes. We're living here near LaGuardia Airport just as the Elizabeth people live near Newark Airport. But I can't say it was much of an issue. It turned out the Democratic candidate was just as much opposed to airplane crashes as our candidate."

The Democratic candidate was Hugh Quinn, whom

the district had sent to the City Council in 1949. Quinn managed his own campaign with no help from the Democratic National Committee. Indeed, in the face of aggressive Republican charges of "corruption, crime, and communism," Quinn waged an indignant "not me" campaign, deliberately divorcing himself from anything that smacked of the Truman machine. He even dropped the Democratic star from his campaign literature, possibly because it had exactly the same number of points as the Russian star. Still, his disguise apparently was not good enough. "Truman licked me," he moaned when he received news of his defeat.

Well, there it is. But how would the election have gone had Quinn put on an aggressive campaign, wel-

coming the support of the Democratic National Committee and making use of the facilities of the New York Telephone Company? That is for the trend spotters to decide. But it does seem that the election showed two things rather clearly. The first is that a "not me" campaign will prove no more effective in 1952 than a "me too" campaign proved in 1948. The second is that the Republicans have decided to campaign, at least on the local level, on the "Trumanism" issue as the obverse of the Democratic "McCarthyism" coin. The Democrats will now have to decide whether their best counter-offensive is to change the word by urging Truman to remove himself from it or to give it another and more salutary meaning.

Tito's Unique Yugoslavia

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

TO STUDY the Yugoslav economic problem one really needs to visit Yugoslavia—many of the relevant facts are still not available elsewhere. I spent last September in Yugoslavia, traveling about the country, visiting factories, talking with officials; my visit culminated in a series of long discussions with high officials in Belgrade in charge of economic policy. After examining my notes and the material I had collected, I began to understand why Russia's systematic efforts to destroy the Tito regime by an economic blockade are not likely to succeed; Yugoslavia's ability not only to free itself from the role of satellite but to hold its own against the Soviet Union and the other states in the Russian orbit was at least partially explained. Answers to other puzzling questions also emerged, such as why the revolution in Yugoslavia had developed so differently from the Russian revolution, and why the Yugoslavs have been able to establish their independence of Moscow while the other Eastern countries remain under Soviet domination. A few of the factors responsible for the unique situation in Yugoslavia are analyzed in this article and one to follow.

When the Bolshevik Party came to power in Russia through the October Revolution, World War I was practically over, and once the party had consolidated its control, it was able to carry out a gigantic social transformation by expropriating the great feudal landowners, who had played such a decisive political role, as well as the relatively small number of capitalists. The imperial Yugoslav armies were defeated by the Germans in

World War II just as the czarist armies had been in World War I, but Tito organized his partisan forces while the fight was still raging. The Germans—like the Japanese in China—controlled the cities and railroads but never conquered the whole country. The partisans—like the Chinese guerrillas—could not be completely defeated. When Hitler's occupation forces in Yugoslavia were weakened as a result of German military setbacks elsewhere, the partisans seized one sector of the country after another. And since the former Serbian ruling class had cooperated with the invaders, as fast as the partisans took over an area, they established their own political regime.

Thus the social revolution in Yugoslavia took place *during* the war, almost as a by-product of the war. Tito's men ousted those in control because they were collaborators and traitors. When the war ended, the revolution was also at an end. The new Yugoslav government, dominated by Tito and the Communist Party, possessed all the economic "commanding heights"—the big industrial concerns, the railroads, the banks, and so forth. It was not necessary, as it had been in Russia in 1917, to carry out a radical social transformation in the wake of a devastating war; the change had been accomplished by the partisans in the process of winning the war.

Yugoslavia is the only Eastern European country in which victory and revolution were in a sense one. In none of the present Russian satellite countries was there any important revolutionary movement while the war was going on. Where major upheavals did occur, at the end of the war or afterward, it was the Red Army that set them in motion and controlled them. And this brings us to the second point which distinguishes the Yugoslav situation from that of other Eastern European countries.

FRITZ STERNBERG, economist and author, has recently brought out a new book, *"Capitalism and Socialism on Trial."* His second article on Yugoslavia will appear in an early issue.

When the war was over not one Russian soldier stood on Yugoslav soil. So little did Stalin foresee what was to come that the Red armies withdrew from Belgrade, which they had occupied in their thrust against the Germans, and at the end of the struggle Tito stood at the head of his own battle-tested and victorious forces and master of his country—just as Mao Tse-tung was master of China when the civil war was won. Leadership of his own army was Tito's first necessity for staying in power. But this alone would have been insufficient. He could have been overthrown after the break with Moscow had not decisive economic factors come to his aid.

ALTHOUGH Yugoslavia is still an industrially backward country, it is trying hard to develop its industry to the point where iron and coal can be processed at home: Yugoslavia wants a heavy industry of its own. The effort to make an agrarian, raw-material-producing country also an industrial country is evident on all sides. It can be clearly seen in the more advanced republics, Croatia and Slovenia, which in many respects are not far below the industrial level of Czechoslovakia, and even in Macedonia, whose economic development approximates that of Bulgaria or Rumania.

In line with this trend there has been a rapid expansion of cities and urban occupations. At the end of the war 80 per cent of the people were still engaged in cultivating the land and only 20 per cent in business or professions; today the proportion has shifted to 70 per cent in agriculture and 30 in urban occupations. At the end of 1945 the unions had only about a million members; today the number has doubled—1,600,000 industrial workers and 400,000 other employees. With increasing industrialization Yugoslavia has made a break with its own past and at the same time thrown off the restrictions by which Russia sought to transform it into an economic satellite.

Before the war Yugoslavia's development, like that of most other industrially backward nations, was chiefly determined by the influx of foreign capital. Foreign investments increased the output and export of certain raw materials, especially minerals, but did nothing to help Yugoslavia achieve a coordinated industrial structure. Thus while the country possessed all the formal attributes of sovereignty, its economy showed pronounced colonial traits, which of course effectively undermined its political independence as well. By expropriating most of the imported capital and taking control of the nation's economy, the Tito government sharply changed Yugoslavia's semi-colonial status. A Five-Year Plan was set up which aimed, among other things, at processing more and more raw materials at home and using them as the core of a heavy and light machine industry.

Knowing that Russia, after the October Revolution, had been transformed from a primarily agrarian into a

mixed agrarian and industrial country, the Yugoslavs took it for granted that the Soviet government would support their industrial program. Their Five-Year Plan was, in fact, largely based on the assumption that the Russians would supply—partially on credit—capital goods and other necessities which they themselves did not yet produce.

But Soviet policy in Eastern Europe, as the years have revealed, is not concerned with helping the Eastern countries develop according to their own economic needs. On the contrary, Russia is evidently determined to gear the economies of the satellite states to its own and in so doing increase their dependence. The five-year plans announced in Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest are in reality part and parcel of the Russian five-year plans. In 1945, however, this policy had not clearly emerged; possibly it had not fully developed. In any case, Russia and the other Eastern countries purchased many of Yugoslavia's products and supplied their own goods in return. But they never fulfilled their credit promises; of the \$125,000,000 credit that had been pledged to Yugoslavia, only \$800,000—less than 1 per cent—was received. The execution of the Yugoslav Five-Year Plan was in consequence seriously hampered. In the period just after the war, however, Yugoslavia's foreign trade went chiefly to Russia and the Russian satellites. This was in sharp contrast to the situation before the war.

IN 1938 imperial Yugoslavia and Soviet Russia maintained no diplomatic relations, and the trade between the two countries was only 1 per cent of their total trade. About 15 per cent of Yugoslavia's exports went to Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, and some 16-18 per cent of its imports were obtained from those countries. In sum, more than four-fifths of Yugoslavia's trade was with countries outside the Soviet Union and its future satellites. The first two post-war years showed a very different picture: almost three-quarters of Yugoslavia's trade was with Russia and Russian-controlled areas.

Although relations between the two governments grew more difficult as Russia tightened its economic grip on Yugoslavia, the Soviet rulers undoubtedly believed that the strong ties which had been formed were insurance against rebellion. Just before their political break with Belgrade they had induced the Yugoslavs to shift large orders for capital goods from the West to Russia and the satellite states. After the break they imposed a strict blockade and must have expected it to bring about the downfall of the Tito government. By 1949, when the blockade was fully in effect, imports from Russia had fallen to a mere 1.62 per cent and those from the satellites to 11.6 per cent.

Today Yugoslavia's trade with Russia and the satellite states stands at zero. The government estimates that

the blockade has cost the country about \$400,000,000. That is a small sum by American standards; but since Yugoslavia's annual imports total only a little over \$300,000,000, the blockade, in less than four years, has cost more than a full year's imports. One can easily realize how severe was its initial impact; only by temporarily suspending part of the first Five-Year Plan and distributing it over a longer period were the Yugoslavs able to survive the blockade's effect. They have also tried to offset their losses by boosting their foreign trade with countries outside the Russian orbit.

This has not been easy, even though Yugoslavia's pre-war trade was, as shown above, predominantly with countries outside Eastern Europe. For one thing, Germany used to have the leading role, contributing in 1938 more than a third of Yugoslavia's imports. Today Yugoslavia is consciously seeking to consolidate its political independence by trading with as many countries as possible. At the same time the character of its trade has changed with the new necessity of importing large amounts of capital goods to speed up the process of industrialization.

A third factor is even more important. In no country outside the Russian orbit have military expenditures taken as large a slice of the national income as in Yugoslavia—over 20 per cent in 1951 and 23 per cent in 1952. This proportion is not only higher than in any of the Atlantic Pact nations of Europe but also higher than in the United

States, where, according to budget estimates, military expenditures will absorb 18 per cent of the American national income in 1952-53.

At present Yugoslavia's foreign trade is determined primarily by the rearmament program. Out of \$300,000,000 worth of imports, about \$100,000,000 worth are armaments. To pay for them Yugoslavia must export a considerable part of its raw materials, which necessarily slows down its own industrial growth. To understand the nation's present straits, one must remember that Yugoslavia, with a population of only 16,000,000, lost more than 10 per cent of its people in the war; the country was long a battlefield in the international struggle, and for even longer civil war raged on its soil. Then in 1948-49 the blockade was imposed, and in 1950 a drought caused poor crops and near-starvation.

Despite these gigantic difficulties the economic upsurge is unmistakable. In 1951 the harvest was better than in any previous post-war year, and there is now food for everybody in village and town. Despite reports to the contrary in some American newspapers, the winter sowing was about the same as a year ago. Complaints and resistance have certainly increased, but much of this opposition is due, not to worse conditions, but to the fact that since the government began to lift restrictions and decentralize its over-all controls, the peasants feel free to speak out. Things are looking up, and if there is no war the hardest years are thought to be over.

Some Plane Facts

THE recent crashes at Elizabeth have raised the question of moving airports farther away from urban centers. Although most are already well removed, nearly all airfields serving large cities, as well as many in smaller communities, have residential areas close by; some are entirely surrounded by built-up districts. The residents of many airport communities, their nerves frayed by the constant racket of low-flying planes and fearful of sudden death from the skies, are demanding an end to air operations in their midst, regardless of the crippling effect such a development would have on commercial aviation and its services to the community at large.

The answer to the Elizabeth tragedies is not in moving airports, but in improving planes and airline practices. The hard fact is that airline planes are not as safe as they can and ought to be. Moreover, the airlines, if

they were so minded, could be much better neighbors as well as safer public servants. No attempt has ever been made, for example, to reduce noise; the men who run the airlines brush off every suggestion for changes in engine and propeller design or in take-off and landing procedure that might make life a little more bearable around airports.

During the past four years the passenger fatality rate of the scheduled domestic lines has held nearly constant at about 1.3 deaths per 100,000,000 passenger-miles. This is an improvement over the years immediately after the war. But it is no better than was achieved in the best war and pre-war years despite new and presumably safer planes and vast government expenditures for new airports and navigation aids. Deaths among occupants of buildings and homes struck by planes, moreover, are increasing in frequency; such accidents were rare before the war.

A good many factors have contributed to the airlines' failure to improve their safety record. One is their re-

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BY LEONARD ENGEL

luctance to buck popular prejudice against riding backward. Experiments in the United States and Great Britain going back to the war indicate that many more people would survive crashes if they sat facing the tail of the plane so that the back of the seat would take up the first shock. Post mortems have shown that many persons are killed by being snapped over their seat belts; this was the case in sixteen of twenty-eight deaths in a crash at Dallas, Texas, in 1949.

The basic reason, however, why the air safety record is no better is the stress laid by airlines on ever greater speed and economy of operation. Greater speeds allow more flights per plane per year and a greater return to the airline. Whatever may be said about customer preference, this is the reason for the parade of ever faster, larger aircraft since the war.

THERE are, in general, two ways to increase the speed of a plane. One is to use more powerful engines; the other to reduce the plane's "drag" by such measures as decreasing wing area. Since extra horse-power costs money, the airlines and the manufacturers who supply their planes chose the second device for increasing speed. Unfortunately, reducing wing area adversely affects flying characteristics. Other things being equal, the smaller its wings, the faster a plane must move in order to leave the ground, and the higher must be its landing speed.

The Constellation, DC-6, and other new transports have very small wings in proportion to their over-all size. As a result, their take-off and landing speeds approach 100 miles an hour. Such speeds are an imposition on the taxpayer as well as a built-in hazard. They are one reason why current transport craft require runways a mile or more in length. They decrease the margin left for pilot error and increase the risk of engine failure during the take-off run. And they raise formidable special problems, such as how to brake planes to a stop after landing or during a take-off emergency.

The braking problem is a good illustration of the difficulties that the wrong approach to plane design can lead to. In the past the main reliance was placed on wheel brakes and long runways. Wheel brakes cannot be applied full on in a take-off emergency or at the beginning of the landing run; the tires would blow out. And of course wheel brakes will not hold on icy runways any more than automobile brakes on icy roads; there have been several accidents as a result of planes skidding off runways. The airlines found a remedy, but it has caused as much trouble as the problem it was meant to cure. Their solution was not a plane with better take-off and landing characteristics, but a device to reverse the angle or pitch of the propeller blades, thus causing the propellers to act as a powerful air brake. The pitch-reversing mechanism, which will soon be in use on all major

airlines, is wonderful when it works: it can bring planes to a complete stop in a few hundred feet. But it has already been involved in four accidents—the last two at Elizabeth and two earlier mishaps which by great good fortune caused no injuries—although it is surrounded by all sorts of safeguards supposed to guarantee that it will operate when and only when it is wanted.

Another built-in hazard in current transport planes is the practice of having one engine drive each propeller. As an emergency precaution the Civil Aeronautics Board requires that four-engined transports be able to take off on three engines, and twin-engined craft on one engine. Experienced pilots report that the precaution is worth little in a real emergency, since the stoppage of a propeller causes a violent shift in the trim of the plane. The difficulty would be obviated by putting two smaller engines on each propeller shaft—a measure that would increase initial costs and fuel consumption but would make the plane easier to handle in case of engine failure. Smaller engines would also reduce the overall frequency of engine failure—still a leading source of accidents and occurring much more often than either the airlines or their special pleader in the government, the C. A. B., cares to admit. One major line averages more than forty failures a month.

The cockpits of pre-war transport planes used to be cited as the ultimate in complexity. They were simple then compared to now. The other day I started to count the instruments and controls in the cockpit of a current four-engined airliner. I gave up at 210 and I was still nowhere near done. Many, of course, are duplicates—there is a complete set of engine instruments, for instance, for each engine—and all the others can be individually justified as contributing in some way to the safe operation of the plane. But the total effect of this fantastic array of instruments and controls has been to create two substantial new hazards—plane failure because of gadget failure, and plane failure because there are just too many gadgets for the small crews customary with the domestic airlines to handle.

Most of the instruments and many of the controls are electrically operated. It may be treason to the electrical age to make the remark, but electrical equipment is not reliable enough for such great trust to be placed in it. A simple analogy will make clear what I mean. Commercial vacuum tubes have a useful life of about 1,000 hours. This is sufficient for dependable operation of a six-tube home radio. It is not enough, as any TV set owner knows, to assure trouble-free operation of a TV receiver with five times as many tubes and five times as great a chance of set failure because of tube failure; TV sets often need to be repaired several times a year. Similarly, most of the electrical instruments and controls on transport planes, taken individually, are fairly reliable.

Taken together, the failure rate is high enough to be a major cause of accidents.

The array of instruments and controls in the cockpit has also increased the burden of the plane crew beyond safe limits. And paradoxically, instrument complexity is itself an outgrowth of the domestic airlines' insistence on small crews in the interest of operating economy. Twin-engined planes carry only a pilot and co-pilot; four-engined craft have two pilots and—at the insistence of the C. A. B.—a flight engineer. Radio operators are not carried. This has made necessary the use of voice radio for all communications as well as of devices designed to make radio navigation simple enough for the pilot or co-pilot to handle. Code radio and ground direction finding, which involve fewer items of equipment and are more reliable in bad weather, have been used with success for years abroad. But they require a separate radio operator. Voice radio and our present radio navigation equipment, moreover, do not relieve the pilots of the communications and navigation burden.

Aside from too high landing and take-off speeds, and the substitution of gadgets for man-power and sound basic design, the race for ever greater speed and operating economy has led to too many new types of planes. As against one in the pre-war period, the famous Douglas DC-3, five distinct plane types have been introduced since the war—the Constellation, the DC-6, the Stratocruiser, and two twin-engined transports, the Martin and Convair. As is inevitable with complicated high-performance equipment, early versions of most of these planes have had unsuspected flaws in design. One had its hydraulic lines too close to red-hot engine exhausts; another had glass-wool cabin insulation that acted as a wick and spread burning oil through the plane, thus turning a minor engine fire into a catastrophe; a third had a poorly designed wing panel that broke in a storm. The flaws were eventually corrected, but at a cost of more than 100 lives. In the meantime the airlines threw away the unique experience with the DC-4, a magnificent plane developed during the war and flown billions of miles all over the world by the air force and the airlines on military contract. If the airlines had stuck with the DC-4—which they regard as too slow—by now they would have a plane that every pilot knew backward and forward, and from which every design flaw had long since been eliminated.

What is needed to make air travel as safe as it ought to be and to relieve fears of another Elizabeth is clear. The first thing is to make safety again the prime consideration. The second is a type of plane that can take off and land at airports of reasonable size without the assistance of gadgets. We need a plane with fewer and simpler instruments and controls, making less for each member of the crew to do. We need two types of planes, and two only, embodying these characteristics—one for

main-line and one for feeder service—so that engineers and crews can get used to their craft and the public will not be used as unwitting guinea pigs. Curiously, a working model of just such a plane has existed for more than a dozen years. It was designed by an engineer named Fred Weick and is called the Ercoupe. It is a two-seat private plane with ingenious simplified controls that make it as easy to handle as a car. Everyone who has ever flown it hails the Ercoupe as the plane of the future. But no one has ever tried to apply its principles to larger planes.

Gold "Hedge"—with Thorns

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

AN INCREASING proportion of the world's newly mined gold seems to be moving into private hoards. In the year 1950 output of gold in all countries, excluding Soviet Russia, amounted to 24,300,000 ounces, worth \$850,500,000 at \$35 an ounce—the fixed American price. Of this total, \$410,000,000 was added to world monetary reserves, leaving \$440,500,000 for hoarding and for use in industry and the arts. Assuming that the latter absorbed a quarter of the output—an arbitrary but generally accepted estimate—about \$228,500,000 remained for the black, gray, and white markets that supply hoarders. In the first nine months of 1951 estimated output was \$630,000,000, of which \$175,000,000 went to swell monetary reserves. Again assigning 25 per cent to industry and the arts, we have a balance of \$297,500,000, some 30 per cent greater than during the whole of 1950, available for hoarders.

The chief reason for this increase has been the sale by South Africa, which mines more than half the world's gold, excluding Russia, of 40 per cent of its output at a premium. This is contrary to the rules of the International Monetary Fund, whose policy is to channel all newly mined gold, except that genuinely employed in industry, into monetary reserves at the official American price, which sets the standard for the world.

Naturally this policy has been unpopular with gold miners, who finding themselves squeezed between rising costs and a rigid ceiling price, have long clamored for an upward revaluation of their product. Their discontent grew as they noted heavy gold sales in free markets at prices equivalent to \$45 or \$50 or more per ounce. At several meetings of the Fund's governors, the South African representative sought a higher value for the metal that his country produces in such abundance. But this proposal was blocked by the adamant opposition of the United States Treasury, which by virtue of its ownership of some 60 per cent of the world's gold reserves is in a position to dictate prices.

In 1950, therefore, the South African government decided to breach the ceiling unilaterally. It set aside 40 per cent of the gold delivered from the mines for sale at a premium as bars of 890 fineness, the standard used by jewelers. The purchasers melted these bars, refined them to the monetary standard, and turned them over to the brokers who cater to the hoarding trade. Although this was an obvious dodge to get around the rules of the International Fund, as was the Canadian plan of subsidizing high-cost gold mines, that body felt unable to do more than protest. Finally it seems to have concluded that since free-market sales could not be stopped, it might be advisable to reduce the premium by increasing the supply. Last fall, therefore, the Fund issued a statement in which it first reiterated its opposition in principle to premium sales and then declared that it was unable to undertake the policing of the industry. Most gold-producing countries, apart from the United States, took this pronouncement as tacit encouragement to follow South Africa's example. Consequently there is now an increasing flow of gold to the free markets, legal and illegal.

Franz Pick, in his "Black Market Yearbook for 1951," published by Pick's World Currency Report, writes:

Gold, in any form—bars, coins, sheets—remained big business in 1951. Actively traded in the financial centers of more than fifty countries, including cities behind the Iron Curtain, gold was the only insurance against mismanaged paper currency. It protected all its adepts in Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Iran, Israel, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, etc., where currency depreciated more than 10 per cent. And as the currencies of the world remain overshadowed by inflation, the yellow metal will continue to be in demand.

At the present time, however, that demand is not keeping up with supply. According to Mr. Pick's estimate, world trading volume of gold was 23 per cent greater in 1951 than in 1950. But as noted above, supplies increased by 30 per cent in the first nine months of 1951 alone, and undoubtedly the rate of increase was still greater in the final quarter as other gold-producing countries joined South Africa in feeding the market.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find the price of gold declining, even though in many countries the process of inflation has been accelerated during the past year. In Paris, which has become the world's chief gold-trading center since legal restrictions were lifted in 1948, the price fell from \$44.75 per ounce in February, the high of the year, to \$41.75 in December, according to the tables in Mr. Pick's "Yearbook." As I write, it has declined farther to \$40.75, even though in the past few weeks fears for the franc, which has been plunging downward, have increased demand for the metal. These quotations are for gold in bars weighing a kilogram, the purchase of which is too big a transaction

for the average hoarder. The more popular gold coins are more expensive, but as bar gold is being coined on a fairly large scale by both public and private mints in Europe, the premium commanded by coins is limited.

IS GOLD a good "hedge"? How far are those who hoard it protecting themselves against currency depreciation? The data furnished by Mr. Pick in his tables suggest to me that a good many people have bought this protection dearly. Suppose, for instance, that a year ago, when the inflation scare in this country was at its height, I had turned all the paper dollars I could lay hands on into gold, thereby risking severe legal penalties. I would have paid about \$44 an ounce. If today, recovering from my fright, I decided to sell the gold, I would get back \$40 or less. That would mean a loss of nearly 10 per cent, apart from the fact that the gold would have earned no interest and that the dollars I received from the transaction would have less purchasing power than those I started with.

Of course, a Frenchman who exchanged francs for gold a year ago would have protected himself from the subsequent depreciation of his national currency. But he could have done better by purchasing dollar bills or travelers' checks. The fact is that since the war the trend of gold prices throughout the world has been downward. In Paris the high point seems to have been January, 1946, when the bar-gold quotation was \$112. Thus anyone who bought the metal that month has suffered a shrinkage in his investment of more than 60 per cent. That is perhaps an extreme case, but the range in the past five years in Bombay is from a top of \$92 per ounce in December, 1948, to a low of \$48 in December, 1951, and in Buenos Aires from \$68.50 in December, 1948, to \$42.50 in October, 1951. A roughly similar picture is shown in other leading markets.

The one great hope of the hoarders, who have found their gold "hedges" beset with thorns, is that eventually the United States will decide that the price of gold should move in conformity with other prices and will revalue the dollar. South Africans profess to believe that this step is "inevitable," and many gold brokers, I am told, expect it to be taken within the next two years. I suspect that this is a case of wishful thinking. Certainly I can see no advantage, and many disadvantages, for this country in such a move. It would, for instance, give impetus to inflation by enlarging our credit base. It would interfere with the rearmament effort by stimulating gold-mining and thus diverting man-power and materials from the production of more useful metals. The sole gainers would be the gold-mining companies and the private hoarders. Neither group, in my opinion, needs, or deserves, the unearned increment which they would automatically receive if the price of gold were raised.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Fallacy of the Folk Soul

NATIONS HAVE SOULS. By André Siegfried. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.

I KNOW of few more harmonious lives than André Siegfried's. More than half a century ago he chose his career as a political geographer. He has roamed the whole earth, a keen, sympathetic, dispassionate observer. Although he writes for the press, and enjoys meeting all sorts and conditions of men, he is not a journalist: his works recall Tocqueville's and Bryce's rather than John Gunther's. A *grand bourgeois*, a Protestant, an impenitent liberal, he commands in this country a large and intelligent audience. It happens that I belong to Siegfried's generation and that I share, but do not cherish, most of his prejudices. This gives me the right to discuss his ideas with the fearless critical freedom that he has constantly sought to promote.

There are two books between these covers. The first chapter discusses *The New Face of the World*, the last *The Definition and Destiny of Western Civilization*. They are of capital importance. But the six intermediate chapters are essays in national psychology: Latin Realism, French Ingenuity, English Tenacity, German Discipline, Russian Mysticism, American Dynamism, and it is this aspect that the American title emphasizes. This cultural nationalism seems to me both unscientific and dangerous. Siegfried grew up at the time when Maurice Barrès was at the height of his influence: nationalism as "the willing acceptance of a determinism," the all-pervading influence of "the soil and the dead." (Hitler, Barrès's outstanding pupil, called it *Blut und Boden*.) The folk soul thus assumed is a romantic fallacy, wished upon the world by Herder and Fichte, among others; it inspired the great historian Michelet. To good Europeans, survivors of the Enlightenment, like Metternich and even Goethe, it was nonsense. But the wild hypotheses of one generation become the unquestioned truths and even the commonplaces of later ages; so

that men as sane and as well informed as Alfred Fouillée, Salvador de Madiaga, and André Siegfried use their keen intellects not in challenging the Herderian dream but in giving it greater definiteness.

Siegfried has given up most of the nationalistic assumptions. He does not believe in races: all white "races" are represented in France. He does not fully accept the heaven-sent geographic unity of modern countries: France is Mediterranean, Continental, Atlantic; Germany never had any frontiers. (By the way, Siegfried thinks that Eastern Germany belongs with the East. Just as "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," "Siberia [as he puts it] begins at the Elbe.") But he still has faith in national psychologies. A brief review is not the place to wrestle with that popular misconception. A couple of examples will suffice to illustrate the nature of my objections. Inevitably, Siegfried insists on the English mind's distrust of logic, its deliberate cult of muzziness, its affectionate indulgence for stupidity (Sir Redvers Buller, Ernest Bevin, popular *because* bovine), its trust in "muddling through somehow." Whoever has conversed with such truly British thinkers as Julian Huxley, Harold Laski, Denis Brogan, knows that British dumbness has been greatly exaggerated. England has never muddled through: it has muddled into disaster, then retrieved itself—tragically late—through clear thinking, definite action, good organization. The refusal to think straight, so proudly proclaimed by the heroes of Munich, is merely the cleverest alibi when indefensible positions have to be maintained. Ponder this list—Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, Adam Smith, Malthus, Bentham, Darwin, Spencer; you will find that most of the ideas upon which the West has lived for the last three hundred years, obscure on the Continent, had to be formulated, clarified, systematized in England. I like to call myself a Voltairian, and I know that Voltaire is England's best gift to France.

As for French psychology, permit me to smile. Traits inherited from "our ancestors the Gauls," forsooth! We do not

know how large an invading minority the Gauls were, or to what racial stock they belonged. Described by the Romans as tall and blond, they must have been Teutons. And what is it that "we" owe to them? Is it Celtic mysticism and melancholy? Is it Gallic wit? Is it the heavy plodding thrift of the Auvergnat peasant? Are all the French Cartesians? If so, were they not French before Descartes started his revolution? Did not the classics themselves proclaim that "reasoning may banish reason," and that "the heart has its reasons that reason does not know"? Did not the eighteenth century, so delightfully French, extol Bacon at the expense of Descartes?

Where, today, is the France that is supposed to have a soul? Among the Communists, the Gaullists, or that loose array of weaknesses called the Third Force? Who is "the Frenchman"? Is it Fernandel, as an amusing album would have us believe, or is it Pétain, De Gaulle, Laval, Herriot, Claudel, Gide? Is it the Protestant and Teutonic André Siegfried? Even in the same province the sharpest contrasts are seen. "Numa Roumestan" (a caricature of Gambetta), Thiers, Guizot, Charles Maurras, were all politicians from the South.

No, nations are not persons, and do not have souls. This might lead us to wonder whether the individual himself has a clear-cut, constant psychology. The sane reach a precarious balance, or impose a formal order upon a welter of impulses: but everyone harbors in his heart a whole menagerie, the tiger and the lamb, the dove and the serpent, the ant and the 'possum. We are different in different atmospheres. The Nazi engineer of mass murders may have been *gemütlich* at home; the captain of industry is no hypocrite when he attends a Christian service.

I enjoyed these middle chapters for their wealth of concrete information, shrewd observations, brilliant epigrams, while rejecting the romantic fallacy that they implied. The first and the last chapters seem to me profound—all the more profound because they are inconclusive: the true philosopher never an-

swers a question except by raising a deeper one. We are entering a new age. The paleolithic and the neolithic led by imperceptible steps to the age of tools and handicrafts; but the machine revolutionized the conditions of life. It has made rugged individualism obsolete: "The new age is based on collective organization." America is fast adapting itself to the new conditions which it did not originate; probably because it was freer than the Old World from the thrall of tradition. But it insists on preaching an ideology absolutely out of keeping with its practices and with the very spring of its strength. Siegfried fully indorses Gerald Tanqueray Robinson: "America is facing the crisis with the military equipment of 1950 and the ideology of 1775. . . . Technology is the mother of the large-scale undertaking and the grandmother of state intervention; the pursuit of efficiency leads to the same collectivist nexus in Pittsburgh as in Magnitogorsk." The U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. together are at the same time the promise and the menace of the New World.

We do not need, we cannot afford, reaction on the materialistic plane; we cannot return to the age of handicrafts, to the economy of the sturdy village blacksmith, who "owes not any man." There is no greater virtue in the oxcart than in the airplane. What we need is to save our freedom of thought by transcending practical efficiency, by denying Caesar the things that are not Caesar's; and Caesar at present is not the bureaucrat or the politician but the huckster, the advertiser, the gambler, the profiteer. "The souls of nations" are but totalitarian idols. The soul of man can be preserved alive only through eternal vigilance. ALBERT GUERARD

An Unread Classic

THE BETROTHED. By Alessandro Manzoni. A New Translation by Archibald Colquhoun. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$5.

THE masterpieces of different literatures, those we consider a shared cultural heritage, have a universality that raises them above strictly national limits. Such a masterpiece, we have long been told in the comparative literature courses, is Manzoni's "The Betrothed." But in the century and a quarter since

its appearance few English or American critics have undertaken to bring it to the attention of their countrymen or to justify the place it has always held in modern Italian culture as the basic design of narrative.

Instead, the book has been demoted by those who have read cut versions in translation—such as that used in the Harvard Classics—to the place of a lesser Waverley novel, and this coupling of Scott's name with Manzoni's was considered all the more apposite as Scott was among the first great men of letters to praise Manzoni abroad. So far has "The Betrothed" slipped from the common domain of noble literature that recently a captious critic, evidently unfamiliar with the work, likened it to "Gone with the Wind," an appraisal which, if it directly induces anyone to look into the novel, must cause some rude surprises. "The Betrothed" is not Scott, even at his best, nor can it be likened to an over-long historical tale with a verifiable incident on every page. It is the first completely successful blending of historical research, psychological insight, and literary talent, cast in narrative form, to come from the pen of a Continental writer. Its appearance and the enthusiasm with which it was received were milestones in the development of modern fiction. (Stendhal's best books were to appear a decade or more later; Stendhal was thoroughly familiar with Manzoni's masterpiece in the original.)

Those who cannot read Manzoni in the Italian have been discouraged until now by the available English versions, ranging from archaic and top-heavy to downright incompetent. But Mr. Colquhoun has remedied all this. An example chosen at random will illustrate what he has done. The best available translation so far goes:

The peasant who knows not how to write and finds himself reduced to the necessity of communicating his ideas to the absent, has recourse to one who understands the art, taking him, as far as he can, from among those of his own rank, for, with others, he is either shamefaced or afraid to trust them.

This becomes in Colquhoun's version:

The peasant who cannot write and needs something written has recourse to one with a knowledge of that art, choos-

ing him, as far as he can, from his own walk in life; for he is either diffident or distrustful of others.

Obviously, the changes are not in sense but in clarity. The whole translation sings its freedom from complex verbiage, boasts its uncluttered communicative quality, and with its publication the excuse that Manzoni is unreadable in English has vanished.

The interesting thing is why it has taken so long to get the job done. We have continued to praise the book and not read it, unlike the fate meted out to

"The most important book
in its human
implications,
that has been published
for a very long time."

—PEARL S. DUCK

The Geography of Hunger

By JOSUÉ DE CASTRO

OF URGENT significance, this book by the Chairman of the Executive Council, United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, considers mankind's most crucial problem: "the terrible erosion that hunger is causing the human race and its civilization, an erosion that threatens to blot from the earth all the gigantic works of man."

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Foreword by Lord Boyd-Orr,
Nobel Peace Prize Winner.

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• BOSTON •

Cervantes, whose great work was read in a variety of translations, some poor, some merely dated, until it too was treated to a first-rate contemporary translation by the late Sam Putnam—but it was always read. Not so with Manzoni.

After the publication of the Colquhoun translation, Umberto Calosso, Italian writer and critic with a special affinity for Anglo-Saxon culture, lectured in Rome on the previous lack of interest in the book in England. He came up with the hypothesis that the English reader seeks in a foreign classic something alien to himself, something exotic. Manzoni's novel, according to this critic, is too English for the English reader's taste. This amusing explanation has an element of truth even here—but how explain the popularity and permanence of certain themes, notably the tale of the rogue-hero, which seem indigenous to every nation and hence exotic to none? Perhaps Manzoni's work lacks the tight construction associated with successful fiction. Instead "The Betrothed" offers relevant detail and a breadth of design which, when one has a chance to savor the book without the handicap of a faulty presentation, may at last insure it a place in our gallery of giants.

FRANCES KEENE

Housing, Public and Private

TWO-THIRDS OF A NATION. A HOUSING PROGRAM. By Nathan Straus. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.

PROGRESS is always spurred by people of singleness of purpose and devotion to a cause. For many years Nathan Straus has maintained singleness of purpose and devotion to the cause of better housing for families of low income. He continues to maintain it in "Two-Thirds of a Nation." He writes as a lover, with praise and devotion for his beloved, Public Housing—and with vilification for her rival, Private Housing. In the process he bares some important housing facts which are too often covered up by fiction; but he also, in this writer's opinion, does less than justice to his lady's rival.

He has not presented a startling new program for housing or urban redevelopment. He has reviewed and criticized present procedures, detailed the workings of pressure groups which oppose public assistance, and urged good

planning and the extension of government aid to provide housing for middle-income families.

Mr. Straus has assembled an excellent dossier to show that the true costs of home ownership are frequently obscured by over-zealous private-housing promoters. Families of meager income are induced to buy homes that they cannot afford to maintain by advertisements which specify that a home will cost x dollars per month to "pay all"—just like rent. The ads list the "all" as interest and amortization of mortgage, insurance, and taxes; but they fail to mention the cost of heat, maintenance, and repair. Flagrant examples are presented of improper advertising and of the actual costs of a home in a project so advertised. Instead of "\$83 monthly charges supposed to 'cover everything'"—in one example—"the true monthly cost is about \$120—or about 50 per cent more than the advertised figure." This grossly misleading advertising practice is contrasted with the brochure of a non-profit cooperative housing project in New York City, Queensview, which reads: "Monthly carrying charges (in place of rent) will cover gas and electricity, heat and hot water, all repairs, reserves, insurance, interest and amortization of the mortgage, real-estate taxes, and an adequate contingency fund. Redecoration and replacement of ranges and refrigerators are not contemplated unless revenues permit."

Mr. Straus places the chief blame for misleading advertising and shoddy construction on the Federal Housing Administration. I believe that he is sound in so doing. The FHA should not permit the advertising of half-truths about homes on which it places insurance; nor should it encourage undersized houses that must become future slums of American-sized families, which will surely overcrowd them. Instead of supplying mechanical gadgets as advertising "come-ons," builders should be prodded by the FHA to supply adequate living space. Frills and extra mechanical comforts may be added as the individual pocket-book allows.

But Mr. Straus's zeal for public housing runs away with him when he states that "... any evaluation of FHA must consider the fact that the agency has not fulfilled its assigned task of enabling private builders to provide homes within

the means of middle-income families." He qualifies this sentence in his next one by saying, "The single-family homes ... have been far too expensive for this income group." But the impression he leaves is still incorrect. Many FHA-insured rental units throughout the country do house families of moderate income. There are quantities of good single-family housing developments for families of moderate income. The term "middle income" needs exact definition. Mr. Straus speaks of families in the lower brackets of middle income who border but are slightly above those with incomes eligible for public housing.

And his zeal runs away with him again when he rebukes a deputy administrator of the FHA for telling a group of real-estate men that "the National Housing Act is a profit-producing sales tool for realtors." It was meant to be just that. It was meant to aid our economy by restoring activity in the building trades and at the same time to supply homes to families of moderate income. The FHA does perform a disservice when it becomes such an eager beaver that it knowingly countenances hidden profits that reach bonanza proportions—as frequently has happened in post-war programs. And Mr. Straus paints "these extras" with a broad but informed brush.

It is when Mr. Straus starts gazing lovingly overseas at housing sites and neighborhood developments that the writer parts company with him. The British have conceived very fine plans, but it is Americans who have actually built the very well-planned housing developments. True, not all of ours have been well planned; but hundreds of projects throughout the country—perhaps thousands—have been laid out with safety, charm, utility, and some attention to recreation needs. I would like to quote the report of the National Committee on Housing, which sent a mission to Great Britain at the invitation of the British Ministry of Health in the summer of 1945. The mission, of which I was a member, was struck by the absence of well-planned sites and neighborhoods wherever we went, and reported in "Britain Faces Its Housing Emergency":

Site-planning progress which had been expected to make tremendous strides as the result of the pioneering work done in

Britain before 1914 was not evident in the public or private projects visited by the mission. There has been little provision of play space for small children in close proximity to the houses, and only occasionally play facilities for older children and adults. . . .

Neighborhood planning also had its origin in Britain but like forward-looking site planning was conspicuous by its absence in most of the cities visited. New neighborhood planning occupies a prominent place in all of the post-war programs. It is referred to as "American" because so much more had been done in this field here before the war than in the country where the concept originated.

I may say that the British authorities were pleased that we said this, for they recognized its truth and lamented it. We were there during the change from the Churchill to the Attlee government and were escorted about by members of both parties and by private builders, and they were in agreement on this.

British post-war plans were glorious. Unfortunately most of them are still on paper; some that have been executed do not follow the script. And this holds a lesson that must be taken to heart: to realize good housing and urban redevelopment we do have to make ambitious plans but we must not overstep the possibilities. Sir Raymond Unwin's objective of twelve families to the acre is not a practical one for urban America. I think that to aim for that objective now is unrealistic and defers consideration of objectives which are achievable as well as desirable. But, as I have said, progress in housing, as in everything else, is spurred by those of singleness of purpose and devotion to a cause. Mr. Straus has both—and shows it; his idealistic and extreme planning standards have therefore great value as a prod toward future improvement.

DOROTHY ROSENMAN

Understanding Blake

A PRIMER OF BLAKE. By Hal Saunders White. Iowa: Littlefield, Adams, Ames. \$1.25.

IN THE welter of books on William Blake, often muddling and often pretentious, it is a pleasure to come across this unassuming and clear little book. Mr. White, who has taught Blake to college students for more than fifteen years, has here embodied the results of his experience. His comments are always

astute and will help the reader to a sharper understanding of Blake's meaning.

Take for example, his comment on *The Lamb*: "It is obvious that Blake in this poem is not concerned with a naturalistic animal. His content or subject matter is the abstract, universal quality of tenderness, meekness, mildness, which exists now and did exist before lambs were created. The lamb—Christ—the child—Blake himself in this mood of innocence—equally reflect the essential quality of infinite tenderness. The lamb, Blake, the child, Christ are but images held to the light to catch the rays of this universal quality."

This is admirably concise and serves, for the student, to connect the poem with the man who was also a painter and who wrote:

I assert for My Self that I do not behold the outward Creation & that to me it is hindrance & not action; it is as the dirt upon my feet, No part of Me. "What," it will be Question'd, "When the Sun rises, do you not see a round disk of fire somewhat like a Guinea?" O no, no, I see an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God Almighty." I question not my Corporeal or Vegetative Eye any more than I would Question a Window concerning a Sight. I look thro' it & not with it.

While Mr. White does not venture farther into the Everglades of the Prophetic Books than *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, *The Book of Thel*, and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, or offer to act as guide in the regions where so many people, including W. B. Yeats, have been lost, his comments on the simpler and more direct works cannot but make the student appreciate Blake as a whole man, seen in the round, and consequently not only lead to keener appreciation of one of the greatest of Englishmen but also encourage a sortie into the vast, and not completely mapped, territories. It is to be hoped that "A Primer of Blake" receives a wider distribution than its modest appearance would seem to claim.

RUTHVEN TODD

Coming Soon in The Nation
"The Geography of Hunger"

By Josué de Castro

Reviewed by Barbara Cadbury

Prisoner of War

ONE GREAT PRISON. THE STORY BEHIND RUSSIA'S UNRELEASED POW'S. By Helmut M. Fehling. Forewords by Konrad Adenauer and Joseph Cardinal Frings. Translated by Charles R. Joy. The Beacon Press. \$2.75.

THE fact that this book is on the side of justice, humanitarianism, and decency does not alter another fact—namely, that it is a highly skilled job of special pleading. The first part of the book is a brief, grim account of Herr Fehling's experiences as a prisoner of war in the U. S. S. R. The second part is Mr. Joy's compilation of documents and news items relating to the German and Japanese P. O. W.'s held by the Soviets. The two parts together make an effective addition to the steadily increasing body of evidence about Soviet ways and means.

It is to the credit of all concerned in the writing and publishing of this book that it is nowhere claimed to be anything but what it is—the presentation of a case. Mr. Joy says that the book's purpose is "to call attention once more to the tragedy of the war prisoners." Herr Fehling and Cardinal Frings are more specific.

Now we are forced to speak, in order to arouse every last living soul, to make

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the whole world cry out in indignation and nameless horror. [Fehling]

In the name of justice, of humanity, of love, we plead with the leading nations of the world to do everything possible to throw light into the darkness and to secure the release of those who are so unjustly detained. [Frings]

Certainly no reader can complain of lack of frankness, nor is anyone likely to challenge the need for this presentation of facts. "One Great Prison" sets forth with brutal directness one side of a story which is altogether horrendous. The weight of Fehling's indictment is not lessened by the fact that only a part of the story is told. Yet it ought to be remembered that there was another and equally brutal part. An official German report of February, 1942, recorded the death of all except "several hundred thousand" of the 3,600,000 Soviet citizens who had been taken prisoner by the Germans. The one wrong does not excuse the other, but it may help to explain the Soviet attitude. At any rate, the glare of publicity should be thrown on both evils, and this book does one part of that job very effectively.

Incidentally, historians may sometime be more interested in "One Great Prison" because of what it tells about the National Committee for a Free Germany than because of its account of horrors.

WARREN B. WALSH

Books in Brief

THE BEST OF THE BEST SHORT STORIES, 1915-1950. Edited by Martha Foley. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.75. This anthology of anthologized stories is heavily weighted in favor of the thirties and the forties: only four of the twenty-five stories included are drawn from the earlier volumes of the Best Short Story annuals. Logically enough, three of these four are Anderson's *I'm a Fool*, Lardner's *Haircut*, and Hemingway's *My Old Man*. The rest of the collection is a handy compendium of familiar stories of recent years—some of them too familiar—with a nod to almost every taste. There are inferior examples of Kay Boyle and William Faulkner, but there are also Jean Stafford's agonizing ode to pain, *The Interior Castle*, and Walter Van Tilburg Clark's superb *The Wind and the Snow of Winter*.

THE FORESTS OF THE NIGHT. By Jean-Louis Curtis. Translated by Nora Wydenbruck. Putnam. \$3.50. A Goncourt Prize novel of small-town life in France during the Nazi occupation, with some of the sardonic quality that has won Marcel Aymé international audiences. Curtis views Resistance workers, Vichyites, and neutralists with a gently mocking eye that is peculiarly French and admirably suited to his subject. Although his fangs are not as sharp as Aymé's, and his story deteriorates suddenly into melodrama, he is adept at both caricature and more profound revelations of character; and he is much more fun to read than those French novelists of his generation who seem to be translated because they take American mystery writers as models.

Art

MANNY
FARBER

THE illusion of tragedy in Frederick Franck's works (Lilienfeld Galleries) convinced French critics that these were great examples of obsessed art. The tragedy, however, seems to me to be only skin deep. His scenes take place in the hours of the elves and deal with human suffering as it turns up in the form of all sorts of subjects from goats to clocks, from fairly settled landscapes to hallucinatory shots of half-nude abstract men running around madly with butcher knives and bouquets of candles. His dreamy imagery evolves decisively and suddenly out of a black background that suggests but does not show searching and struggling in an abyss. Along with the yellowish white patches in darkness which have become a trademark of the Ryder school, Franck uses enough other gimmicks to date him almost as a "modern" painter (Braque's cubistic apple with a small color fog around the edges, Ben Shawn's strung-up figure leaning to portside, Beckmann's slashes, and Picasso's split image). But despite the mannerisms, he paints pictures that have a touch of Houdini about them. There is a good deal of *éclat* and mystery in the surfaces, which have the effervescent waxiness of an old master plus the spotless neatness of a Dutch

kitchen—but it is not clear how he arrived at so many contrasts. He places his subject—vertical and stark—in a rather corny lump somewhere in the center of the picture, so that your eyes can move around the sides of the lump without hitting anything that looks interesting. And yet the spaces at the sides divide and vary endlessly as few current New York paintings do. Franck seems to coast through every stage of a painting up to the last post, but then he closes with a dramatic kick. His skyscrapers are flimsy notations, but the last things he puts on them—windows, an overhead tunnel between buildings—are solid and flashy. If Franck dropped the mannerisms and discarded "suggestions" of depth, he would be free of mediocre notes in his work.

Why James N. Rosenberg spent a year in the Holy Land sketching and making mental notes for the eighteen studio-made landscapes at the Central Synagogue escapes me. An ardent Zionist, lawyer, and postcard realist make a combination that is bound to build a sincere and sentimental case for Israel even in his own backyard. He reveals the Holy Land as a mixture of the Imperial Valley and the Adirondacks, replete with the greenest M-G-M grass, olive trees that writhe and shake with life, and, overhead, hope in the form of sunlight bursting through a dark mass of clouds. He paints with a frozen brush stroke that makes the surfaces of his groves, forests, pipe lines, and hovels appear to be crawling with angle worms, all going in the same direction toward the upper-right corner of the picture. There are fortunately some homely, lively elements in his work that hark back to, of all people, C. S. Price and a few other sage-brush poets of canvas.

The American Abstract Artists—from Albers to Von Wicht—have put fifty paintings into a stodgy show at the New Gallery, dedicated to noiselessness, super-human control, and the beauty of the square. The point of these pictures seems to be the glorification of anonymity, all but four or five of the artists succeeding only too well. The best pictures: McNeil's black anchor held captive in a lurid blue surface (the only loud painting in the show);

Von Wiegand's sparkling checkerboard with clusters of tiny checkerboards that suggest a meld of midget Mondrians; Bultman's frosting of white and black triangles that have all the constrained shock of Kootz Gallery painting; Blaine's busy welter of postcard images and color which looks like several dozen dirty saucers of milk slopping over.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

NEARLY everyone who saw—or better yet read—the first plays of Christopher Fry had the same reaction. There was an astonished delight with his really dazzling gift for words, and there was the hope that he would be able before long to find for that gift some more substantial use.

The gift has not been withdrawn. Fry continues to demonstrate that he can exploit better than any other modern what may be called the more purely entertaining possibilities of the neo-metaphysical style. Part of the charm is a youthful exuberance and his own frank astonishment at his copiousness and fluency. Another and related part is a certain self-mockery which leads one character to end a long harangue with an apology for his own inarticulateness and permits another, one of Fry's few common-sense personages, to interrupt a metaphysical discourse with the remark that we don't really need to go into all that just now. When still another observes that the Great Bear looks so geometrical that it ought to prove something, or that, since everybody is lost, the best we can do is to make whatever we are lost in seem as homelike as possible, then the amusement we experience must be remotely like that of an Elizabethan who met for the first time John Lyly and his "Euphues." But though Fry has kept this gift he seems to have made no progress whatsoever in discovering any way to use it for any larger purpose. His ostensibly dramatic speeches remain almost purely decorative. They do not exist in order to tell a story. On the contrary, the story exists only as an excuse for the speeches.

One after another his plays have become more ambitious, more pretentious. But the unfortunate fact is that the result is only to demonstrate more clearly how little, as plays, they count for. "A Phoenix Too Frequent," being no more than the retelling of a familiar anecdote, was for that very reason sufficient apology for its own insubstantiality. "The Lady's Not for Burning," inventing its own fable, promised more and succeeded tolerably in fulfilling its promise, partly because it was simple, fanciful, and sufficiently fantastic in its premises not to insist upon being taken any more seriously than one felt inclined to take it. But "Venus Observed" (Century Theater) attempts something which the author, so far at least, is simply not capable of accomplishing because it demands of the spectator a kind of credence which he cannot possibly give it. The scene is contemporary; the motives of the characters, instead of being purely fantastic, are uncomfortably close to something which one must take literally or not at all; and the characters themselves are too much like real people to express themselves suitably in Mr. Fry's artificial idiom.

The Theater Guild was evidently determined to give the play every chance. It provided two elaborate sets and engaged two popular performers, Rex

Harrison and Lilli Palmer, to interpret the leading roles. One result is that in the beginning a certain confidence is inspired. But one's interest oozes slowly away as one begins to realize that, aside from amusing turns of speech, one is being given nothing but a commonplace story told less effectively than it could be told by the simple melodramatic methods which have been used to tell it on the stage again and again. No rococo decoration supplied by the language or the other incidental, often rather pretentious, elaborations can conceal the fact that this story is nothing except that old standby of sensational sentimental fiction which involves a beautiful young girl in love with a young man but feeling compelled to accept the attentions of an old one because he has what used to be called "a hold over her"—in this case, as so many times before, inhering in the fact that our heroine's father has been guilty of certain speculations which the unwelcome suitor can expose.

Mr. Fry employs a variety of devices in his attempt to make all this seem more meaningful and less banal than it is. The old suitor is a noble Don Juan about to retire from his amorous hobbies and to take up astronomy. The young lover is his own son, and the erring father of the heroine is a comic

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secretary to the Don Juan whose timid embezzlements the victim would never dream of using for the purposes which the distressed heroine believes herself about to become the victim of. The real substance of the play is, I imagine, supposed to be the elaborately developed and constantly changing sentimental perplexities of the heroine, treated in a manner which suggests that Mr. Fry has been reading too attentively recent French plays like "Legend for Lovers." But the more elaborate these sentimental perplexities become, the less real and the less interesting they are, until long before the last curtain descends, the spectator has come to the point where he is more eager to reach some conclusion than concerned over what the conclusion will be. Up to the very end the author continues to send up occasional skyrockets of words, but one has completely lost hope that even they will illuminate anything.

One deduction seems inevitable. Whatever the solution of Mr. Fry's problem may be, it is not to be found

in the conventionally realistic play. For all its fantastic elements, "Venus Observed" has already gone too far in that direction.

Ballet

B. H.
HAGGIN

ONE had thought that in "The Four Temperaments" Balanchine's elaboration of the classical ballet idiom had gone as far as it could go; but it is carried even further in his new piece, "Caracole" (previously entitled "Divertissement Classique"), to Mozart's Divertimento K.287—and specifically in the second movement, where Mozart's own elaboration of his musical theme in the series of variations invites the succession of astoundingly complex, brilliant, and beautiful solos which exploit the individual capacities and styles of Wilde, Hayden, Adams, LeClercq, Eglevsky, and Tallchief, and which they execute in breathtaking fashion. There is superb invention also for the great Adagio movement of the Divertimento—invention which is exciting to look at, but which, for the first time in my experience, doesn't seem to me to go with, or work with, the music in the way the dance movement does with the music of the Andante of "Concerto Barocco" or "Sinfonie Concertante"—the way of an added counterpoint, with music and dance movement enlarging each other's effect and meaning. The Adagio of the Divertimento is a long solo aria with a continuous flow which, for me, is disturbed by the shift from one supported dancer to another for each new musical phrase; also, some of the activity seems to me excessive for the sustained melodic style of the music. But the opening Allegro for the soloists (who include Magallanes and Robbins in addition to those I have mentioned) and corps is charming, the Minuet for corps alone delightful, the finale a crescendo of spectacular and joyous brilliance, the piece as a whole one of the major Balanchine products. It uses the costumes, without the decor, of "Mozartiana," which I would like to see in that "sunny masterpiece" once more.

Balanchine is charmingly inventive

again in the different style and smaller scale of "Bayou," which reflect the style and scale of the engaging "Acadian Songs and Dances" from Virgil Thomson's music for "Louisiana Story." And as always the piece is well contrived for the dancers involved—Moncion, Breckinridge, Hayden, Laing, Adams, and Bliss. For this one there are excellent scenery and costumes by Dorothea Tanning.

Robbins provides no explicit program for his new "Ballade" to music of Debussy; but as in his other ballets there are the moment at the beginning when the people on the stage turn and look meaningfully at someone who looks back at them and then leaves the stage, and the similar moment at the end; and these confirm one's impression from other details that in this piece again Robbins is saying something about human life as he has been thinking about it. The important thing again, however, is not what he says on this subject, but the dance terms in which he says it; and these I found unimpressive, except for a superbly contrived and superbly executed dance for Reed and Tobias.

The New Music Quartet's performance of Beethoven's Opus 131 at the Y. M. H. A. was highly agreeable to the ear and satisfying to the mind, and also free of the high-tension quality that had disturbed me in the recorded performance of Opus 59 No. 3. But having thought the question of the acoustic quality of the Y auditorium had been settled by the dry sound there of the violins of the Quartetto Italiano, I found it unsettled again by the clear radiance of the violins of the New Music Quartet. The only explanation that has occurred to me is that the hall was only half-filled this time.

As for recordings of chamber music, all six of the Mozart quartets dedicated to Haydn are played by the Roth Quartet on three Mercury LP's; and having hoped for performances as fine, in the literal sense of the word, as the one of K.464 which the Roth Quartet recorded for Columbia seventeen years ago, I was disappointed and shocked by the fussy inflection, the constant swelling and contracting of sonority, the crude accentuation that I heard most of the time. In addition the recorded

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sound is edged and otherwise not agreeable; and there is a little distortion in the finales of K.464 and 465.

The performance of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet by the Koeckert Quartet on a Decca record is effective for the most part—my major reservation being about the very slow statement of the "Death and the Maiden" theme and the changes of tempo in the subsequent variations (the Andante con moto and alla breve directions indicate a faster initial tempo which could be maintained throughout the movement). The recorded sound, when it is bright enough, is unpleasantly coarse; and at times—the latter half of the first movement, the scherzo movement—it isn't bright enough.

Verdi's Quartet, in which he amused himself and charms us with an exercise of the mastery in instrumental writing and the subtle harmonic sense that we hear in the later operas, is the more engaging for the playing of the Quartetto Italiano on the London record—its lightness and grace, its delicacy and sensitiveness employing its fine gradations of extraordinarily blended tone. Schumann's Opus 41 No. 2 is on the reverse side. The playing is superbly reproduced except for a dryness which seems to be characteristic of London recording of strings—as the warmth and luster of the sound of the recent Paganini Quartet performance of Beethoven's Opus 132 are characteristic of RCA Victor.

CORRECTION: My opening sentence about Vivaldi's concertos last week included the statement: "a fourth, the Concerto in G major for strings and cembalo, I find interesting." This should have read: "I find less interesting."

CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT GUERARD, professor emeritus of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is now lecturing at Brandeis University.

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RUTHVEN TODD edited Alexander Gilchrist's "Life of William Blake" in Everyman's Library.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

An Unholy Alliance

Dear Sirs: Mr. Kim in *The Nation* of February 9 has advocated some concrete and helpful suggestions for a Korean settlement. However, both he and Mr. Lattimore have overlooked the principal obstacle to Korean unification. The way will not be clear for a peaceful settlement until the unholy alliance between Rhee and Washington is broken. In fact, any over-all settlement in Asia will be impossible as long as the United States persists in supporting the most reactionary and unpopular elements in the East.

DAVID SHAINÉ

New York

Good Intentions Not Enough

Dear Sirs: In my article in the February 9 issue of *The Nation* I stated that "more energetic action might have been looked for from the liberal Governor Adlai Stevenson." Despite the letter in your March 1 issue from some distinguished citizens of Illinois, this statement still appears to me to be true.

1. As admitted in the letter "the tragic fact is that the Cairo school board has been breaking the state law for years in maintaining segregated public schools." Despite the fact that this has occurred for four years of Governor Stevenson's administration, the Cairo schools have continued to receive over \$200,000 annually from state funds in violation of the Jenkins amendment, which provides that no common-school funds will be granted to any school district that fails to comply with the requirement that "no pupil shall be excluded from or segregated in any school on account of his color, race, or nationality." The State Superintendent of Public Instruction has the statutory responsibility for the enforcement of this law. Although he is an elective officer, he must report to the Governor, and the Governor has the responsibility to see that the law is enforced.

2. As admitted in the letter "there was violence and there still is high tension in the community. For this many are to blame and probably no governor and no official commission can do enough." To admit that not enough has been done would seem to agree with my assertion that "more energetic action might have been looked for." Certainly the Cicero riots have given the state

warning that racial violence could erupt at a moment's notice unless forthright steps to deal with the whole problem were taken swiftly. The Governor, as chief law-enforcement agent of the state, has this responsibility.

3. On February 7 eight persons spearheading a movement to break down segregation in Cairo were arrested and charged with conspiracy to "endanger the life and health of certain children." These persons included the president of the Cairo branch of the N. A. A. C. P., two N. A. A. C. P. field secretaries, a doctor whose home was blasted, a white attorney who had been handling legal aspects of the case, and Negro community leaders. It is of course true that the Governor can neither indict nor quash indictments. But the writers of the letter upholding Governor Stevenson give the Governor and his commission credit for the arrest of four white persons in the community. If they could influence issuance of indictments against these persons, it would seem to follow that they should have been able to prevent the travesty of justice involving the N. A. A. C. P. officials.

4. On February 14 N. A. A. C. P. leaders met with an Illinois legislative

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TWO OUTSTANDING DEBATES

Monday—MARCH 17—8:30 P.M.

**DO SOVIET POLICIES LEAD
TOWARD WORLD PEACE?**
YES—CORLISS LAMONT **NO**—PETER VIERECK
Chairman—NORMAN THOMAS

Monday—MARCH 24—8:30 P.M.

**Does Government Aid to Religion Violate
the First Amendment of the Constitution?**
YES—D. HARRINGTON **NO**—J. M. O'NEILL
Chairman—SIDNEY HOOK

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committee which included a representative of the Governor and the general counsel for the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Our report of those proceedings indicates that Mr. Hudson, the general counsel, claimed that he had no power to do anything in the matter. As George Leighton, Chicago attorney, who spoke as representative of the national office of N. A. A. C. P., said, "We consider it an insult to attend a meeting dealing with a matter so important only to be confronted by evasive attempts on the part of the responsible official stating that in substance he can do nothing about a case that has attracted nation-wide attention." Once again it would appear that "more energetic action" might have been taken by Governor Stevenson.

5. The statement attributed to Russell Babcock, Director of the Illinois Commission on Human Relations was one that appeared in reports received from people on the scene.

6. No effort was made in my article to suggest that Governor Stevenson and the Illinois Commission were bigoted or personally sympathetic with racial violence in Cairo. I personally believe them to be well intentioned, but the facts would seem to demonstrate conclusively that although no sins of com-

mission were committed, responsibilities for omissions must rest upon the Governor and his agencies. They might have secured the enforcement of the Jenkins amendment long before any violence took place. They might have had adequate state police on hand to prevent terror and intimidation. The Illinois Commission on Human Relations might have helped prepare the community for the transfers and held meetings and consulted with public officials at the time of the violence. Certainly they did not display the kind of eternal vigilance that is the price of freedom. LEONARD SCHROETER

New York

Prisoners of Fear

Dear Sirs: Hannah Bloom's *The Law of Diminishing Returns* in *The Nation* of December 29 and Burnham P. Beckwith's letter which appeared in your letters column of January 19 are characteristic of what Justice Douglas describes as "the black silence of fear." They reflect his apprehension over our "drifting in the direction of repression" and succumbing to fear. Justice Douglas sees our minds put under a sort of undeclared martial law which sets off a chain reaction of fears. America seems to be gripped in an ever-tightening vise of fear bordering on the pathological. Unreasoning fear dominates our thinking and our opinions, giving rise to doubt and suspicion.

Psychologically, a mass or hysterical fear of a threat is as dangerous as the threat itself. In mass hysteria the rational sense for collective security is paralyzed and overpowered by the irrational impulse for self-protection, which leads to confusion and disunity.

The crucial test in a challenge to a free society is its ability to maintain the

proper relationship between its free institutions and the threat it faces. Any emotional imbalance capable of shifting responsibility or exaggerating the danger at the expense of those institutions is bound to weaken their power and make the danger greater than it actually is.

Paradoxically, we seem to be lapsing into a vicious circle of trying to allay fear by restricting freedom, which in turn generates more fear, resulting in a kind of weakening self-flagellation—transforming symptoms into a disease. Instead of meeting the critical situation with positive, constructive remedies we use a negative approach to a solution by questioning the loyalty of our citizens and muzzling all unorthodox opinions. It has become increasingly clear that once we embark on a program of screening and licensing thoughts, the state of mind which leads to these conditions breeds the private Gestapo, the informer, and star-chamber procedure.

The prospect of economic or social ostracism as the wages of iconoclasm drives many into the comfortable shelter of protective orthodoxy, leaving them confined within the narrow cell of stereotyped attitudes, oblivious of the fact that heresies have contributed greatly to the growth of civilization.

Philadelphia

MAX BISER

A Peace Directory

Dear Sirs: The pioneer edition of "USA Peace Directory" (1951) listed 340, and gave references to names and addresses of 3,000 additional, peace committees in the United States. All peace organizations and peace committees which issue peace-action releases or publications are requested to send their material to the U. S. Committee Against Militarization, 6329 South May Street, Chicago 21, so that we can list them in the 1952 supplement.

Chicago

ALBERT BOFMAN

CORRECTION

In Josue de Castro's article *The Malthusian Scarecrow* in *The Nation* for February 16, in the sentence "If only 20 per cent of the uncultivated arable land in Africa and South America were plowed and planted, we should have 9,000,000,000 more acres producing food," the figure should have been 900,000,000; and in the sentence "Development of 10 per cent of the arable land in Russia and Canada now untilled would mean an additional 3,000,000,000 acres," the figure should have been 300,000,000.

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ACTION PUBLICATIONS



NORWALK, OHIO

Crossword Puzzle No. 455

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Making light packages? (6, 7)
- 10 Light on the range for some? (Look in mine for it.) (5)
- 11 There's no holding such things if not skilled about 10. (9)
- 12 He's free in the railroad to get a pick-me-up. (9)
- 13 and 2 down. Carl Mydans and Noel F. Busch work on it—their daily bread, in fact. (5, 2, 4)
- 14 Implying the quartet has a rosy glow, but not sincerely so. (12)
- 19 Knocking nothing out of something? (12)
- 22 These bands frequently contain a 23. (5)
- 24 An agreement at a revolutionary battleplace? Quite the reverse. (9)
- 25 He might have control over the will, but makes us great or otherwise. (9)
- 26 Y-clept. (5)
- 27 Indulged in by the anti-TVA lobby? (5, 8)

DOWN

- 2 See 13 across.
- 3 Where to find the work mixed? And in trouble, too! (2, 3, 4)
- 4 Who's at the bottom of this clumsiness? My dear! (9)
- 5 Like a mountain hotel, perhaps. (5)
- 6 Beside the point, when it comes to money! (5)

- 7 Do they come right after L-brackets? (8)
- 8 No wood left after the second delivery! (5)
- 9 Flesh is bad for the egocentric. (7)
- 15 What to do with it? Candy for cake. (5, 4)
- 16 Unbelievable beginning in verse form? (Some women are beneath such things!) (9)
- 17 Is speech just a habit of modern times? (7)
- 18 This sort of race is no problem for those responsible for the plot. (8)
- 20 The first man I see seems to be a writer. (6)
- 21 With mankind, man is the proper one. (5)
- 23 This is hard, if not up in points. (5)
- 24 Scalp trouble might be implied in one of 7. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 454

ACROSS:—4 ACCIDENTS; 9 COMMOTION; 10 NOUNS; 11 INSULATES; 12 LOOSE; 13 POLO PONIES; 17 CIRCASSIAN; 22 IMAGINING; 23 EMBER; 24 TROCADERO; 25 SENSELESS; 26 EVOKE.

DOWN:—1 PICNIC; 2 REMISS; 3 and 1 across SPOILSPORTS; 5 CONESTOGA WAGONS; 6, 4 down and 21 DON'T LOOK A GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH; 7 NEUTROTIC; 8 SUSPENSE; 14 SCAMPERS; 15 FRAULEN; 16 WAR HORSE; 18 PIRATE; 19 PINERO; 20 IGNORE.

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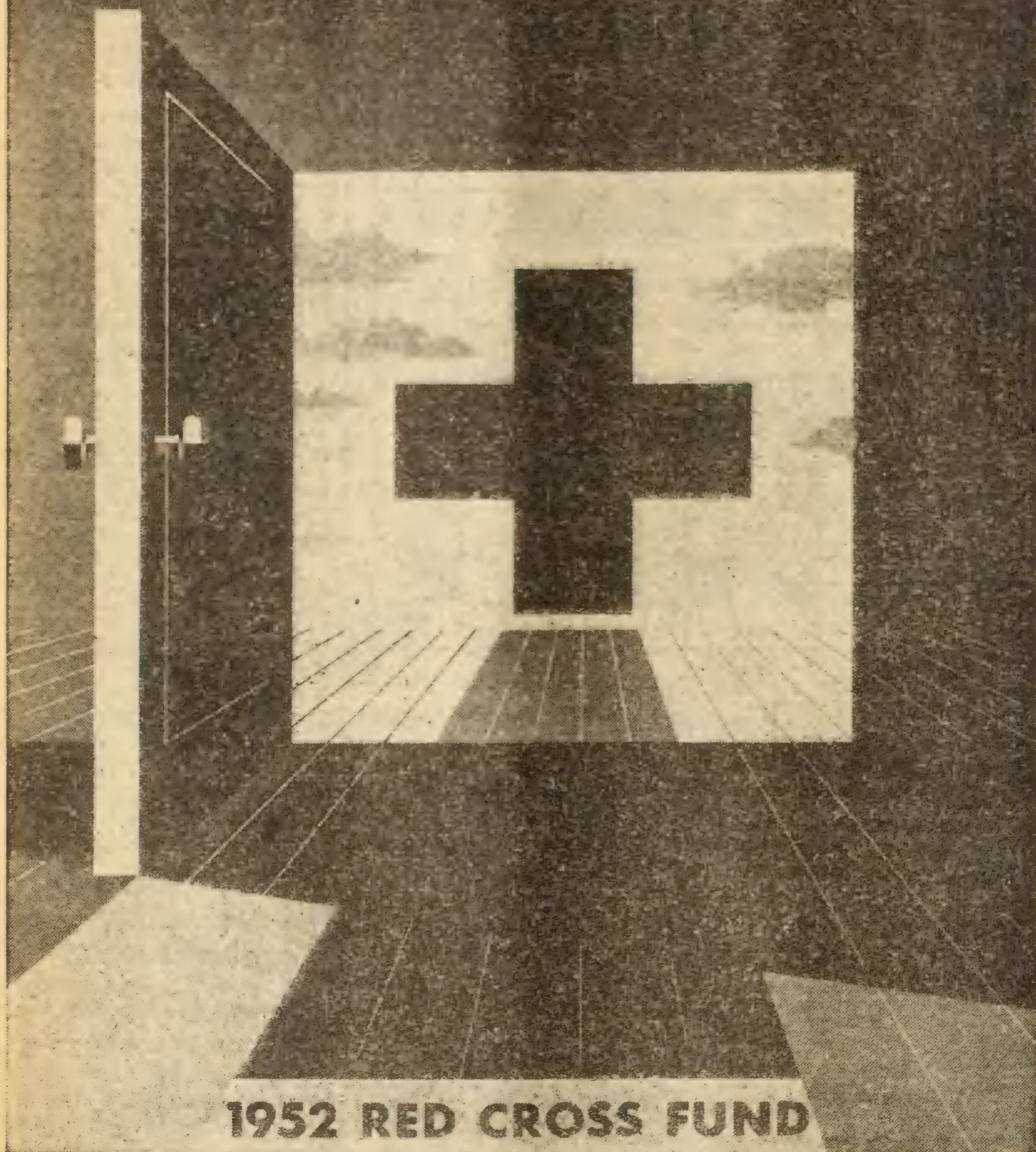
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Bevan's Bid for Power—Andrew Roth

THE *Nation*

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Machine-Gun Politics

Chicago's Bipartisan Corruption

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

✱

Studies in Sex—a Debate

ALBERT ELLIS AND DONALD WEBSTER CORY

VS.

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN

✱

Communism in the Public Schools

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Metamorphosis of a Newspaper

Denver, Colorado

WHEN Palmer Hoyt took over as editor and publisher of the *Denver Post* early in 1946, liberals in the Rocky Mountain region offered a fervent prayer that a deliverer had come. For years the lurid, blatant journalistic fare dished up by the famous Bonfils and Tammen regime had made the *Post* synonymous with yellow journalism at its worst. At first their prayers seemed to be answered. Hoyt soon transformed the *Post* into one of the most forward-looking dailies in the West. The new editorial page was a model of journalistic integrity. Contributed editorials and full-length columns by local citizens who had something to say were invited—in addition to the customary letters to the editor. The unpopularity or radicalism of the views expressed did not bar their publication.

The *Post's* own editorials were predominantly progressive. Most significant, perhaps, was the new editor's enlightened internationalism, in striking contrast to the old *Post's* chauvinistic isolationism. But Hoyt also championed such causes as public power development, civil rights, rent control, public housing, and adequate anti-trust regulation. Though the *Post* backed Dewey in 1948, it endorsed the liberal John A. Carroll (Democrat) against the conservative Eugene Millikin (Republican) in the 1950 Senate contest in Colorado and has supported other liberal candidates.

Despite this record, the *Post* today, six years after Hoyt's arrival, is rapidly losing friends in liberal circles. Thousands of loyal readers are in a quandary, torn between their former genuine admiration for most of the paper's policies and their mounting alarm at some of the causes it has recently supported. The most disconcerting of the *Post's* recent aberrations was its clamor for dropping the atomic bomb in Korea—it even boasted that it was the only major daily to urge this. Though the *Post* upheld President Truman's right to fire General MacArthur, it has seen eye to eye with the General on most

of his ideas for winning the Korean war.

For some time, too, the *Post* has indulged in smear-by-association tactics, not in editorials but in news stories. Items like this are not uncommon: "Denver Communists and a handful of sympathizers picketed the F. W. Woolworth store . . . in what picketers charged was discrimination by the company against Negroes. . . . Although the picketers said they were members of the East Denver Young Progressives Club . . . several known Communists were observed in the group." The reporter went on to say that he had spotted several other individuals "near by" who were identified—in his mind at least—with left-wing causes, including "the Wallace party."

Perhaps the most shocking of recent *Post* smear jobs was an editorial attacking the Anti-Defamation League and "organized Jewry" for their "threats of boycott and discrimination against the radio commentator Upton Close." Such action, the editorial said, proves that "organized Jewry is a pressure group" and confirms Close's charge of persecution. After protests, a second editorial partially retracted the charge but still insisted that Jews were ill-advised in taking action against Close, that they should only "declare themselves opposed" to him. This, as the Anti-Defamation League pointed out, was all they were actually doing.

Still another *Post* editorial attacked certain "non-Communist left-wing" publications for not being able to agree on every issue and even getting into spats with one another. *The Nation* was characterized as a "cynically above-it-all magazine, with definite Zionist overtones."

Then there was the case of David Hawkins, a professor of philosophy at the University of Colorado, who admitted former membership in the Communist Party but insisted that his sympathies were no longer with the Communists and that his former affiliation in no way affected his teaching ability. The *Post* decided that Hawkins should be crucified—if not in editorials, in so-called "news" stories—but despite its agitation the Board of Regents voted four to one to retain Hawkins on the faculty. Only then did the paper

bring up its editorial guns. The verdict, it protested, was not "proper," since Hawkins had declined to put the finger on "persons he knew to be Communists in his local organization"; in failing to discharge him on this ground, the regents had "served badly the cause of continued freedom."

The *Post's* labor policy is another illustration of its present ambiguous position. While Hoyt travels about the country singing the praises of the labor movement—all fully reported in *Post* news stories—he attacks unions in his own bailiwick. For several years he has carried on a ruthless campaign to smash the *Post's* Newspaper Guild unit. On at least four occasions the Guild has been forced to file charges of unfair labor practices to obtain redress.

What has happened to blur the fine promise of Hoyt's direction of the *Post*? It is said that his drop-the-bomb obsession may be the result of top-level briefing in Washington. Hoyt has important connections in the capital and is an influential member of the President's Air Policy Commission, which in January, 1948, issued a highly significant report on plans for American aviation in war and peace. Partly because of his work on this commission, he has even been suggested for high government office.

An explanation for the *Post's* views on domestic issues is to be discovered. One theoreticalism was never for basic undemocratism seems unlikely forthright suggestion offered Hoyt intimately is sharply divided and humane social liberalism. At insatiable thirst himself a man convinced that often believe same mission. In a recent debate, for example, Hoyt said that we must drop the A-bomb now to "fulfill our national destiny, to be true to history." With such a philosophy, Hoyt may well conceive of himself as one of history's errand boys.

MAX AWNER

[Max Awner is assistant editor of the Colorado Labor Advocate.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 11

The Shape of Things

THE NEW RIGHTIST PREMIER ANTOINE PINAY, has, surely unwillingly, rendered a double service to the progressive cause in France by splitting the Gaullists and by throwing the Socialists into the opposition. Even if General De Gaulle succeeds in reestablishing formal discipline when the new Cabinet goes to the National Assembly on Tuesday, the break in the Gaullist movement is an important and also an amusing event. From the position above the conflicts of daily politics on which De Gaulle has ensconced himself, he often expressed utter contempt for the divisions within the other parties. Now at the decisive hour, when his fortunes were mounting, his disciplined Rally of the French People has proved no more solid than any of the old party groups. The Socialists will benefit from being put in a situation that allows no further doubt in regard to their attitude. The Socialist Party was suffering from sharp internal dissensions because of its lack of a clear political line; in the opposition it can, under bolder leadership, recover lost prestige and authority among the workers. This is especially true since the government is more reactionary in every respect than any France has had since the Liberation. Not only will it show greater dependence on Washington, in terms of both finance and policy; it is also pledged to a domestic program sure to antagonize and thus consolidate the left. More ominous perhaps even than Pinay's threat to freeze wages was his reference to legislation regulating strikes. Pinay is the first man to crystallize the reactionary clerical majority in the 1951 Assembly which was potentially there all the time.

★

FOR SOME 42,000,000 OF US THE IDES OF March mean the drudgery of filling out income-tax returns and the pain of handing over to Uncle Sam what he claims as his due. This year the pain is sharper than ever, for we shall be feeling the delayed-action bite of the 1950 tax law as well as the 11 per cent average increase provided by last year's revenue measure. In 1952 a married person with two dependents and an income of \$5,000 before deductions will pay \$146, or 33.7 per cent more than he did in 1949. In addition, of course, he is having to pay considerably more in indirect taxes. The total tax bill of the country, however, cannot be reduced without risking taxation by inflation. Even the

most vigorous advocates of government economy do not propose reductions in expenditure large enough to permit lower taxes. For instance, Senator Byrd's "alternative budget" details cuts, including some that would cripple vital social programs, totaling over \$8,000,000,000 but still leaves a deficit of some \$6,000,000,000—far too large a sum to warrant any decrease in the Treasury's "take." Such a decrease, in fact, is not in the cards unless the government revises its rearmament program. Thus the taxpayer who supports present methods of fighting the cold war cannot logically complain that the total tax burden is too high. On the other hand, he may reasonably ask whether that burden is being fairly distributed. ★

A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "TAX LOOPHOLES," written by Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and published by the Public Affairs Institute, answers this question with a resounding "No!" In providing revenue for the present emergency, it contends, Congress has not only refused to close large loopholes in our existing tax laws but has opened others. For example, last year's revenue act left untouched the "percentage-depletion" allowance, which permits owners of oil wells and some mining properties to charge off a large fraction of their earnings, and extended the same privilege to producers of many other minerals. Thanks to this allowance, oil companies in 1947, according to Treasury figures, were able to deduct 13 times more from gross profits than if they had been required to use ordinary depreciation methods. This is discrimination in favor of industries with a particularly powerful political pull. The five other loopholes cited by Senator Humphrey discriminate in favor of individuals in the higher income brackets, with the possible exception of the lack of a dividend-withholding system, which facilitates tax evasion by both large and small stockholders. Provisions for income and estate splitting by married persons, enacted in 1948, yield nothing to those with incomes of under \$5,000 or fortunes of less than \$60,000, but for those with more the benefits increase proportionately to the size of the income or estate. The same thing is true of the capital-gains tax, the ceiling on which was raised by 1 per cent only in the 1951 revenue act, and of the new "family-partnership" provision which permits a rich father to save many thousands a year by giving his children an interest in his business. These are some

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of the loopholes through which the wealthy are slipping their fair share of our common burden. Until they are plugged it is futile to talk of "equality of sacrifice."

✱

COMMENTING ON THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH urging \$7,900,000,000 in foreign-aid, Republican columnist David Lawrence admits he does not know whether the amount asked is too much or too little, but he is sure "the American people are bewildered by the Administration's foreign policy." He goes on: "They are being told that billions are needed for defense of the free world, and yet they see the French Parliament refusing to tax even moderately for European defense. . . . They read of the statements of both Prime Minister Churchill and the Socialist Party opposition as denouncing the government of Chiang Kai-shek, and they read that support of Chiang is a cardinal part of the American government's policy. . . . They see the United States bearing the brunt of the [Korean] struggle with the blood of its youth . . . and remember it hasn't been waged with maximum force at all." Mr. Lawrence concludes with a plea for a better Anglo-French-American understanding. These comments, we think, suggest the broad outlines of an extremely interesting foreign-policy program for the Republican Presidential candidate: (1) peace in Korea; (2) final abandonment of Chiang Kai-shek; (3) evolution of a world policy through agreement with the peoples of Britain, France, and the rest of the Western world and not through American imposition. We think such a program would attract millions of votes to the Republican candidate who espoused it. But would it attract Mr. Lawrence's?

✱

ANOTHER POLITICAL MURDER, A FANTASTIC horse-meat racket, and sensational disclosures of corruption in government (see Machine-Gun Politics by Carey McWilliams on page 245) recently brought into being a "Committee of 19," made up of prominent Chicago citizens, to cope with the scandalous situation. Now an "anti-subversive" committee of the American Legion has tried to undercut the work of the Committee of 19 by "fingering" two of its members, Earl B. Dickerson and Dr. John A. Lapp. The Legion accuses these men of having been affiliated with groups of which it disapproves and charges further that other members of the committee have opposed its efforts "to bring about legislation to safeguard our liberties." Apparently opposition to any measure the Legion has ever sponsored automatically disqualifies a person for civic duty. With insufferable cant the Legion announces that it "can take no part in any of the activities of the Big 19 until those undesirable elements" have been ousted. Only Chicago's little children and feeble-minded will take this nonsense seriously. Dr. John A. Lapp and Earl Dickerson

son are outstanding citizens. Can it be that the Legion wants to sabotage the work of the Committee of 19 and is looking for an excuse for its failure to cooperate? We trust that the response of the committee will be a decision to investigate the interests of local Legion posts in liquor licenses and slot machines.

★

STATE OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN ASKED BY THE Protestant Bill of Rights Committee in Wisconsin, originally formed by Milwaukee Lutherans, to halt payments to some fourteen public schools that now employ nuns as teachers. The committee charges that these schools are under the "domination" of priests or religious orders of the Roman Catholic church, in defiance of the state constitution. Holding that religion can be taught by indirect as well as direct methods, the committee specifies the day-to-day "indoctrination of children in an atmosphere which leads them to decide" that the faith of the teachers is the faith they should embrace. It also contends that the wearing of religious garb by teachers helps to create such an atmosphere. The issue first attracted general attention in Wisconsin about two years ago when a parent in the community of Duran refused to permit his son to attend a public school in which nuns, in the garb of their order, were the only teachers. Subsequent investigation revealed a similar situation in thirteen other public schools, most of them in rural areas. To combat it, the committee has announced a three-point program: it will first seek redress by administrative action; failing this it will take court action, and then, if necessary, direct political action. Much the same issue is shaping up in certain Minnesota communities, notably in Worthington and Pierz.

★

ARCHITECTS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY will certainly seize upon the Soviet Union's military budget—the highest peace-time budget in the country's history—as justification for our armaments policy all along the line. In this sense the Kremlin did President Truman excellent service by releasing its budget figures on the very day the President made his plea for foreign aid. Yet any thoughtful observer must see that the Russians' planned military expenditures bear some relationship to our own. We too are operating under the biggest peace-time military budget in our history. We are going even farther. We are helping Britain and France to operate under the biggest peace-time military budgets in *their* history. We are planning a West German army, a European army, and a Middle East army, not to speak of a whopping big one of our own. If Truman, using the Soviet budget as a lever, succeeds in upping our own still farther, the ultimate result can only be that the Kremlin's 1953 budget also will be boosted

again. The simple truth is that we are in an armaments race—a fact too often overlooked in the great debate over who started it. There is a way of stopping this race before it ends in war. The U. N.'s Disarmament Commission, under orders from the General Assembly, is scheduled to meet in a few weeks. The Russians have indicated willingness to participate. That is the place to debate not only the Russian military budget but also our own—and to come to some agreement on both.

Communism in the Schools

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

AMERICANS should realize that the Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of New York's Feinberg law all but insures a rash of similar legislation spreading across the country. So certain is this result, given the present-day temper, that liberals in other states should acquaint themselves with the provisions of the law and prepare for efforts by zealous legislators to duplicate it. Meanwhile, in New York, all opponents of the measure must get ready to fight a long hard battle for its repeal. If the issue is left to those most directly involved, the teachers themselves, the anti-democratic assumptions of the Feinberg law, having won majority approval in the Supreme Court, will become the established norm—one more long step toward the garrison state we are supposedly preparing to resist to the death.

In New York City the situation has been complicated by a series of acts of the local educational authorities so repressive and arbitrary that the application of the Feinberg law may actually provide protection to the persons affected. This ironic state of affairs came about as the result of the legal attack on the law instituted soon after its adoption in 1949. Enforcement of the law was halted when suit was brought by a group of teachers, parents, and taxpayers to enjoin the Board of Education from carrying out its provisions. But the Superintendent of Schools was unwilling to wait upon the slow processes of the law. He went ahead, on the basis of existing sections of the Civil Service law and the Education law, to institute a purge of employees suspected of Communist or other "subversive" leanings or associations. The famous case of the eight teachers dismissed last year, now under appeal in the state Supreme Court, was the first result of Dr. Jansen's administrative housecleaning. A second batch of eight was suspended at the beginning of this February for refusing to tell whether or not they were or had been Communist Party members; the charge against them is "insubordination and conduct unbecoming a teacher." According to Dr. Jansen a third list of suspects is being assembled for questioning in the near future.

In all these cases juridical safeguards have been

brushed aside. A teacher to be investigated receives a letter instructing him to report to the Corporation Counsel's office. There he is questioned by Assistant Corporation Counsel Saul Moskoff, in the presence of a stenographer and a recording machine. He is allowed no lawyer but can take with him a "teacher adviser," provided he can find a fellow-teacher willing to serve. The role is hardly popular, for a "teacher adviser" himself becomes a suspect by association. If the person under investigation refuses to answer all questions put to him—and many of the questions are both offensive and totally irrelevant—he is charged with insubordination, and suspension promptly follows. In no case so far has a teacher been accused of professional misconduct in act or word: no subversive teaching, no subversive influence on the pupils outside the classroom. Hearings which determine whether or not an "insubordinate" teacher shall be dropped are also conducted without proper safeguards, although the defendants are permitted counsel and in the event of dismissal may petition the courts for reinstatement. Altogether it is obvious that the patriotic zeal of New York's Superintendent of Schools has not been frustrated by the temporary suspension of the Feinberg law. None the less he welcomes the Supreme Court decision as a green light, since it confers high judicial sanction and respectability on a campaign whose legality has been widely challenged. In exchange for such endorsement he can well afford to sacrifice a few high-handed procedures.

The Feinberg law provides for the dismissal of any school employee who, by reason of membership in an organization considered subversive by the state Board of Regents, might try to spread propaganda advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Teachers suspected of belonging to proscribed organizations have a right to a hearing and a court review, but under the law no overt act need be proved; membership alone is *prima facie* ground for dismissal. What organizations, apart from the Communist Party itself, will be put on the proscribed list no one yet knows. To carry out the task of detection the law sets up an elaborate system of spying and informing. The Regents may decide to adopt the federal Attorney General's list or may invent one of their own; their original list was never promulgated because of the court action now ended. Under the law listed organizations have the right to appeal to the courts.

What will be the effect of this act? The majority opinion that it does not deprive teachers of the right to free speech or assembly or deny due process is based primarily on the view that since "a teacher works in a sensitive area," shaping "the attitude of young minds toward the society in which they live," the state has a proper concern in the "integrity" of the process. But this argument can as well be used to support a contrary conclu-

sion. For "thought control" exercised by the state over teaching, and thus over the minds of children, is exactly the method used by Communist governments—and presumably approved by Communist organizations and individuals—to insure conformity rather than integrity. It is freedom, not control, that leads to integrity in teaching. Even a person who believes no Communist or near-Communist can be trusted to keep his classrooms free from bias might well agree that a certain amount of partisan teaching would be less paralyzing to the educational process than the methods of spying, intimidation, denunciation, and inquisition prescribed in the new law.

The best answer to the majority view was the remarkable dissent of Justice Douglas, together with the concurring opinion by Justice Black—two statements that should be adopted by opponents of the law as their campaign platform. Justice Douglas made short work of the argument that freedom of thought and expression as guaranteed by the Constitution are not undermined by the provisions of the Feinberg law. After attacking the principle of establishing guilt through association and pointing out the almost insurmountable obstacles faced by an accused teacher in proving his innocence, the dissent describes in eloquent, plain language the certain effect of such a measure on the schools themselves.

The law inevitably turns the school system into a spying project. Regular loyalty reports on the teachers must be made out. The principals become detectives; the students, the parents, the community become informers. Ears are cocked for telltale signs of disloyalty.

The prejudices of the community come into play in searching out the disloyal. This is not the usual type of supervision which checks a teacher's competency; it is a system which searches for hidden meanings in a teacher's utterances.

What was the significance of the reference of the art teacher to socialism? Why was the history teacher so openly hostile to Franco Spain? Who heard overtones of revolution in the English teacher's discussion of "The Grapes of Wrath"?...

What happens under this law is typical of what happens in a police state. Teachers are under constant surveillance; their pasts are combed for signs of disloyalty; their utterances are watched for clues to dangerous thoughts. A pall is cast over the classrooms. . . . Of course the school systems of the country need not become cells for Communist activity; and the classrooms need not become forums for propagandizing the Marxist creed. But the guilt of the teacher should turn on overt acts. So long as she is a law-abiding citizen, so long as her performance within the public school system meets professional standards, her private life, her political philosophy, her social creed should not be the cause of reprisals against her.

This, we believe, is the true verdict on the Feinberg law and all it represents, even though it is not the verdict which prevails.

Chicago's Machine-Gun Politics

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Chicago

THE murder of Charles Gross, Republican committeeman for Chicago's Thirty-first (West Side) Ward, has touched off a great blaze of moral indignation. "Declare Civic War on Mob," thunders the *Chicago Tribune*, and offers a \$10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers. "Sweep Hoodlums out of Politics!" runs another headline. "Stand up, you office-holders, you politicians, law-enforcers, policemen," demands the *Daily News* in a front-page editorial, "stand up and start moving. Put on your fighting clothes and fight." When Chicago is having one of these spasms of moral indignation its civic wrath is truly terrifying. But somehow a visitor cannot escape the conclusion that little will come of the furor except, perhaps, confirmation of the fairly obvious proposition that "corruption" is bipartisan. Before the Republicans become too thoroughly committed to the corruption issue, they might take a look at this Cook County extravaganza.

A West Side Republican bloc which has been growing in political power since the early 1920's now controls a dozen or so of Chicago's fifty wards. Most of its representatives in the state legislature come from rotten boroughs which, despite heavy population shifts, have not been reapportioned in more than fifty years. The mobsters who really elect these legislators are seldom interested in more than a dozen bills out of perhaps two thousand that may be introduced. The result is that the lawmakers can vote on the 1,988 other bills with bland indifference to the welfare of their constituents. Functioning as a unit, they have tremendous bargaining power.

The candidates of the West Side bloc seldom face opposition in either the primary or the election. Most of them are "home free"—as good as elected—long before the primary. Occasionally some naive person has the temerity to oppose a bloc representative, but such upstarts usually withdraw at the last moment, citing "ill health" as the reason for their abrupt decision to abandon politics as a career. Sometimes they admit that they have been chased from the field by threats or actual violence. In the last two years there have been six political murders in Chicago, all of them still unsolved. "How much longer will this slaughter continue?" asks Alderman Robert Merriam. "Who will be next? Are we to sit back quietly and wait? Somewhere a halt must be called." But it will not be easy to call a halt to political gangsterism in Chicago.

The current phase of Chicago's gunshot politics is so much like earlier outbreaks of gang violence as to suggest that the condition is somehow organic. "The mob has been extending its political influence for many years," the *Chicago Sun-Times* points out; "gangland is openly campaigning for political power with bullets instead of ballots." In the old days gangster violence was largely intramural, and the gangs were then content to rely upon informal alliances with various machine politicians. Political power was a means to an end; it is now a business. This movement of the mobs into direct political action reflects a shift in their economic interests. Here is the way one G. O. P. leader explains it: "The gambling racket is dead. The mob is now infiltrating into big business—all business—and all the political power it can muster will be used to put official 'muscle' into operation against legitimate merchants and manufacturers."

THE scandal over the sale of mule and horse meat for human consumption shows how gangsters are pushing to the top in business and politics. In the last two years the Chicago area has been inundated with millions of pounds of such meat, which has been sold to make not only hamburger but sausage and stew meat. One packer has confessed that he sold about 100,000 pounds of horse meat a week to the ringleader of the racket. Some mule and horse meat has for years found its way into the "hamburger" market, but the mobsters first moved into the field in a big way in 1949, when enormous profits could be made. Horse meat could be bought for 7 to 14 cents a pound and sold to wholesalers for 30 to 45 cents a pound; the wholesaler could then sell it to restaurants for 65 to 80 cents a pound. One small wholesaler banked \$250,000 in four months; another sold 55,000 pounds of horse meat in thirteen days. Some twenty-five fairly large wholesalers were at one time engaged in the racket. At the outset business was so good that the mobsters began to hijack trucks carrying meat which they had sold to their customers. One dealer was robbed of \$18,000 by the same hoodlums who had just paid it to him for a consignment of horse meat. The volume of mule and horse meat reaching the market became so great that honest retailers and wholesalers were finally forced to enter the racket in order to meet the prices of their more unscrupulous competitors.

The organizers of this multi-million-dollar racket were Chicago gangsters with important bipartisan political



connections. But many other elements of society were involved—politicians, civil servants, truckers, restaurant and cafe owners, meat packers, and wholesale and retail meat dealers. To view this racket, then, as the evil inspiration of the Mafia is silly. Thirteen state food inspectors have been removed from their jobs for having not only accepted but in many cases solicited bribes from the ringleaders of the racket. One has confessed that he received as much as \$450 a month in bribes. One was an ex-convict who had top Democratic sponsorship for his job. The registered agent of one of the horse-meat packing plants involved turns out to be a Democratic precinct captain whose name also appears on the city pay roll as an "assistant street inspector." The son of Dr. Herman N. Bundesen, city health commissioner, has been asked by the grand jury about his representation, as a lawyer, of individuals haled for questioning about the horse-meat scandal before the board over which his father presides. A racket as extensive as this could not have gone on for two years without interference by either state or local officials unless bipartisan political arrangements had been made at a fairly high level. Indeed, the scandal was only brought to light by the more or less accidental intervention of Office of Price Stabilization officials.

Now, of course, Republicans and Democrats are

blaming each other. The *Tribune*, not noted for the fairness of its judgments, makes a practice of referring to Governor Adlai Stevenson as "the Dark Horse-Burger Candidate" or, more succinctly, as "Horse Meat Adlai." On the other hand, the Democrats point to the fact that the notorious West Side bloc is Republican. Actually the threads of influence and control reach across party lines. Chicago's "reform" mayor, Martin Kennelly, has found it extremely difficult to explain, for example, the city patronage made available to Aldermen D'Arco and Petrone, both regarded as representatives of the bloc.

SINCE the murder of Gross, all sorts of curious facts have come to light. City and county pay rolls have "ghost" employees who have drawn salaries but have never worked. Even the slain Gross had been placed on the pay roll of the county highway department in January as "a right-of-way investigator" at \$450 a month. Another ghost employee was one "James Addison," who received \$6,400 in thirty-two monthly checks of \$200 each. The checks were sent to the home address of state Representative James J. Adduci, a West Side Republican. When first questioned about these checks, Adduci said: "See Bill Erickson." At the time this happened William N. Erickson, president of the County Board, was a candidate for the Republican nomination for governor. Referring to the incident, the *Daily News* said on February 14: "The fraud was committed very close to Erickson's own office. It is conceivable that he might not have known about it. But if he is fit to be County Board president, much less governor, he will lose no time in finding out all about it." Two weeks later Erickson withdrew from the gubernatorial race to devote all his time to "cleaning up the county's pay-roll mess." The *Daily News* said of his withdrawal: "Erickson apparently yielded to the wishes of his supporters. As the principal dispenser of Republican patronage in Cook County, he was a natural target for public resentment over mushrooming revelations of abuses of the patronage system."

Later another phantom employee was discovered who had been recommended for his job by Erickson himself. This individual drew \$3,780 in salary as "sergeant-at-arms with the forest preserve" while basking in the sunshine at his Arizona ranch. The former Twenty-fifth Ward Republican committeeman, fired from his sanitary-district job in the current purge, admits that he had two in-laws on the pay rolls whose checks were regularly indorsed by his son, who was also on the pay roll for \$385 a month! On the other hand, a man was found on the Chicago city pay roll as an "inspector for the committee on local transportation" who was also holding down a job in the Democratic state administration as a revenue inspector. But it is, after all, the Republicans who control the County Board in Cook County. Richard Yates Rowe, one of

Erickson's Republican opponents, has charged that "Erickson harbors more hoodlum-sponsored employees on his pay rolls than all the rest of the county officers put together."

As Chicagoans were reading about the meat scandal and the Gross murder, Oliver Clubb announced that he was resigning as a senior State Department official because he felt that the charges made against him had seriously damaged his career, despite the fact that he was exonerated. At least one Middle Western editor put into juxtaposition the hysteria of the witch hunt and the scandals in Chicago and drew therefrom a moral. Writing in the Madison *Capital-Times* of February 15, William T. Evjue pointed out:

It is a measure of the madness that is upon us in this country that men of this stature are hounded from public life, while the nation goes indifferently on its way as hoodlums and gangsters continue to muscle in on politics in many of our larger cities, taking over the political system with the same methods they used to take over rackets. . . . Have we reached the point in our national hysteria where we pillory men of the caliber of Clubb, Service, Acheson, Marshall, and others while we exalt the killers and hoodlums of the underworld?

Wise old politicians who know that organized crime, by its very nature, must have its connections in the so-

called upper world of respectable business men and politics to continue, are not getting excited [about the trouble in Chicago]. They remember that it was one of the city's most prominent bankers who made it possible for Ralph Capone to conceal hidden bank deposits for a long time from income-tax authorities. They know that the present outraged mood will pass away and that the hoodlums will continue to reach out for more power in the political system while the partnership of crime, business, and politics continues to work as long as it will produce profits.

But it would be misleading to conclude this report on such a sour note. Chicago is already recovering from its sense of outrage. Republican Sheriff John Babb feels that the purges have gone too far; in fact, he thinks that local officials have been guilty of a form of "political genocide" in purging pay rolls of phantom employees. Restaurant owner Chris Carson, in an effort to restore public confidence in hamburgers, gave away an estimated 100,000 sandwiches "with all the trimmings" in one day, just to show that "there's really nothing as good as the all-American hamburger." Already people are beginning to forget about those un-American muleburgers. "After all," Mr. Carson told the press, "Chicago is the meat-packing capital of the world. If the people can't trust their hamburgers here, where can they?"

Bevan's Bid for Power

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

ANEURIN BEVAN, British Labor's most powerful heavyweight, now faces his toughest bout in his patient progress toward the top title. He must not only deliver effective punches against the sturdy Conservative champion, while elbowing aside right-wing Labor contenders, but make sure that his strength is not undermined by a series of Communist-encouraged political strikes. Since militant non-Communist unionists support these strikes, Bevan and his group have been put on the spot. If they sanction essentially political strikes they risk isolating themselves from the bulk of the Labor movement, particularly its orthodox leaders. If they oppose them, the very Labor militants upon whom Bevan is depending to propel him into power may turn to Communist leaders.

"Bet on Bevan to come out on top!" say those who follow British political form most knowingly. Even the conservative *Times* recently wrote of his "displaying a

mastery . . . which would be surprising if one had not grown to expect it of him." The pugnacious Welshman is already slugging it out toe to toe with the equally contentious Churchill. The unparalleled style of the Prime Minister's lunge has obscured the fact that it is he who has given ground. He has already lopped £300,000,000 off the rearmament budget. He felt it necessary to deny in the strongest terms that Britain is committed to all-out war against China. And he has disowned John Foster Dulles's plans to sponsor counter-revolution on the Asian mainland.

Leaders of Labor's right wing still show the effects of having been caught between the two giants in the historic foreign-affairs debate of February 26. Mr. Morrison appears diminished in size, and even the widely respected Mr. Attlee was bruised. In the debate the style of the ex-Foreign Secretary's attack on Mr. Churchill, coupled with his previous silence on his Korean commitments, revealed the inroads of "Bevanism" in the Parliamentary Labor Party. Morrison called Churchill's Washington trip "a doubtful mission undertaken by the wrong man at the wrong time," which produced "very

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small results for our country" and involved "vaguely expressed and possibly grave commitments." "We must resist aggression," he mildly bellowed, "but our business is not to build up a Chinese wall against us. . . . I do not want to see us drift into an attitude of subservience to America which is bound to do harm to our good relationship in due course."

Churchill brushed off these charges as "weak, vague, wandering." Labor, he jeered, was sufficiently "Machiavellian" to build atom bombs while "accusing their opponents of being warmongers." Then he shook Morrison badly by baring that the latter had agreed, the previous May, to the bombing of airfields in China if heavy raids were launched from these airfields against the U. N. forces in Korea. At this point Bevan charged to the rescue, yelling "Foul!" Churchill, he maintained, was violating the rules of the game in revealing the previous government's action without "laying the document" before Parliament. To onlookers it was difficult to tell whether Morrison felt worse over being hit where it hurt by Churchill or being rescued by Nye Bevan. But it was Bevan's masterful and varied oratory that absorbed all attention. Bevan pressed Churchill into saying whether he accepted Mr. Dulles's proposal to overthrow the Peking government. Even when Churchill answered, "No, sir, certainly not," Bevan added: "We must warn our American friends that not one British soldier will risk his life" to wage "an ideological war with weapons against the Soviet Union."

The impact of this parliamentary battle on Labor M. P.'s was staggering, particularly after they sampled opinions in their constituencies on the week-end of March 1-2. The more alert Laborites must have known that last summer the Labor government went almost all the way with President Truman's Administration on Korea, for this was made quite clear by the Foreign Office-inspired diplomatic correspondents and the editorial writers of the leading papers. But it came as a shock to the party stalwarts who took foreign policy on faith as long as it was handled by "Herbert" and "Good old Clem." Many felt betrayed that their leaders had entered such a battle with Churchill when they were so vulnerable. Even right-wing Laborites have to admit that without Bevan, instead of securing a draw, Labor would have suffered a knockout.

The Manchester *Guardian* expressed the position of the Foreign Office when it warned recently that Bevan's views and even Attlee's milder echo of them would "make Senator Taft whoop with joy" and that Washington would be "less . . . willing to listen to our views" if it doubted Britain's loyalty to the alliance. Answering a similar charge in Commons, Bevan asked Selwyn Lloyd sarcastically whether "the House of Commons should be in recess during the American election year."

However unpopular Bevan may be in Washington—

he himself says, "I have more friends in America than I have on the other [Conservative] side of the House"—he is becoming more and more the voice of Labor Britain in a period of deepening crisis. Thus on March 2 the Bishop of Birmingham, who is no Communist, attacked the napalm bombs used by the United States as "an even greater disgrace to mankind" than the atom bomb. He also voiced the belief, fairly widespread among Labor intellectuals, that the Chinese Communists might be regarded "as the beginning of a new social development, a transformation which in the end will give to China, with its great and ancient civilization, the leadership of human progress."

Bevan said during the debate that "every miner, railwayman, and agricultural worker in Britain knows very well that if he were in China he would be a Communist peasant. He would not be for Chiang Kai-shek, he would be a Communist." He had intended, his intimates disclosed, to devote quite a bit of time to the need for capturing the leadership, or at least the friendship, of the Asian revolution but had to change his plans to resist Churchill's onslaught. In particular he had intended to attack Anglo-American policy toward Indo-China. He did find time to ridicule the Conservative, and American, idea that all Communist-led Asian revolts are "the result of a Kremlin plot."

The increasing attraction of what Bevanites call a "really Socialist foreign policy" is illustrated by the recent decision of the Labor Party's National Executive to readmit to party membership ex-M. P. Konni Zilliacus. This former League of Nations official was a leading foreign-affairs spokesman for Labor's left wing until his expulsion three years ago, together with three crypto-Communists. The others have continued to echo Soviet policy, but Zilliacus has shown a deep sympathy for Titoism—he speaks Serbo-Croat and has just finished a semi-official biography of Tito.

The increase in the Bevanites' strength so dramatically shown in the Commons debate of March 3 has precipitated a crisis in the Labor Party. As this is written, the Executive Council has been called into special session by Attlee. Despite Attlee's urgent request that they limit their disagreement to abstention, fifty-seven Labor members voted against the defense program. Bevan, staunchly defending this defiance of party discipline, has since warned the leadership that he is prepared to bolt the party to effectuate his ideas.

Whether Bevan's leadership of the Labor Party will mature quickly or take three or four years is now being decided in the mines, factories, and union halls. Although Bevan came up through the trade-union movement and expresses the feelings of the workers, he has very little support among the union bosses, some of whom, like Arthur Deakin, hold his criticism of rearmament responsible for the present political strikes.

The Heart of the French Problem

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

THE Faure government, which lasted thirty-nine days, will be remembered as the government of Lisbon, of Hoa-Binh, and of the franc panic of February, 1952. When, on the night of its fall, somebody mentioned these three disasters, M. Faure, who has a sense of humor and perhaps also a touching faith in the eternity of French parliamentary institutions and of his own career, remarked: "Well, Daladier has lived down many worse things." It was Daladier, indeed, who was chiefly responsible for the defeat of M. Faure, having induced twenty-eight Radicals—members of the party to which the Premier himself belongs—to join the Gaullists, Communists, and some forty members of the "classic" right in voting against the 15 per cent tax increase demanded by the government to avert an immediate financial crisis and to meet, at least in part, the expenditures on rearmament and the war in Indo-China.

The absurdity of the parliamentary situation is found in the fact that many of the same deputies who refused to provide more revenue had voted a few hours earlier for a heavily increased military outlay. This, for one reason or another, they had considered "inevitable," but higher taxes would annoy constituents, vested interests, and the village pump. The Pleven government had fallen in January for much the same reason, though this time, disturbed by M. Faure's "leftist" bias, the right wing of his majority also wanted "a change."

It is easy to jeer at French governmental instability and at the continuing lack of a firm majority in the Assembly; one could not be brought into being even by the trick of "Third Force" *apparetements* in the last general election. The British press, especially, has been insufferably self-righteous and has compared France with "efficient" Germany. All the jeering, needless to say, has been lapped up with relish by the Gaullist papers here. *Paris-Presse* joyfully reproduced, in facsimile, the advice given to France by the London *Daily Mirror*, of all papers—which was to get itself a "strong man" quickly.

Only a few timid voices abroad have remarked that financial troubles are not, after all, peculiar to France but part and parcel of the whole European set-up, not to be explained away by pretentious dissertations about "the French character." These voices have ventured to suggest that something very similar might happen in

London too, before very long. The French habit of hoarding gold and dollar bills, many have rightly observed, was only a symptom of the trouble, not its cause. The real cause of the financial crisis was obvious: France was living far beyond its means and could not afford, simultaneously, a program of capital investment and reconstruction even if sharply curtailed, heavy rearmament, and, last but not least, the war in Indo-China, in which in the past few years something like two billion pounds had been sunk.

A few minutes before the Assembly vote which overthrew his government, M. Faure had stated emphatically that Indo-China was the real heart of the French problem, in both a financial and a military sense. As long as France had to fight this war alone and pay for it almost alone, as long as the cadres of at least six divisions were out there, there could be no adequate French army in Europe and no stable franc. At Lisbon, he said, he had asked "whether or not Indo-China was included in the common defense strategy" and had received no answer. He implied that Germany, as a result of Lisbon, would soon gain a dominant position in Europe, both militarily and economically, and he stressed that his successor—whoever he might be—must receive an answer to the question about Indo-China.

The next day it was found that there was no money left in the kitty, and a hasty advance of twenty-five billion francs, repayable in three weeks, had to be obtained from the Bank of France for current expenses. M. Baumgartner, governor of the bank, having refused to raise the legal limit of the note circulation, frigidly agreed to advance the money against Treasury bonds, accompanying his concession with a sermon on the disastrous state of the French budget. How the money will be repaid by March 20, if at all, is a mystery for the present. The pessimists, of course, are crowing that France has "started on the road of inflation." Taking account of Indo-China and the need to pay for imports out of the meager gold reserves, the charge is perhaps not altogether unjustified.

AS FAURE rightly said, Indo-China is the heart of the problem, and much depends on what is done about it. For three years I have stressed in this journal the folly of the Indo-China war, quoting such farsighted Frenchmen as M. Mendès-France who insisted that the war was incompatible with France's authority in Europe and in consequence were treated as cranks or secret Communists by the successive governments and by

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moth-eaten oracles like André Siegfried. First the war was waged in the name of French prestige and *la présence française*. Then, even after French moneyed interests like the Banque d'Indochine had given it up as a bad investment and had been replaced by piastre racketeers, it was waged as a missionary war "against world communism," a pendant as it were to the sacred war waged by the U. N. in Korea. An attempt was made to get financial and military aid from the Americans, but they were interested only if it was understood that France should go on carrying the baby.

Today nearly everybody agrees with Mendès-France. The withdrawal last week from Hoa-Binh in the mountains west of the Tonkin delta—described at the time of its capture by the French last November as "the key to Vietminh's whole system of communications"—was not only an important political move but also a serious military setback for the French, who lost at least three battalions in their retreat. The capture of Hoa-Binh was undertaken, it is now learned, against the better judgment of General de Lattre and at the insistence of M. Letourneau, Minister for Indo-China, who wanted to "impress Washington" at a time when it was feeding the French vague promises of aid. This aid amounted to so little that after three agonizing months the French found they could no longer hold Hoa-Binh. Vietminh troops, better armed than before, were penetrating more and more frequently into the delta land around Hanoi, now no longer adequately defended; the road to Hoa-Binh was a constant death trap; and the "prestige operation" had to be abandoned. M. Letourneau, the "Duke

of Hoa-Binh" as Claude Bourdet ironically calls him, has been saying strange and shocking things: "Of course the evacuation of the expeditionary force is our ultimate aim. Of course we are willing to negotiate with Vietminh, but we're damned if we'll take the first step."

The experts' view is that Vietminh, despite its recent successes—Hoa-Binh was acclaimed throughout the Communist world as a major victory—is willing to negotiate, provided the French government sends official and fully accredited negotiators. Vietminh is genuinely anxious to industrialize and to raise the living standard of its people, which cannot be done to any extent as long as the war lasts. As things now stand, according to reliable reports, the end of the war need not be a shameful French surrender; M. Daladier believes that Vietminh may agree to much more reasonable terms from the French point of view than the Crusaders like to admit.

Two principal features of the Cabinet crisis were Reynaud's failure to form a National Government by bringing the Gaullists in through the back door and the revolt within Gaullist ranks enabling a government to be formed around the rightist Antoine Pinay. The wayward Gaullists undoubtedly were motivated by their realization that France was not prepared for grave commotion and a fascist upheaval and also by their desire to avoid the nomination to the premiership of Mendès-France, whom President Auriol would have called had Pinay failed. Mendès-France would have meant drastic austerity and a clear-cut decision to terminate the Indo-China war. Pinay means inroads on social services, purely theoretical price control, and real depression wages.

In Defense of Current Sex Studies

BY ALBERT ELLIS and DONALD WEBSTER CORY

IN A review of Donald Webster Cory's book, "The Homosexual in America," in *The Nation* for December 22, 1951, Dr. Milton R. Sapirstein included some aspersions on other recent books on sex, in particular on "Patterns of Sexual Behavior" by Clellan S. Ford and Frank A. Beach and "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male" by Alfred C. Kinsey and associates. His remarks would be unimportant if they did not seem to represent the views of several other recent writers and to raise some vital moral questions.

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DONALD WEBSTER CORY is a pseudonym.

Dr. Sapirstein begins his attack:

Much of the recent literature on homosexuality and sex in general—such as Kinsey, Ford, and Beach—tends to impress the gullible reader with the wide variation of sexual practices in different cultures as well as in different biological species. Beginning with an attitude of tolerant liberalism, they all end up with an attack on the accepted sexual *mores* of our Western Hebrew-Christian society.

This is simply not so. The distinguished American anthropologist Margaret Mead, who has been foremost in stressing the wide variations of sexual and other practices in different cultures, has tempered her tolerance with considerable conservatism. She vigorously attacked Dr. Kinsey and his associates when "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male" first appeared, contend-

ing that it should never have been permitted to become a best-seller because "the sudden removal of a previously guaranteed reticence has left many young people singularly defenseless in just those areas where their desire to conform was protected by a lack of knowledge of the extent of non-conformity." Drs. Ford and Beach are also restrained in their conclusions and make a plea only for more research into the biological and anthropological aspects of human sexuality. They do not attack any of our contemporary sexual customs or taboos. Nor, aside from pointing out that if certain of our sex laws were properly enforced most of our male population would be in jail, do Kinsey and his associates specifically attack our accepted sexual *mores*.

Dr. Sapirstein continues:

As a plea for less prejudice they are undoubtedly justified. But what these authors seem to forget, or do not know, is that the sexual practices of the individual and his community can never be studied out of context of personality structure, religious-moral system, prestige values, economic system, and so forth.

Actually, of course, Dr. Kinsey and his associates made a special point of studying the individual within the context of his religious-moral views, economic status, education, and so on and continually present their sexual findings in various personal-social contexts. More of their book is devoted to the relationships between an individual's sex outlets and the non-sexual aspects of his life than to any other phase of their study. As for Ford and Beach, they conclude that "it is our hope that the present volume will serve as a useful step toward the development of a sound understanding of the sexual behavior of human beings as it is affected by their evolutionary heritage *and by the conditions imposed upon them by their environment*" (our italics).

Dr. Sapirstein wittily goes on:

If the authors who recommend unlimited variations of sexual practice were prepared to argue for the family structure of the guinea pig or the economic system of the Marquesans it would make more sense. But, instead, they all belittle the rather narrow limits of sexual "normality" in our culture, challenging the goals which are traditional for our culture—offering only unlimited variation as an alternative.

JUST who are these authors who recommend unlimited variation in sexual practice? Certainly Drs. Kinsey, Ford, and Beach do not recommend any such thing, for the members of our present society. About the only well-known contemporary writer who comes close to fitting Dr. Sapirstein's description is René Guyon, who published his main works over a decade ago and is a jurist rather than an anthropologist or biologist. Even if he is thinking of a writer like Dr. Guyon, however, Dr. Sapirstein's logic is faulty, for actually one

can advocate the sex habits of, say, the Marquesans without advocating their particular economic system or even their family system. Similar forms of sex activity have existed for centuries in regions with most diverse economic systems and in those where the family system has been either matrilinear or patrilinear, exogamous or endogamous, based on the small or the large family. There is certainly no fixed relationship between a given set of sex *mores* and a given family, economic, religious, or political system, although there are, of course, some important interrelations.

As for Dr. Sapirstein's fears about the espousal of "unlimited variation," not even the ultra-liberal Dr. Guyon and surely not Drs. Kinsey, Ford, and Beach argue that *all* human beings should adopt *all* the variations of sexual behavior which exist among *all* the known human and animal communities. What Guyon advocates is merely the freedom of individuals to practice, in an orderly, private, and mutually consenting manner, sex acts which are satisfying to themselves and which do not harm others.

Dr. Sapirstein says in his next paragraph:

This undoubtedly, in the long run, will have a rather anxiety-producing effect. For no one individual can be *all* things, and each individual can and must work out a way of life which is in tune with his own background, his own family structure, and his own society.

Who has demanded that any individual be *all* sexual things to himself or to others? Economic systems and religions differ widely in different parts of the world, but no one reasons that every American should therefore simultaneously follow all economic systems and all religions.

More important is Dr. Sapirstein's implication—in agreement with Dr. Mead's quoted statement—that the publication of sex truths may produce anxiety in individuals in our culture who have not been accustomed to accept such truths. This is a dangerous, anti-scientific, freedom-destroying assumption. It is essentially the doctrine that has motivated all anti-democratic regimes, from the Inquisition to modern totalitarian states. If it were ever consistently applied, any fact which failed to support the existing *mores* of any culture—whatever they might be—would automatically be branded "anxiety-producing," or "non-Aryan," or "unpatriotic," or



Dr. Kinsey

what you will. And any falsehood, presumably, that supported existing mores would be considered "good" and "true."

It is especially surprising to hear this doctrine expounded by psychoanalytically oriented writers like Drs. Sapirstein and Mead, since the very essence of analytic philosophy is the idea that the individual becomes disturbed just because he refuses to face the facts of life and insists on setting up neurotic defenses against supposedly harsh reality. Psychoanalytic therapy basically seeks to enable the disturbed patient to reconstruct his views and attitudes so that he can accept a fact as a fact and also accept himself, with his hostile, sexual, and "bad" impulses as well as his friendly, non-sexual, and "good" ones. Proponents of psychoanalysis, therefore, should welcome research which tries to get to the bottom of sexual reality, harsh as this reality may seem to our culturally biased eyes. If our sex mores must be upheld at the cost of suppressing biological and anthropological knowledge, or interpreting it in an emasculated manner, neurosis—as Freud would have been the first to insist—will continue to be widespread, and sexual progress will be minimal.

Dr. Sapirstein concludes:

The fact that isolated individuals cannot attain the "normal" for their own society is in many ways pathetic and we certainly should be tolerant of them, but this still does not justify a massive attack against the established practices of the larger elements of the community. We shall always need guideposts for each individual society, whether all the travelers along the road desire to follow the road map or not.

This is true to some extent. But also true are these facts: (1) In our society, as the Kinsey Report and other studies have shown, "the established practices of the

larger elements of the community" are often actually opposed to our sex mores. Writers like Drs. Sapirstein and Mead are objecting, in effect, to people discovering that several of the so-called "majority" sex practices—such as premarital virginity and marital fidelity—are fast becoming minority ones, and that the "established" sex mores are often largely the abolished ones. (2) While each individual society will always need some social guideposts, it is most unlikely that the particular sexual guideposts which at present exist in our own society will always be needed. (3) Whether we like it or not, our sexual guideposts are continually changing. (4) That we now make use of a set of sexual guideposts hardly proves that it is a perfect or even a good set. (5) Our contemporary guideposts are not, as Dr. Sapirstein implies, consistent, steady, and invariant. On the contrary, as Albert Ellis showed in his recent study, "The Folklore of Sex," our sexual mores are so contradictory and confusing that the individual in our society does not have one sex code which he can easily follow but a number of conflicting codes which are almost certain to get him into continual difficulty with himself and others. (6) Probably the best and quickest way to establish consistent, workable, and anxiety-reducing sexual guideposts in our culture would be to have many more research projects like those being planned and executed by Kinsey and his associates and by Ford and Beach.

In other words, the more fully we accept the fact—as conclusively revealed by modern biological, psychological, sociological, and anthropological findings—that sex practices and beliefs vary widely in different cultures and species, the more likely we are to evolve eventually a set of sex mores that will serve as better guideposts than the system we have passively inherited from our non-research-minded forbears.

Hindering the Search for Morality

BY MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN

I FIND the foregoing defense of the scientific works of Kinsey, Ford and Beach, and others quite appropriate. I wish Messrs. Ellis and Cory could defend "The Homosexual in America" with equal vigor. For, after all, my review in an earlier issue of *The Nation* was primarily concerned with that book.

I am now being challenged on the extension of my comments, in which I questioned the limited point of view of other sexual studies published in recent years. Although I have many reservations about those volumes,

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN is a practicing psychoanalyst and the author of "Emotional Security."

I would agree that they are honest studies by reputable workers. They need no defense from Cory and Ellis, and I am quite prepared to accept them in terms of factual, statistical, or biological data. Independent of their sociological and psychiatric implications, their intrinsic merit is not relevant to our discussion.

For the basic problem still remains. Whether we agree or disagree with Kinsey, Ford, Beach, Ellis, and Mead, whether we like their method of presentation or not, Donald Webster Cory still uses them for his own special purpose. In contrast to the more serious workers, Cory has a special ax to grind. He uses them to surround his own slanted view with an air of authenticity.

Our society is in a state of flux, and no honest worker can fail to observe the constantly changing sexual patterns. At the same time every clinical observer is struck by the sincere attempts of most people to distil some healthy values out of the present chaotic situation. Young people are desperately searching for a new kind of morality—a monogamy which “works,” built around a healthy relation to children and to the world. I think most of them are succeeding better than their parents.

Within this fragile framework Mr. Cory comes along to promote the advantages of homosexuality. He quotes the best authorities—many of them leave themselves wide open to this type of confusion—and defends their points of view in the hope that he can thus prop up his own dramatization of an unhealthy form of sexual adaptation. Frankly I am intolerant of any such maneuver, and of the authorities who lend themselves to it. We still have relatively wide zones of healthy sexuality, even in our fluctuating society, and no useful purpose is served by emphasizing the fact that distortions, or what is viewed as distortions in our society, are accepted in other cultures, other species of animals, or other eras.

How Free Is Canada's Air?

BY HENRY MONTCALM

Montreal

RECENT attacks on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for so-called anti-religious broadcasts have raised the question whether freedom of speech is possible on the air. The row began last June, over six lectures by the British physicist Fred Hoyle, rebroadcast from the BBC, which have been published in *Harper's Magazine* and in book form. In the final lecture Hoyle said that in his opinion “what the Christians offer is an eternity of ‘frustration.’” R. W. Keyserlingk, a Baltic German converted to Catholicism in Canada, editor of the *Ensign*, a Catholic weekly, led off with protests to Prime Minister St. Laurent. The Prime Minister replied that he thought the series undesirable but would not interfere, as indeed he had no right to do, since the CBC is responsible only to Parliament.

In September came a series of talks by four notable psychiatrists, including Dr. Brock Chisholm, head of the World Health Organization, and Dr. Ewen Cameron, president-elect of the American Psychiatric Society. Taking as their subject “Man's Last Enemy, Himself,” they discussed the possibility of bringing up children free of hatred. This series was followed by six talks by Bertrand Russell on “Living in an Atomic Age.”

Then the free-for-all started. The Jesuit monthly, *Relations*, thundered against Dr. Cameron's “soulless

and godless utterances.” Bertrand Russell was called a proponent of “animal unrestraint.” An Ontario prelate said Russell “oozed the deadly pus of hell.” On the other side, B. K. Sandwell, retired editor of the influential weekly *Saturday Night*, declared that religious people must not be distressed by speakers who asked them to believe some other faith than their own, or none at all: obviously, a rule against such exhortations would bar practically all church broadcasting. The United Church of Canada tentatively backed the *Ensign*; the Anglicans merely asked for time to answer the broadcast. The Benedictine Fathers' weekly remarked that no Christian need fear attacks on spurious religion.

Letters to the CBC were overwhelmingly favorable. *Maclean's Magazine* and most newspapers upheld CBC policy. A Tory M. P. told Parliament that if the CBC set itself up as a censor, freedom of speech would suffer a serious setback. The chairman of the CBC board tossed the question to Parliament, saying that the CBC did not try to decide what programs were good or bad for people to hear but only to make sure that all responsible points of view got expression.

The question is made more insistent by the imminence of television, over which the CBC is keeping a firm hold. Private stations will not be permitted to enter the field until the CBC itself is ready, since it believes television should be “essentially a Canadian operation carried on in the national interest.” While the appropriation which the CBC requires over and above its revenue from radio licenses and commercial programs was pending in Commons, all the people with grudges wielded their shillelaghs—the private stations frantically seeking television permits, the big advertisers moaning over their amputated commercials, the true believers who want to hear only their own doctrine.

Some of the private stations are linked with companies that make radio and television sets and with big American concerns; many make a lot of money; all think they could make more if not hampered by CBC regulations. In a deeply religious country like Canada, branding a publicly owned service anti-Christian is a potent weapon.

The CBC has served Canadians for fifteen years. Reaching many places too remote to be in contact with a private station, it puts on farm forums, plays and music by Canadians, political talks on free time, and many concerts. A wide audience profits from the factual broadcasts of its International Service.

The Minister through whom the CBC reports to Parliament has said that “some things got on the air that shouldn't have.” Hoyle, Chisholm, and the others thought they were talking about science. If nothing is permitted that could conceivably offend any Christian or non-Christian sect, can any scientific hypothesis be discussed? All freedom of speech will suffer if the CBC becomes “a toothless lion thrown to the Christians.”

HENRY MONTCALM is the pseudonym of a Canadian journalist.

March 15, 1952

BOOKS and the ARTS

Diet and the Birth Rate

THE GEOGRAPHY OF HUNGER.

By Josué de Castro. Little, Brown and Company. \$4.50.

AMONG the privileges enjoyed by technically advanced nations and denied to the underdeveloped, contraception is perhaps not the first that comes to mind. But any magazine with an international circulation which publishes articles on birth control immediately receives letters from behind the papal curtain. A Nicaraguan describes efforts to feed a family of seven on a carpenter's wage; a father in Bonn can find only one basement room for his three-child family; a Quebec woman asks for her reply in a plain envelope. The conscripted parents of Asia and Africa do not know that they want contraceptives. They know that they do not want so many children, and resort to abortion and infanticide. Money and brains—not enough—are searching for the simple contraceptive.

Josué de Castro has the answer. It is meat. The sad letters can be answered. Infants need not be conceived, only to be exposed on river banks to die. Parents must eat steak, liver, eggs; drink milk. They must give up diets of rice and beans. It is not the number of children that makes the wages seem small and the meal meager; it is the meager meal that brings so many children. Hunger causes overpopulation, not vice versa. Protein is the magic contraceptive, for if people will eat properly "there will quickly come about a reduction in the exaggerated indexes of fertility," whereas the same reduction through the use of contraceptives would be disastrous. "Simply to retard the birth rate, as the neo-Malthusians advocate, would, within our contemporary economic framework, only diminish food production and thus increase starvation."

From experiments with rats Mr. de Castro has found that those fed on a high protein diet have fewer young than those deprived of proteins. He concludes, but does not prove, that this would apply to human beings. But he

ignores the difference between fecundity and fertility. The rats were allowed to breed to the limit of their fecundity, so that the difference made by proteins could be measured. Fecundity is the physical possibility of reproduction; fertility what is achieved. In no known culture do women go to the limit of their fecundity, which is about thirty-seven live births. Without a control group of human breeders it cannot be told how much a meat diet, or any other single factor, reduces a normal woman's childbearing from thirty-seven to a number more in keeping with her maternal ambition.

The book contains a table showing for certain areas the birth rate and the daily consumption of animal proteins in grams. Without exception the birth rate goes down as the proteins go up, with Formosa and Sweden changing places at the end of the lists. We feel we should warn the Swedes—top for proteins, bottom for births—not to pass their plates for more meat lest they have no children at all. Fortunately we remember, though Mr. de Castro does not, that they are the most birth-control conscious of all peoples. Argentina, which has the world's highest meat consumption, has been left off the list. It does not have the world's lowest birth rate. Similarly, statements are made that monoculture of cash crops for export always leads to impoverished and dense populations, but the wheat belt of Canada, where the population is eight to the square mile, is not taken into account. Cuba is cited as proof that people who produce raw materials for export go hungry, whereas a glance at New Zealand might prove that freedom to plan parenthood has some mitigating influence.

Tables can be made correlating many factors with variations in birth rates. They are useful only if all major differences are considered and used to correct one another. A depressed status for women and poor education correspond roughly with each other and with a high birth rate. In Burma the women have equality with men, and the country, though an eighth the size of India,

has only a twentieth of India's population.

The fact is that all the evils of which both the family planners and De Castro complain go together and cannot be cured unless advance is made on all fronts. Feudalism, colonialism, indifference to science he deplures. These occur in the very countries which forbid birth control. He asks freedom for nutritionists and biologists to put human happiness before money interests. The same spirit of enlightenment would not withhold from parents the right to plan their families. He writes that birth-control advocates offer "as our only salvation a forced reduction in the world's birth rate." But birth control is the opposite of force; it offers a choice. It is those who illegalize birth control who use force.

On nutrition the book is excellent, and the author's humanity is obvious, but though the fact of overpopulation is of the essence of his book he always becomes emotional on the subject of birth control. He shies away from it. He cannot see it as a weapon, along with so many others he readily accepts, for the individual's control of his destiny. And here William Vogt, author of "Road to Survival" and advocate of birth control, has some chickens coming home to roost.

Throughout "The Geography of Hunger" runs a growl of rage against the derogatory treatment of un-American peoples in Vogt's book. There are eleven references to Vogt and his book in the index, and the last pages are shrill against him. De Castro picks out with proper scorn Vogt's references to the Indians making sex play their national sport—not of itself an insult but since it was coupled with a remark about their breeding like codfish it must have been meant as one. In a passage of impressive wrath that reminds us that he is a poet and a creative writer as well as a scientist, De Castro defends the Indians and their culture from the "egregious" Mr. Vogt. But he should remember that the Indians have requested the World Health Organization for help with a program of birth

control. It is part of their plan of advancement for their country. They take the vaccines, jeeps, and engineers of the country of their detractor. Why should they cut off their noses to spite their faces by refusing America's sterile-period charts and spermicidal jellies? They are too grown up for that.

BARBARA CADBURY

The Factual Melville

HERMAN MELVILLE: A BIOGRAPHY. By Leon Howard. University of California Press. \$5.

THIS biography of Melville is a companion piece to Jay Leyda's recently published "Melville Log." The "Log" presents the whole body of documentary knowledge now available about the author of "Moby Dick," and Mr. Howard's biography, written, we are told, almost in collaboration with Leyda, presents in sober narrative form the copious part of this knowledge which Mr. Howard thinks proper to the subject. Like the "Log," Howard's biography is an important contribution to the current attempt in Melville scholarship to put the man and his work in the solidest possible context of fact. As a factual reference work, written on the whole with a minimum but genuine literary competence, this biography will long be of value to the reader of Melville. No previous biography comes anywhere near it, of course, for accuracy and completeness.

I have some complaints about the author's attempts at intellectual history and "criticism," and they are quickly stated. In a by now time-honored scholarly tradition Melville is here presented as if he were a kind of puzzled sophomore worrying throughout his life about such matters as "the problem of knowledge" and feeling sad when this or that epistemological or metaphysical question seemed unanswerable. The reader gets little sense that Melville, as an artist-thinker, also wrestled with problems having to do with art and myth.

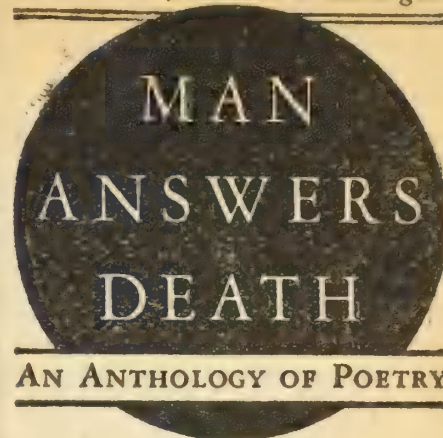
Nor does one get a really firm sense that Melville was an American writer. One is sometimes led to feel that a bookish Afghan might just as easily have written "Moby Dick" as anyone else, provided he had read Carlyle and

certain books on whaling. It would be pleasant to report that where Mr. Howard departs at all from his sober, factual biographical account, he has leaned a little toward a cultural and psychological approach, formidable as the pitfalls of this approach admittedly are. But in sticking so resolutely to an abstract and schematized method, he comes up, in the realm of ideas and artistic values, with a remarkably abstract Melville. And this despite the fact that his preface announces, in language I find uncomfortably close to that of the human-relations expert, an intention to restore "the human element" to Melville studies.

It is a pity that Mr. Howard did not throw the last pages of his book, wherein he essays an act of criticism, into the wastebasket while they were still in manuscript. The virtues of his kind of scholarly writing are patient attention to the fact, common sense, judiciousness, modesty, and urbanity. Why, then, in speaking of Melville critics of whom he disapproves does the author suddenly emulate the violent tones of darkest philistia? Is it quite proper for a serious writer, presumably committed to the high Montaignesque virtues, to imply that everyone with whom he disagrees is neurotic or to use the word "intellectual" in a uniformly pejorative sense? A spirited, even a vituperative, polemic is one thing, but the awkward assault of the outraged conventionalist is another. Thus one can only deplore the contemptuous references to D. H. Lawrence as an "English novelist who longed to lose himself in the Freudian Id" and to another critic of Melville as "the college professor who fancied himself an intellectual radical."

Mr. Howard has no scruples about comparing himself with God; for, after all, who but God has a right to claim so much omniscience as does this writer in summing up the work of other writers: "The pool seems to be inexhaustible. As the reflections of one critical group drain off, the waters, without a disturbing ripple, give forth those of another." Mr. Howard remains; the many change and pass. This is all a bit ironical in view of the fact that if it had not been for the critics, Mr. Howard would never have heard of Herman Melville or, if he had, would regard him as an obscure writer who turned

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out some third-rate sea stories with titles difficult to recall.

Perhaps we may assume that the biographer has merely gone beyond his competence in these last pages, that he has no real ill-will but genuinely understands "criticism" to be that which goes on when, for example, one accuses others of indulging in "intellectual gyrations of ecstasy." As for "intellectual gyrations of ecstasy," these are interesting but inconceivable. Presumably Mr. Howard should have written "ecstatic gyrations of intellect," if he was to insist on the image at all. Yet I fear he has the stubborn conviction that in "criticism" it doesn't matter *what* you say. If so, it is all the more regrettable that he should have tried it.

RICHARD CHASE

The Lore of Islam

THE PORTABLE ARABIAN NIGHTS. Edited, and with an Introduction, by Joseph Campbell. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

THE robust youth of the civilization we call Islam flourished during and after the eighth century, and about the Bagdad court of Harun-al-Rashid and his successors. But by the fourteenth century the Tartars had come and the caliphate was overthrown. Nostalgia for a glorious past had set in; legends came

into flower; and gradually, by the anonymous art of the public tale-teller, they found their way into the framework of the witty girl who distracted a surly emperor by retelling them for 1,001 nights. They were translated into French as early as 1717, but the first unexpurgated English version, by John Payne, had to wait until 1881, and even then only 500 copies were printed. Richard Burton's popular adaptation followed, and has remained the standard English text until now, when thanks to Joseph Campbell's portable edition, the palm has been rightfully handed back to Payne.

Excepting possibly "Finnegans Wake"—to whose intentions, at least, almost anything can be ascribed—we have nothing in English, nor as far as I know in any Western literature, which can quite compare with these 264 stories. The Arthurian romances and the Nibelungenlied preserve in something of the same manner a people's wishful-thinking myths, but they lack the abounding variety of the "Arabian Nights." Actually, as Gide once suggested, the one comparable book is the Old Testament. Only there can we find the same range of subject and detail, the same pandemic focus on an entire culture, from its kings to its slaves, its economics to its housekeeping. On the other hand, we miss in the Old Testament the unique Oriental laughter, that sage capacity for taking oneself at once gravely and lightly which is the fundamental point of view in the "Arabian Nights," and which enables its stories to behold the human creature so comprehensively—juxtaposing his grandeur and his triviality, his honor and his deceit, his fears and his sex, with such truth and ease. Our European novelists have called for such a greater reality; yet how many of them have shown the mature, unlaborious grasp of man's goings-on to describe, for instance, a crucial robbery being forestalled because someone got up in the middle of the night to visit the bathroom? Life, in these stories, is seen more wholly than it has been in any of the greatest novels to come after them.

That so multifarious a book has become, as it has here in the West, chiefly synonymous with hoochy-coochy and flying carpets, is one more measure of our provinciality. For the truth is,

though we make much of reading Toynbee and taking epochs for granted, we are as narrow-minded a culture as has ever existed. Our thinking presumes we are the be-all heirs of mankind's first five thousand years, but we have not begun to claim, or respect, our world heritage. India, for most of us, is still a place where a technicolor movie may be filmed to advantage and new mountain-climbing records attempted. Against this "Western megalomania" Mr. Campbell's introduction brings an intemperate indictment which, I'm afraid, it would be awkward to confute. Yet, as he also reminds us, it was by listening to these stories of the "Arabian Nights" that Scheherazade's equally arrogant king realized his self-absorption; perhaps, reading them today, we will begin to wonder at how much exists around us that is not merely peripheral to our own.

ROBERT PHELPS

Books in Brief

SEARCH FOR THE SPINY BABBLER. A Naturalist's Adventure in Nepal. By S. Dillon Ripley. Houghton Mifflin. \$4. An entertaining travel book by a well-known ornithologist and the Associate Curator of the Peabody Museum. Mr. Ripley, who has specialized in Asiatic birds, lists among the achievements of the expedition the rediscovery of the Babbler mentioned in his title, which was previously known from a single specimen collected more than a hundred years ago. Like most scientists, he would no doubt refuse to admit that such things are the excuses rather than the real reasons for such picturesque jaunts as his, but in this book intended for the general reader birds are only incidental to a description of the excitements and adventures of travel in one of the most remote corners of the world. Mr. Ripley does a very good job of trying to make the reader understand what it is like to travel in a region where incongruous modernities coexist with almost unimaginable conditions. Members of the ruling class cannot eat in the presence of even the American Ambassador to India when he makes his annual official visit as Minister to Nepal. Nevertheless, for twenty years an Englishman has maintained an electric plant in the capital, an official automobile

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was transported by coolies across the mountain paths, and one room in the palace is decorated with distorting mirrors brought back by a prince who had admired them at Vauxhall.

THE BIDOU INHERITANCE. By Edith de Born. Norton. \$3. The life and loves of a provincial French girl, daughter of a brilliantly drawn shopkeeper who is surely one of the most memorable characters in recent fiction. Strongly reminiscent not only of Gide—Mme de Born's obvious master—but also of the Flaubert of "Madame Bovary," this mature first novel has a directness and simplicity that are refreshing in themselves and should lead us to expect further good things from the author, who is trilingual and writes excellent English.

THE WAGES OF FEAR. By Georges Arnaud. Translated by Norman Dale. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3. A hair-raising story about two outcasts, one a coward and the other a hero, who volunteer for a sizable bonus to drive a truck loaded with nitroglycerine across Guatemala. The tension, deriving from the young French author's remarkably crisp and vivid narration, is dissipated by a trick ending; but this is still one of the most exciting stories of the year, and a natural for a good adventure movie.

THE DUKE OF GALLODORO. By Aubrey Menen. Scribner's. \$2.75. By his earlier novels—notably by "The Prevalence of Witches"—Mr. Menen gained a considerable reputation as a witty and impudent writer. But in this leisurely story about a group of odd characters in a lazy Italian village the wit sparkles all too intermittently, and not enough happens to the people—who are out of Norman Douglas by way of Evelyn Waugh—to make things worth while.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF FEAR. By Robert Ardrey. Random House. \$3. A story of hunter and hunted on an isolated primitive island controlled by a mythical police state, by the author of the memorable play and movie, "Thunder Rock." Mr. Ardrey's over-ripe and romantic prose considerably weakens the effectiveness of his otherwise classic

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chase, softening the outlines of a parable of political morality that would have been better served with harsh matter-of-factness. Despite some keen insights into the totalitarian mind and a tolerably tense situation, this novel reads like an early draft of what might have been a genuinely unusual and original book.

CORRECTION: In his art column last week Manny Farber stated that James N. Rosenberg "spent a year in the Holy Land." Mr. Rosenberg actually spent about three weeks in Israel.

CONTRIBUTORS

BARBARA CADBURY has seen both extremes of the population situation, having emigrated from England to Saskatchewan. While temporarily resident in New York she is assisting the International Committee for Planned Parenthood with the publication of their *News of Population and Birth Control*.

RICHARD CHASE, a member of the English Department at Columbia University, is the author of "Quest for Myth," "Herman Melville: A Critical Study," and "Emily Dickinson," in the American Men of Letters Series.

ROBERT PHELPS contributes to various magazines, including the *New Republic* and the *Progressive*.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

MRS. McTHING" (Martin Beck Theater) is a "fantasie for children of all ages" by Mary Chase, the author of "Harvey." Presented by ANTA for a limited engagement, it has already settled down for an extended run, and simple decency demands that the present reviewer should confess first of all that he enjoyed every minute of it—partly because Helen Hayes gives a stunning performance in the leading role, partly also because the various contrivances which keep it going are the product of an extraordinarily ingenious talent. Unfortunately, however, this is not the whole story. Frankness requires one to add that the whole is also completely synthetic and less a "fantasie" in the dignified sense of that term than what is now commonly called "a gimmick."

The fearfully elaborate story has to do with an over-protected only child who is transported by witchcraft into the world of his dreams, where he is adopted into a mob of comic-book gangsters with whom his mother, set out in search of him, also becomes hopelessly involved. There is something doing every minute, and that something

is nearly always unexpected and also nearly always amusing. Grant not only Helen Hayes's superb restrained comic performance but also two wholly delightful child actors, Brandon De Wilde and Lydia Reed, and it is difficult not to seem churlish if one refuses simply to say "Great fun" and to let it go at that. But since the piece is certain to be widely discussed and variously estimated, some reservations ought to be made.

Second thoughts are certain to suggest that a great many of the devices and methods of "Mrs. McThing" are unblushingly derivative. That the general scheme is taken directly from "Peter Pan" is almost too obvious to be mentioned, and Miss Chase's indebtedness remains embarrassingly heavy even though her whole tone is different enough from Barrie's. But the borrowings by no means stop there. The gangster-chef who prefers an imaginary piano to the frying pan and refuses to serve customers unless the sound of their names pleases his ear is a Saroyan character if I ever met one. Moreover, the three aging spinsters who call on Mrs. McThing in real life are straight out of "The Mad Woman of Chaillot." And if one asks how on earth a mixture of Barrie, Saroyan, and Giraudoux can be made to jell, the answer is simply that it can't but that what the imagination cannot unify mechanical ingenuity can assemble into a workable gadget—which is exactly what the author has succeeded in doing. Reports have it that endless tinkering has been done with the script, and the efforts of the tinkers have been unusually successful. But the triumph is a triumph of mechanical ingenuity, not of creative imagination. The best moments are like that at the end of the second act when the mother, who has so far remained outside the bewitched circle, is suddenly sucked into it by a surprising and ingenious device; the poorest are those—and there are many—when something is said or something is made to happen for no reason at all except that it promises to be momentarily diverting.

Wherever the action is controlled by the fundamental premise that the bewitched world is simply the world of a naive imagination fed on comic books, the piece maintains a consistency of tone. But a good part of the time it seems to be uncertain what its premises

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are or what style of unreality it is attempting to maintain. Before the mother is bewitched she seems to be conceived in terms of slightly farcical realism just inside the limits of believability. Yet when the three Mad Women enter they bring with them an entirely incongruous sort of extravagance which requires a complete readjustment of mood; and things like that happen so frequently that the spectator, giving up all hope of ever knowing for long what sort of world he is in, is compelled simply to settle down to the rather elementary pleasures of continuous novelty and surprise. It is one thing to be asked to suspend one's disbelief, but it is another never to know from one moment to the next what premises one is going to be called upon to accept.

All the actors seem to be having a wonderful time, and several besides those already mentioned make their roles amusing in themselves, even though the script fails to establish for the group much connection with any pervading style. Enid Markey's Mad Woman is hilarious though you can't image her in Miss Hayes's house, and the mobsters, headed by Jules Munshin as Poison Joe, are almost equally diverting if perhaps a little over exuberant. And as usual Helen Hayes dominates the stage without ever seeming to be aware of the fact that she is the star.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

ATTACKING the widely accepted idea of the silliness of the libretto of "Cosi Fan Tutte," the great English critic W. J. Turner asks, in his book on Mozart:

How has Mozart treated this plot? That is the vital question. Has he written for it charming and superficial music such as would justify the interpretation of those who declare it frivolous and artificial—in the sense of being unreal . . . ? Far from it! He has written for this opera the most tender, poignant, intensely dramatic and powerful music of which he was capable. He has made every character real, pulsing with life, and has given to each one all the emotions proper to such experiences as young love, the anguish of separation, the hor-

ror of infidelity, the ruthlessness of nature, the unexpectedness of one's own natural behavior, the tortures of jealousy, and the differences in human characters even when fundamentally they are subject to the same iron laws of nature. In short, "Cosi Fan Tutte" is a tragi-comedy and the most profound and terrifying work of its kind that has ever been written.

From this I think it possible to guess what Turner would have thought of the performance of "Cosi" that I attended at the Metropolitan. A man for whom the music was the key to the nature of the work would, I think, have regarded what happened to the music as the touchstone of the quality of the performance. That means, for one thing, how the music was sung and played; and while I cannot know for certain what Turner would have thought, it is possible that he too would have been disturbed by the lack of sensuous warmth and ease in Tucker's singing, but would have found Guarrera, Thebom, Munsel, and Alvary and the orchestra under Erede acceptable, and would have felt that the musical performance reached greatness in the lustrous beauty and grandeur of style of Steber's singing. But what happened to the music would, I think, have been for Turner more than just how it was sung and played: his conviction of the central importance of the music would have led him to object to anything which drew the listener's attention away from it; and his conviction about its meaning would have led him to object to anything which falsified it. I am sure, therefore, that he would have objected to a performance which had the listener straining to hear the English words and as a result not hearing the music they were being sung to (a writer I know who had heard one of the performances remarked: "There was this wonderful music; and you found yourself missing it because you were trying to hear the words—those silly words of the translation."). And I am sure Turner would have objected to a performance which had the singers clowning for laughs during some of the passages of tender, poignant music—a performance, that is, which changed profound tragi-comedy to trivial farce.

This falsification was the predictable result of the initial decision to use English. The English words were to

make the comedy intelligible; this, as always, led to the use of English words—e. g., present-day colloquialisms—to make the comedy funnier; then the words weren't funny enough and clowning was added.

Which is to say that the lapse of taste was the predictable result of the lapse of intelligence. I remarked last year on the fact that Mr. Bing, who in so many instances had thought his own way to new decisions with his own keen intelligence and judgment for the purpose, seemed to have accepted the contentions of the opera-in-English cult without any thought of how they were contradicted by the realities of the situation. The contentions are that the audience must get its knowledge of what an opera is about directly from the performance without preliminary reading of a libretto, that in the particular case of a Mozart comedy the audience must be able to follow the words in which the humorous points are made, that for these purposes English must be used in a performance for an American audience as German is used for the audience in Vienna, and that if it isn't used the public won't come to hear the opera. But actually in a theater the size of the Metropolitan the audience can't hear enough of the English words to get the knowledge its needs directly and solely from the performance, but has to read a libretto before the performance in English just as the Viennese reads one before the performance in German; and since advance reading has to be done it should be done for a performance in

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Italian which has these advantages: that the words fit Mozart's music perfectly and add their delightful sound to it; and that the following of the play is then not a straining to discover what one doesn't know but an easy recognition of what one already knows, which doesn't distract one's attention from the music. Actually, too, for many years the performances of "Don Giovanni" and "Figaro" in Italian have filled the Metropolitan with people who have known enough about what was happening on the stage to smile, laugh, and applaud enthusiastically, providing no justification for Mr. Bing to fear that "Così" in Italian would keep the public away or cause it to sit stony-faced and silent. And actually the Metropolitan has begun to give Mozart's operas in English after the Vienna Opera has begun to give them in Italian.

One notable feature of the performance remains to be mentioned—the fact that Alfred Lunt's direction prescribed the singers' every movement, gesture, and position. What he prescribed in this particular opera could be objected to; but the method is the correct one for opera, and his use of it in "Così" is an innovation of the highest value that should be made permanent at the Metropolitan.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Less Light in Darkest Africa

Dear Sirs: I was sorry to see no report in the press of the unexpected and almost simultaneous disappearance of the last two liberal and progressive journals in South Africa, the weekly *Forum* and the monthly *Common Sense*. Both journals, one thirteen years old and the other twelve, pleaded financial hardship. But in the light of its past attitude toward the press it would be interesting to know what part, if any, the Nationalist government played in the suspension of the two periodicals.

The Nationalist government is hardly a disinterested party where the freedom of the press is concerned. It was the considered opinion of the *Rand Daily Mail* that "from the day they took office it has been obvious that the Nationalists would sooner or later have to try to control the press," because "a free press is a perpetual menace to them."

Not long ago an attempt was made to suborn civil liberty by striking at the *Guardian*. The *Cape Times* foresaw a state of affairs in South Africa without precedent in the West, "the closing down of a newspaper by governmental edict, with the say of the courts of law categorically excluded." The *Guardian's* editor, B. P. Bunting, reported in London recently that his magazine's circulation had suffered from the government's hostility because people were afraid to be seen reading or selling it. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the same circumstances helped to force the *Forum* and *Common Sense* off the stands.

London, England C. C. ARONSFELD

The British Pull Out

Dear Sirs: On visiting the port of Massawa in Ethiopia recently I was horrified to discover that the British authorities were systematically destroying all the buildings in the city. The buildings already wholly or largely destroyed or totally dismantled include the arsenal and the cement works, many of the offices of the Port Authority, and the buildings used to house the Port Authority personnel. Slated for immediate destruction are other offices and dwellings and the oil containers used for refueling ships, cars, etc. The large cranes used in loading and unloading the ships have been removed.

It is evident that if the destruction continues, the Ethiopian government, when the port is turned over to it, will find nothing but sand, a few trees, and some poor huts. It would cost millions to replace what has been wantonly destroyed.

I wish to place on record the fact that many months ago the International Ethiopian Council for Study and Report was informed that the British authorities in Eritrea were dismantling industrial plants and buildings there. A parliamentary question was asked on the point by Mr. Peter Freeman, M. P., chairman of the council. In reply, His Majesty's government stated that the only buildings demolished were unsafe or useless, and that no further destruction would take place.

The destruction at Massawa has gone far, and I fear it will go still farther if no protest is made. Do the British authorities intend to destroy the railway which brings fuel from the containers to the wharf and serves other purposes essential to the functioning of the port? Do they intend to demolish the causeway leading from the mainland to the port, and also the wharves? Is similar destruction in progress at Assab?

The dismantling and destruction of a port which the United Nations General Assembly decided should be restored to Ethiopia is an affront to the United Nations and a gross injury to a gallant ally who came to England's aid in 1940.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST,

Secretary, International Ethiopian Council for Study and Report

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Does Capitalism Cause War?

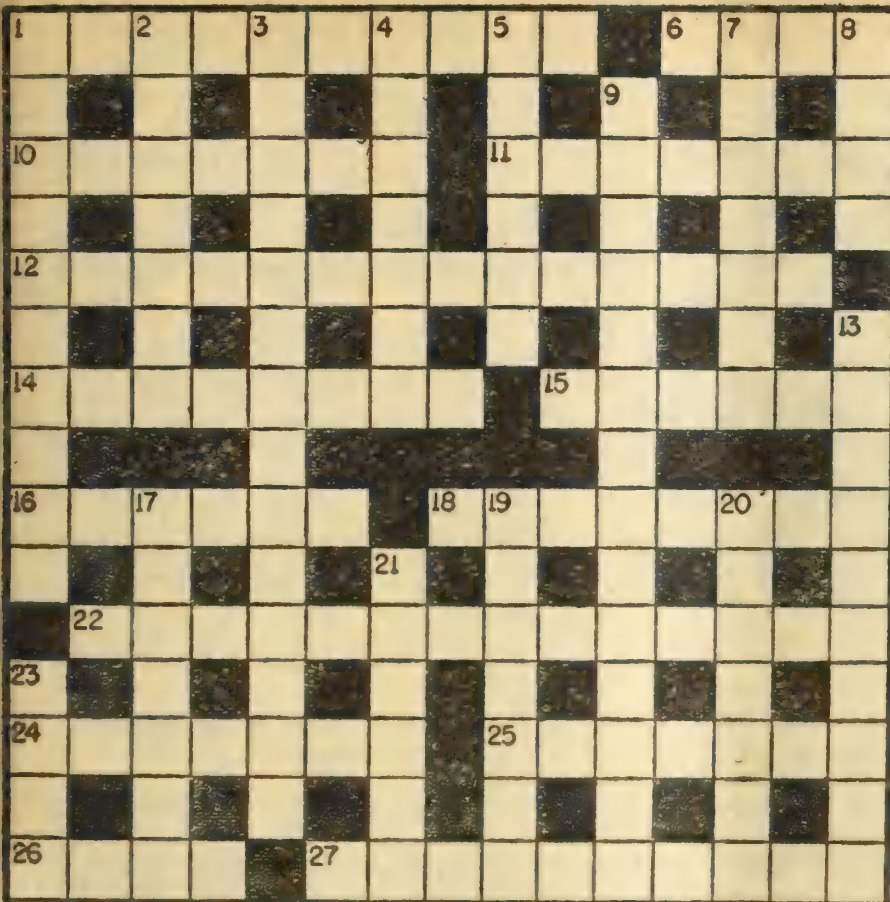
Dear Sirs: The topic of the American Friends Service Committee's spring conference, April 18-20, is Does our Economic System Lead to War? The speakers include Claire Huchet Bishop, Kenneth Boulding, A. J. Muste, Scott Nearing, and Hans Christian Sonne. The registration fee is \$2.50 and should be sent to A. F. S. C., 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. If registration is made before April 10 overnight accommodations will be provided free to students and at minimum cost to others.

RUSSELL JOHNSON

Cambridge, Mass.

Crossword Puzzle No. 456

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Plant a lovely creature to signal the head of 16. (10)
- 6 The supercilious beat them back in persiflage. (4)
- 10 In the present, it lets itself be seen. (7)
- 11 When things are so beaten, do they make a lot of noise? (7)
- 12 Would locking the barn door after the horse had gone be an example? (Probable in all you survey!) (5, 2, 7)
- 14 See 8 down.
- 15 "Wilt thou seal up the _____ of ill? Pay every debt, as if God wrote the bill." (Emerson) (6)
- 18 Its validity might depend on will power. (6)
- 18 Rail-birds? Bird-rails, rather (for those who prize things)! (8)
- 22 Not recommended in the _____ of theoretically fertile eggs. (14)
- 24 His father did some literary ghosting. (7)
- 25 It's obvious that this is happening around the source of instinct. (7)
- 26 The 2 down get this as a remainder. (4)
- 27 Pasture shade. (5-5)

DOWN

- 1 Napoleon didn't find the last part brought up the whole thing! (10)

- 2 Through working with a different tread? (7)
- 3 They change crews to maniacs, with deadly results. (5, 9)
- 4 Emerson implied solitude is, to the imagination. (7)
- 5 In conclusion. (6)
- 7 Used for far approaches to the end of 27. (7)
- 8 and 14. Show with wires and puppets? (4, 8, 5)
- 9 Blasphemous literature? (What's the connection with letters?) (7, 7)
- 13 and 17. Peter Pan Park? (10, 7)
- 19 Pigs or patrons? (7)
- 20 Deep in the heart of Texas (or Kansas). (7)
- 21 Look! Here's fruit to press! (6)
- 23 Affair _____ from the distance, if not there. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 455

ACROSS:—1 BOXING MATCHES; 10 PILOT; 11 UNTENABLE; 12 REFRESHER; 13 and 2 down STAFF OF LIFE; 14 FOURFLUSHERS; 19 DECIPHERMENT; 22 RINGS; 24 CONCORDAT; 25 SURROGATE; 26 NAMED; 27 POWER POLITICS.
DOWN:—3 IN THE SOUP; 4 GAUCHERIE; 5 ASTOR; 6 CENTS; 7 EMBRACES; 8 SPARE; 9 SELFISH; 15 LEMON PEEL; 16 SUNBONNET; 17 ADDRESS; 18 SCENARIO; 20 ADAMIC; 21 STUDY; 23 STONE; 24 CLASP.

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U.N. or NATO?—*J. Alvarez del Vayo*

THE *Nation*

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Mr. Republican?

Mr. Democrat?



Wisconsin Previewed

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

New Hampshire Reviewed

BY JOHN P. MALLAN

Dean told Dr. Conger that he was not going to recommend Wiggins for reappointment. A little later he recommended that Wiggins be dismissed on the ground of "incompetence."

THE University of Minnesota's release of Dr. Forrest O. Wiggins, instructor in philosophy, last December 12 might have gone unnoticed had Dr. Wiggins not been a radical and a Negro—the first Negro, in fact, to receive an appointment to a state school in Minnesota. For these reasons his "non-reappointment," the term used by the university, touched off a statewide reaction and has since attracted national attention.

St. Paul and Minneapolis papers featured Dean McDiarmid's statement that in his opinion Dr. Wiggins's continuance was "not justified either on the basis of his scholarship or potential contributions to the Philosophy Department." Several legislators hailed the decision with enthusiasm. One said: "Academic freedom, of which we hear and read so much, is not to be preserved at all costs—for it has its limitations." Significantly this legislator claimed that Dr. Wiggins had been "a source of embarrassment to the university, humiliation to the citizens of the state, and confusion to the student body." No mention was made of incompetence.

The students were overwhelmingly for Wiggins. Dr. Conger issued an impressively documented statement demanding his retention. His scholarship and teaching ability were indorsed in flattering testimonials from colleagues and students. The charge that he had failed to give evidence of creative scholarship—that is, published articles in the learned journals—was challenged by reference to the fact that he had initiated six new courses in philosophy in as many years. Men like Luther Youngdahl, former Governor of Minnesota, now a federal judge, had often appeared as guest lecturer in Dr. Wiggins's courses. "On the eve of my retirement," Dr. Conger wrote, "I can sincerely say that if I can feel I have left behind me a group of students who feel a fraction of the admiration and respect for me that these students have expressed for Dr. Wiggins, I shall retire a happy man."

a member of the legislature spoke in favor of Wiggins's reappointment. A spokesman for the A. F. of L. related the dismissal of Wiggins to the cuts made in the budget. The secretary of one of the state's largest C. I. O. unions also publicly supported Wiggins.

While it is true that the legislature passed other "economy" measures, one Minnesota resident has pointed out that the \$200,000 cut in university funds was hardly a significant saving in a total state budget of \$30,000,000. The same observer insists that the Wiggins case cannot be isolated from the legislative threat to enact a stringent loyalty-oath bill for teachers if some schools are not "cleaned up."

There seems little hope of reversing the decision against Dr. Wiggins, but the efforts in his behalf have accomplished one thing. Those who control education have been made aware that the people are becoming concerned over the inroads on academic freedom. It is no longer enough to brand a teacher a red to justify his dismissal. In fact, it is now ten or twelve days to try to determine whether how far would destroy freedom knowledge of freedom strictly the instructors

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discrimination against the Negro in the medical profession as reported by Robert M. Cunningham, Jr., editor of *Modern Hospital* magazine. "It is important to remember that the doctor and hospital engaging in discriminatory selection are often victims as well as culprits," writes the author. "It is by no means true, however, that they are helpless to do anything about eliminating discrimination. . . . There is heartening evidence that this is not the case."

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The Shape of Things

THE MIDDLE GROUP OF LABOR MEMBERS OF Parliament did good service to their party last week when they hastily improvised a ladder which enabled both Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevan to descend from their high horses. There had been a real risk of a party split when Bevan and some forty of his followers ostentatiously abstained from supporting an official Labor amendment which approved the defense program in principle but expressed no confidence in the government's ability to implement it. This was a breach of party discipline which no leader could overlook. However, Mr. Attlee's reported intention to present the rebels with an ultimatum requiring them to pledge support of majority decisions on pain of expulsion was unnecessarily provocative. So too was Bevan's public threat to take a walk if the party refused to accept his views on rearmament. It was under these circumstances that the moderates, led by such men as James Griffiths, John Strachey, and George Strauss, drafted a resolution which after censuring the Bevanites indirectly proposed the adoption of "such standing orders as will make it obligatory on all members to carry out decisions of the Parliamentary Party, taking into account the traditional conscience clause." This resolution, passed by a large majority of the Labor M. P.'s and later indorsed by the party's National Executive Committee, let the Bevanites off with a warning.

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NOW THAT BEVAN, A HOT-TEMPERED MAN, has had time to cool off, he should be grateful to the moderates. Had he been forced to back up his threats, he would probably have found himself deserted by most of his followers, who are well aware that there is no future in splinter tactics. Besides, if he can curb his impatience, he will find time on his side. Already the rearmament controversy is becoming academic, for the trade crisis has given solvency priority over military security. The new budget, which Keith Hutchison analyzes on page 272, provides for a very modest increase in arms expenditure during the coming year, and it is almost certain that the original three-year program, which led to Bevan's resignation from the Labor government, will have to be stretched over four or five years. This

relaxation of tempo is due to competition between defense and exports, with the imperative demands of solvency giving precedence to the latter. Britain must expand its foreign sales, and it can do so only by concentrating on products which require the same resources as armament manufacture. World markets for consumer goods have been shrinking, and now Britain's chief customers in the sterling area—Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—are imposing curbs on imports that will drastically curtail British shipments of automobiles, textiles, china, and so forth. This means a still heavier export load for the capital-goods industries, whose products remain universally in demand, reducing their ability to meet defense requirements. So Bevan has proved a sound prophet in his own country. Now, enlarging his horizon, he has called for a "third force" of Western Socialists which would hold the power balance between the United States and the Soviet Union. "Nye," it would appear, has just begun to fight.

★

THE SECOND ROUND IN THE "FAIR TRADE" battle is now being fought out before a subcommittee of the House Judicial Committee. The subcommittee has before it a measure to repeal the Miller-Tydings amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act under which fair-trade agreements could formerly be enforced against even non-signers in the forty-five states that had approved the principle of resale price maintenance. At the same time the Interstate Commerce Commission is considering a measure which, by amending the Federal Trade Commission Act, would get around the impasse created by the Supreme Court's decision last year that fair-trade contracts—the Miller-Tydings amendment to the contrary notwithstanding—could not be enforced against non-signers. "Fair trade" is a thorny political issue, causing division between groups that normally have much in common, as, for example, small business men and small farmers. One can be sympathetic with small retailers, convinced that they need the protection of fair-trade agreements against the cutthroat competition of the "chains," without being certain that fair-trade agreements are fair to the public or will, in the long run, insure the survival of independent retailers. Nor can there be much doubt that in some areas, such as drugs, the high retail prices fostered by the agreements bear heavily on low-income consumers. "The father who

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needs drugs for his sick child," Assistant Attorney General H. H. Morrison pointed out at the opening session of the current hearings, "cannot go on a sitdown strike. It was never the American concept to say that he must simply refrain from buying articles which are price-fixed at a higher level than he can afford to pay."

★

THE EXECUTION BY FIRING SQUAD OF THE five Catalonian labor leaders, carried out in spite of the protest of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions and other non-Communist organizations, has aroused a great outcry, especially in Europe and Latin America. We are not among those who cherish the hope that American or any other influence will "liberalize" the Franco regime. Franco's fascism is the real thing, and the executions in Barcelona are only a continuation of twelve years of repression and terror. Nevertheless, we are profoundly shocked that Secretary Acheson in last week's press conference used all his persuasive eloquence to explain the benefits expected to flow from the dispatch to Spain of a new military mission and did not once mention the coming executions, already announced. If he was deceived by the lies of Franco propaganda into believing that the condemned leaders were Communists or "vulgar criminals," he should inform himself about the coming trials of additional groups of union men in Barcelona and in the Basque town of Vitoria. Particularly in the latter case it would have been utterly impossible to accuse Catholics and nationalist Basques. The charge against them is that they helped organize and lead the strikes last spring—this and nothing else. We are glad to note that a meeting of protest will be held on March 25 at Freedom House in New York, with Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, and others speaking.

★

BY A VOTE OF FIVE TO FOUR THE SUPREME Court last week upheld the right of the Attorney General to deny bail to alien residents who face deportation under the McCarran act. What this means is that in the war against Communists we have speeded up "justice" to the point where we are jailing people even before we try to find out whether or not they are guilty of anything. In passing, we might contrast this treatment with the leisurely justice meted out to another kind of resident alien—first-class aliens, so to speak—such as appeared as witnesses last year before the Kefauver committee. These included assorted thugs, goons, gangsters, and racketeers, all with police records as long as your arm, who never seem to be deported and who continue to enjoy all constitutional rights, including that of bail. Justice Black, one of the four who dissented from last week's decision, declared: "The denial of a right to bail under the circum-

stances . . . strikes me as a shocking disregard of the following provision of the Bill of Rights: Eighth Amendment's ban against excessive bail; First Amendment's ban against abridgment of thought, speech, and press; Fifth Amendment's ban against depriving a person of liberty without due process of law." The Senator from Nevada has certainly thrown a rotten apple into our barrel of civil rights.

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IT IS SAFE TO PREDICT EVEN AT THIS EARLY stage that Washington will find reason to accept General Batista's coup d'état and recognize his regime. Our ideas of what constitutes a free nation and a legally established government have become mighty flexible these days, and, besides, Cuba's new Premier and "Chief of the Revolution" took the precaution, immediately after seizing power, of promising to honor all international agreements and back up the United States in case of war with Russia. As coups go, the Batista affair was, in truth, almost a model—accomplished with exemplary speed, deftness, and a minimum of turbulence. The two persons killed, the General carefully pointed out, were members of President Prio Socanes's palace guard. "The only blood that will be spilled," he said, "will be that of those who oppose us." What could be more reasonable? Even the carnival processions, the famous *comparsas* that run through Lent in Havana, were interrupted for barely three days. Opposition leaders and members of the deposed government were given guaranties of personal safety or safe conduct out of the country if they chose to leave; President Prio departed for Mexico City without even formally relinquishing his office. From this place of refuge he has promised to come back and restore a constitutional regime—when or how not specified.

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A GOOD MANY CONGRESSMEN WHO LOVE TO roll juicy government scandals on the tongue seem to take strangely little interest in measures to promote cleaner government. Thus the President's plan for reorganizing the Bureau of Internal Revenue and putting virtually all its top officers under civil service quickly ran into trouble on the Hill, with many of the Administration's sharpest critics in both parties showing themselves indifferent or hostile. However, thanks to three young liberal Senators—Humphrey of Minnesota, Monroney of Oklahoma, and Moody of Michigan—the plan has won the approval of the Senate and will go into effect immediately. The opposition was made up in nearly equal parts of Southern Democrats and right-wing Republicans, whose spokesmen claimed that the reorganization plan was camouflage and that the President already had all the power he needed to eliminate corruption. Against these arguments the liberal champions urged the necessity for ending "a discreditable

political patronage system" and challenged those "who talk corruption to vote against it." When the showdown came they won handsomely. Among the minority we note such names as George and Russell of Georgia, Eastland of Mississippi, Capehart of Indiana, Nixon of California, and, of course, McCarthy of Wisconsin.

Russia's Latest Offer

NO DOUBT there is an element of propaganda in the Kremlin's new draft of a German treaty. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the Soviet proposal delivered to the United States, Britain, and France on March 10 was not only unrhettorical and business-like in tone, but more realistic in content than previous missives from Moscow on this subject. At long last we have what may prove to be a serious offer, and we agree with the *London Times* that "the Western powers can hardly afford to dismiss it out of hand."

In a way this Soviet note can be regarded as a tribute to the progress that NATO has been making. It arrived soon after negotiations started at Bonn for the implementation of agreements reached at Lisbon for German participation in a European army and for restoration of West German sovereignty. It followed immediately on elections in southwest Germany in which the Socialists, campaigning on an anti-rearmament platform, made important gains but failed to defeat Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party. Thus Moscow finds itself facing the disagreeable fact of the integration of West Germany into the Atlantic partnership.

"Some Western observers," writes Joseph Newman in a London dispatch to the *New York Herald Tribune* of March 16, "have been convinced that the Russians would come forward with a serious proposal when Western unity and strength had reached the point which made it necessary for them to do so if only in their own interests. . . . The point at which the Russians might seriously propose a settlement on Germany was expected to arrive when they consider it to their advantage to surrender the eastern part of Germany, which they occupy, in exchange for renunciation of western Germany by the Big Three Western powers."

What is no doubt from the Russians' point of view the key clause of their draft treaty is a German pledge not to enter into an alliance against any power which took part in the war. Other provisions include reunion of the two Germanys, guaranties of a democratic regime with full political and civil rights for all, no limitations on the national economy, armed forces for self-defense with a limited war industry, and frontiers as determined by the Potsdam conference, where, in fact, no definitive decision on frontiers was reached.

Negotiation of the treaty, the note declares, must be

concluded with the participation of Germany, represented by an all-German government. But how is such a government to be organized except as the result of free elections? This is the crucial question and the one that the Western powers obviously intend to press as a test of Soviet sincerity. If the Russians are now prepared to allow genuinely free all-German elections under United Nations supervision—a plan at which they have balked hitherto—then a new situation has arisen. For since no one doubts that such an election would result in an overwhelming anti-Communist vote, it would mean that Russia is prepared to abandon its puppet government in East Germany and to make its first European retreat. That would be a great moral victory for the West even though the price paid for it was exclusion of Germany from the Western defense organization.

With so much at stake every effort ought to be made to probe Russian intentions in an effort to discover whether this *démarche* does offer hope of a mutually profitable deal. Perhaps a clue will be provided by the Soviet response to Allied proposals for an Austrian treaty, which embody agreements previously reached except in one particular—the disposal of the so-called German assets in Austria. Up to now, using Nazi seizures of Austrian resources as an excuse, the Russians have insisted on controlling Austria's oil fields, river shipping, and other valuable properties. Their abandonment of this claim, which is untenable legally and morally, would be a sign that they really wished to reach the kind of understanding with the West that would make possible the neutralization of Germany.

The Strange Case of General Grow

PERHAPS the most embarrassing thing about the publication of excerpts from General Robert W. Grow's diary was that they appeared just when the State Department was busy marking out bounds to curb the travels of Soviet diplomats in this country. The restrictions are an answer to the much tighter ones imposed on Americans in Russia; so technically they may have nothing to do with the behavior of a former military attaché in Moscow. But logically they have a lot to do with it. We are ready to admit that spying is a common avocation among foreign service employees. That it can also be a serious business, both the famous Russian espionage trial in Canada and the more recent case of Gubichev in the United States offers sufficient proof. Naturally it has to be guarded against, here as in Russia, and punished when detected.

But these truisms only point up the awkward implications of the case of General Grow. For the General,

according to the scattered excerpts cabled over from Germany, noted down railroad bridges he considered good targets, license numbers of military vehicles, anti-aircraft artillery and other military installations suitable for bombing. In February and March, 1951, he was clamoring for immediate war. ("War! As soon as possible! Now." "We need a voice to lead us without equivocation: Communism must be destroyed!") He also had his ideas about tactics. ("We must start by hitting below the belt. This war cannot be conducted according to Marquis of Queensbury rules." "Anything, truth or falsehood, to poison the thoughts of the population.") Eventually we hope, the whole diary will trickle out through the East German or Soviet press. Meanwhile we know enough to say that the spying and warmongering of General Grow were not only a rich gift to Soviet propaganda; they provided a legitimate reason for restricting the movements of American diplomats, persuasive evidence that they are there to ferret out military secrets. It will take more than the recall of the General to undo the effect of his candid record of thoughts and acts.

What is needed is proof that the words of General Grow do not in the smallest degree represent the policy of the American government. So far the comments of the press and official Washington have been little more than expressions of annoyance over the naivete and carelessness of an official. In our view the Administration is far more to blame for the harm the incident has done than is the bellicose Grow himself. Either out of conceit and a sense of superiority or out of a mistaken wish to "save face" Washington has time and again failed to take measures which would wipe out the evil results of major official blunders. A much more serious incident was the Matthews speech in 1950 advocating a preventive war. For this monstrous provocation the Secretary of the Navy was gently rebuked, but he was not dismissed. As a consequence the whole incident was left in mid-air, and foreign observers were totally mystified. Could a member of the government actually make such a statement and still keep his post if the Administration's policy was a contrary one?

By way of contrast with the treatment of General Grow, consider the case of Oliver Edmund Clubb, recently cleared as a security risk by Secretary Acheson. The main count against Mr. Clubb was a diary which he, like Grow, had carelessly left about. It contained no such explosive matter as Grow's book, and it showed beyond honest doubt that Clubb was a loyal and devoted foreign-service officer. His fault was at worst a minor indiscretion. But Clubb's career was wrecked by the China Lobby and its henchmen in Congress. He resigned from the department the other day as soon as he was cleared. When the Grow diary was discovered its author was transferred to Washington and reassigned to the Pentagon. No doubt somebody there will pick up after him,

so no more papers will stray into hostile hands. But what business has General Grow in the Pentagon? Government workers are being fired for talking to the wrong people or reading the wrong magazines. Grow should be fired as the most extreme security risk one can imagine—

for thinking and saying and acting on the belief that we should start a war against Russia. He should be fired as a warning to fellow warmongers and a declaration to the world that when Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson say we are working for peace they really mean it.

United Nations or NATO?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations, March 14

A CLEVER diplomat like Lester Pearson, Canadian Secretary for External Affairs, realized at once how deplorable could be the consequences of the report that he had called the Atlantic Pact "the principal instrument for the defense of the free world," supplanting the United Nations as the main hope for peace. A few days afterward in New York he seized the first opportunity to deny that he had ever said such a thing. Other persons in high places have been less cautious. In the fourth of a series of articles currently appearing in the New York *Herald Tribune* under the title Eisenhower's Creed, Kevin McCann reports that the victor in the nation's first Presidential primary, writing to a long-time associate, had "made it very clear that in the absence of an effective United Nations as a vehicle for our foreign policy, he was pinning his hopes on the success of NATO." At the time he wrote this, General Eisenhower was not only the military head of the Atlantic coalition but in the view of many of his countrymen the next President of the United States. His position on the question of NATO versus the U. N. was therefore of the greatest importance.

Since the General is not a man who draws arbitrary or superficial conclusions, he gave the reasons for his views. "Our efforts in the United Nations," he said—Mr. McCann now quotes him directly—"have been defeated by vetoes of hostile groups, but in the Atlantic Pact we are not pledged by the hostile groups and are simply trying to work out a way that free countries may band together to protect themselves." This at least has the virtue of frankness. It is echoed by dozens of persons influential in international affairs and even by some who play leading roles in the United Nations—while speaking of it with a strange mixture of cynicism and resignation. Though lip-service is still paid to the "supreme international organization," we are in the presence of an attempt to replace the U. N., for all practical purposes, with NATO. The attempt should be exposed for the sake of the millions of people here and abroad who still take seriously the democratic slogans enunciated during the war and have therefore steadfastly supported the U. N. since San Francisco.

I have frequently criticized the work of the U. N. in these columns. But with all its faults and failures it is an organization for peace and should be protected against the encroachments of NATO, which may have purely "defensive" aims but is nevertheless a political-military alliance created for and geared to war. Perhaps I feel so strongly about the U. N. because I witnessed the collapse of the first attempt to establish a world organization. Reading recently the fine two-volume "History of the League of Nations" by F. P. Walters, one of the most distinguished members of the Geneva secretariat, I relived that tragic period. As a member of the Council I had struggled desperately to have international law applied in Spain; I had fought to keep the League from being destroyed by the Fifth Column which lurked within it even after the departure of Italy and Germany. Fifteen years later I find another Fifth Column in the U. N., the elements who prefer NATO, although they insist that they are working only for harmony and that both organizations serve the same ideal.

Paralleling the statements of high officials, a series of extremely illuminating comments have appeared in the American press. The financial weekly, *Barron's*, remarked on March 3 with startling frankness: "The Atlantic alliance, originally promoted as a mere 'regional agreement' under the U. N. Charter, is building into another strictly non-Communist League of Nations, which with the current addition of Greece and Turkey is not too strictly confined to the North Atlantic area." On March 9 Michael L. Hoffman said in a dispatch from Geneva to the New York *Times*: "Established in Paris near General Eisenhower's headquarters, NATO's permanent international secretariat will automatically eclipse in prestige and in attractiveness to ambitious civil servants the older and more tired international organizations that are relics of earlier efforts to group nations together for work in the common cause." Other commentators point out that it will be wonderful to have an organization like NATO, free of the incessant and fruitless discussions that go on in the U. N. They rejoice that through NATO the United States can carry out its mission of awakening the free world without embarrassment, even though the free world is not too pleased to be



Secretary Acheson

awakened to new economic crises, higher taxes, and the terrors of "bankruptcy"—to use the Tories' own word.

Barron's is equally outspoken about the principal reason why NATO should be preferred to the U. N.: "As the leading exponent of free enterprise and as the source of the major physical strength of NATO, the United States has both a moral and a material case for assuming the lion's

share in the direction of its policies." The United States delegation has seen its authority threatened in the last two sessions of the Assembly, especially in last winter's session in the Palais de Chaillot, by the revolt of the small powers, but American leadership of NATO will not be challenged. At Lisbon, Secretary of State Acheson was able to gain acceptance of German rearmament and settle other thorny issues thanks partly to his own exceptional ability and partly to the absence of any real opposition to Washington policy.

In NATO, its enthusiasts say, we shall not be plagued by the veto. In the current effort to discredit the U. N. and promote NATO all the old objections to that device are being brought up. The famous *Nyet* of the Russians is cited by people prone to oversimplification as the chief cause of U. N. failure. But if anybody wants to know what is really the matter with the U. N., he should read "The United Nations and Power Politics," by John MacLaurin. The reader must decide for himself, Mr. MacLaurin says, "how to distribute the blame for the Council failures between the Big Five and above all between the Big Two"; and then he gives a quantity of factual data to help the reader to decide. "We should, however," he continues, "all be able to agree that the heavily popularized notion that it is the veto that has rendered the Security Council ineffective is not in accord with the facts. The trouble lies deeper."

Without denying the damage done by Russia's excessive use of the veto and its withdrawal from various agencies, including, in critical moments, the Security Council itself, I agree that the trouble lies deeper. It lies in the refusal to seek a rapprochement, in the theory that you cannot talk with the Russians, not today or tomorrow, and that any new Russian move—like the recent request for Big Four discussions on a German treaty—is

only propaganda. Russian proposals are not thought worth a moment's consideration by those who are ready now to abandon the U. N.'s fundamental purpose—peace through diplomacy.

From the moment it was born NATO was a dangerous rival to the U. N. It should not have been, for though there are clever people in all the delegations who can read the Charter in a dozen different ways, Article 103 says very clearly: "In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail." The spirit of the Atlantic Pact from the beginning was irreconcilable with the spirit of the United Nations. Moreover, as the international situation worsened and as NATO appeared fatally destined to depend on a rearmed Germany as one of its principal props, the two organizations became inevitably the symbols of two opposing policies. The U. N.'s goal was still to resolve the issues dividing the two blocs: NATO's was to forge a weapon that could be used when the U. N. broke down.

Taking a broad view, Secretary Acheson did not feel his sincerity challenged by giving loyalty to both the U. N. and NATO. The duality could be resolved simply by introducing into the U. N. the policy of containment which was NATO's *raison d'être*. But there is no doubt, to judge by what happened in the last Assembly, that unless we see a diminution of present East-West tension, the U. N. will have less and less important functions to perform, while NATO will deal with all the issues generated by the cold war.

In the words of *Barron's*, NATO "is developing into something bigger than its original conception." It has just selected a secretary general. The importance of the new post is indicated by the appointment of Lord Ismay, a British soldier of great ability and experience and a close associate of Churchill. In the measure that the U. N. permits such important questions as Korea, German rearmament, Arab nationalism, and the "conclusion of outstanding peace settlements"—to quote a 1948 resolution—to be taken out of its hands, NATO will develop still further. If in 1952 the U. N. was unable to retain its prerogatives, two years from now NATO will certainly have the last word.

By that time its secretariat will be more influential than the U. N.'s. It will have big funds at its disposal. It will be backed by a coherent policy. Although there will be differences such as arose at Lisbon, they will not take the sharp form in which they have emerged in the U. N. as the result of the relatively free play of diplomatic debate. NATO is planning an economic section for defense which will compete with the U. N. Economic and Social Council; dreams about Point Four aid for backward countries will be transformed into strict

security programs. It will have a press and information section. In fact, it is branching out into so many fields that in a few years the work of the U. N. may well be reduced largely to that of its specialized agencies.

But overlapping and competition with the U. N. are not the most serious aspects of NATO's expansion. If men of the stature of General Eisenhower prefer NATO, they may cease to make any use of the U. N. to deal with the issues causing the present international tension. In that event not only Trygve Lie and his staff of three thousand but the whole idea of negotiation will go by the board. In the absence of machinery for conversations the two blocs will go on arming, in 1952, in 1953, and

in 1954—the last, in the opinion of most American planners, being the crucial year. Under these circumstances the Western coalition will be able to further its policies only by military means, while Russia can always combine military with political methods—its continuing peace crusade, its repeated requests for a conference of the Big Four, its economic conference, its demand for the unification of Germany, other proposals. Thus it is to the interest of the West as well as of peace to prevent a shift of power which will destroy the U. N. as the League of Nations was destroyed—by preventing its effective intervention in decisive questions and undermining its authority.

New Hampshire Reviewed

BY JOHN P. MALLAN

Manchester, New Hampshire

TENS of thousands of words have been expended since the New Hampshire primaries in attempts to show (1) that voting in this tiny state foreshadows national trends, (2) that it does not. Whether New Hampshire is actually a trustworthy barometer will not be certain for some months, but in any case the same factors were at work here that we may expect to operate elsewhere in the nation. The people are much the same—business men, farmers, organization politicians, industrial workers—and they were subjected to much the same combination of issues and personal appeals as is used in all political campaigning.

Interest among New Hampshire's voters was at a high, and they were very conscious that the nation's attention was on them; the turnout was the largest in history in spite of blinding rain and snowstorms throughout the state. The widely publicized visits of so many national leaders and the peculiar nature of the state's journalism also helped to focus attention, as did the town meetings in practically all small communities.

In New Hampshire as elsewhere the startling defeat of President Truman has received the most attention. While the lack of real Truman organization was a factor, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that his defeat—the loss of all the large cities as well as most towns and the victory of the obscure Kefauver delegates over the party's entire state leadership—was the result of spontaneous dissatisfaction with the President's leadership. This dissatisfaction, which was really not well exploited by Kefauver, reflects not so much disagreement

on domestic or foreign issues as a simple feeling that the Administration is tired and should be replaced with new blood. Corruption played some part as an issue but not very much, and it is safe to say that most of those Democrats will vote for Truman in the fall if he is the Democratic nominee. But plainly, they would prefer not to.

Despite journalistic reports to the contrary, the New Hampshire Democratic leadership is scarcely a "machine." There is no one in the party who can place a few calls and turn out the wards, as was shown so well on March 11. The party itself exhibits a rather interesting contrast of idealism and party regularity; it is perhaps the only state organization in the country which has been headed successively by two college professors. Both are from Dartmouth—Herbert Hill, the gubernatorial candidate in 1948, and Dayton McKean, an able political-science teacher who has also been active in New Jersey politics, where he wrote the classic treatise on Boss Hague.

Party leadership on the state level is generally of high quality; perhaps it can afford to be, since the party has held no important office for twenty years. In the mill cities, both leadership and interest in larger issues are usually lacking. A solid clan of French-Canadian politicians hold many city positions, playing a role somewhat like that of the Irish in Massachusetts. But anti-French sentiment among Protestant Yankees and Irish Catholics alike, in a state now one-fourth French, is so great as to be almost the equivalent of anti-Semitism. No French leader has yet been able to break through it and attain state power, not even Paris-educated Mayor Benoit of Manchester.

Ironically, both the state "idealists" and the city "regular" leaders were pledged to Truman; they were reasonably well satisfied with him and almost unaware of

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Not So Fast, Mr. Taft

THE hail-fellow-well-met-I'd-like-to-have-you-vote-for-me campaign fitted Kefauver. He loved it, and so did the voters. But it was not Taft's meat. He was uncomfortable, and showed it. . . .

One bit of presumption on the part of Taft's managers paid off in ill-will.

"Hear your next President!" the loudspeakers blared in announcing his street meetings.

More than once the irritation of the voters found expression: "Says who?" or "That's for us to say" or "Since when?"—*Journal-Transcript*, Franklin, New York.

other candidates. Only at the last minute, as they began organizing in response to Kefauver's highly successful stump tour, did they realize the great undercurrent of Democratic dislike for the President. Kefauver was supported by no one group of Democrats; he did almost equally well in rural areas and in the cities, among union and non-union members, in every ethnic group. Even the supposedly solid French shifted to him in as large numbers as any other group, and he carried most of the French wards in Manchester and Nashua. His very limited organization had only one formal headquarters and little money, most of his delegates were completely unknown, and only one or two prominent Democrats came out for him in the whole state. Yet his delegate slate, though scattered over a long and complicated ballot, defeated every party leader, including Kelley, Hill, McKean, and the mayors and ex-mayors of most of New Hampshire's leading cities.

It is rather unfortunate, in one sense at least, that the able and New Deal-minded state leadership has been defeated by men who cannot really be called "new blood"; in a crowd the Kefauver men would be indistinguishable from other Democrats. However, the regulars are not unfriendly to Kefauver and would join him if released by Truman; they are particularly happy that Kefauver has not attacked Truman in his speeches. The mysterious undercover campaign for Adlai Stevenson has made little headway in New England, where he is not known to one Democrat in fifty; there is a general feeling that Truman will have to produce him quickly, if at all, if he is to win support among either rank and file or leaders.

THE Republican primary results are a little less decisive than the Democratic; a sense of frustration is found in both Eisenhower and Taft ranks. Originally, the Eisenhower people had expected an easy victory, and they were genuinely alarmed at Taft's apparent gains in the last weeks of campaigning. His personal appeals in rural areas won many converts, as did his savage

attacks on Acheson and Administration foreign policy. A Cheshire Cat photograph of Taft showing him grinning from ear to ear was used widely, and like a plain but determined woman he seemed to become more personally attractive each time one saw him. By primary day his supporters and many independent observers were quite certain he would get four to six of the fourteen Republican delegates and possibly a majority of them. Few of the seventy visiting reporters in Manchester were much surprised when he took an early lead, and his victory in all but two wards of Manchester, supposedly an Ike stronghold, was thought the clincher.

But Taft lost the other major cities and, to everyone's astonishment, many of the small towns. He was defeated by more than 10,000 votes, the New Hampshire electorate, contrary to universal expectations, carefully voting in every Ike delegate on a ballot more complicated than that used by the Democrats. The small-town defeat hit the Taft forces hard, and there is still no intelligible explanation for it.

The Republican Party has been left sadly divided; the campaigns became bitter in the last few days as Governor Sherman Adams, Eisenhower leader, charged that Stalin was hoping for a Taft victory and that this would in effect bring the Russian armies to the Canadian border. The Taftites attacked Eisenhower's alleged New Deal connections so vigorously that Representative Walter Judd of Minnesota, one of the Eisenhower traveling circus imported into the state, resurrected the old Bricker cry of "Taft socialism," maintaining that Taft's support of federal aid to education made him far more a New Dealer than Ike, who was the real conservatives' candidate—a statement that may well be true.

It is significant that both sides found it necessary to appeal to Republican Old Guardism. The primary in many ways was a continuation of the bitter feud begun in 1950 in the Senatorial fight between Charles Tobey and Wesley Powell. Powell, who spearheaded the Taft drive, was formerly Senator Styles Bridges's secretary and is still in close touch with Bridges, who cosily took no part in the Ike-Taft fight. Powell is perhaps best described as a reactionary mediocrity; alone among Taft leaders he really favored the tactics of the powerful but almost childishly right-wing William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester *Union-Leader*, the only newspaper with state-wide circulation and indeed the only paper read in most rural areas.

Loeb's newspapers are a striking study in personal journalism. He came to Manchester a few years ago from Vermont, where he owns a similar paper, bought the stodgily conservative *Union-Leader* from the family of former Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, and at once converted it into a vehicle for a kind of front-page editorial journalism reminiscent of Hearst's youth. He is hated not only by all the "respectable" and liberal-

minded Republicans in the state but by most of the Taft forces as well, who feel that the violence of his attacks on Eisenhower helped to defeat Taft, just as similar attacks on Senator Tobey defeated Loeb's candidate, Powell, by a thousand votes two years ago.

Loeb is national chairman of Alfred Kohlberg's American China Policy Association, and has had a hand in many China Lobby activities. McCarthy and MacArthur are among his heroes; McCarthy was the guest of honor at a recent Loeb banquet, and Loeb, like many a New Hampshire conservative, would almost certainly prefer MacArthur to Taft if the General became available. Truman, Acheson, Tobey, and "the dirty, stinking Yalta crowd" in the State Department are frequent targets for his invective; but lately his best barbs have been reserved for Eisenhower. "International Bankers Up to Old Tricks; the Eisenhower Plot Unfolds," began a recent story, spread across the entire front page, on the theme that the same "Wall Street international bankers" and utility magnates who chose Willkie and Dewey are behind Eisenhower. A more personal attack on the General followed the next day: Eisenhower "doesn't understand" the Communist conspiracy; "he pulled back American troops in Germany to let the Russians advance."

Through most of the campaign Loeb's front-page

signed editorials attacking Governor Adams and Eisenhower alternated with front-page ads attacking Loeb inserted by Adams. The resulting confusing and strident mélange alienated many voters but lent credence to the betrayal-in-government thesis which is the chief stock in trade of the Taft-McCarthy forces. The frightening thing is not so much that Taft lost as that a large number of voters in city and town alike consciously chose him as the more conservative candidate, as they had chosen Powell over Tobey in 1950. It is a campaign myth that only "professional politicians" preferred Taft; almost half the state's Republicans honestly voted to end the New Deal foreign and domestic policies they have refused to accept for twenty years.

The New Hampshire primary was conclusively a victory for Kefauver over Truman; it was less conclusively a defeat for Taft, and the Eisenhower forces are well aware of this. Undoubtedly all the groups in both parties, including the now thoroughly repudiated but still hyper-ambitious Harold Stassen, will take the primary seriously. One fact may be profitably noted: neither the nation's press nor many of the state's politicians had any really good idea what would happen in New Hampshire. Almost all the prophets were wrong, and this should be kept in mind in analyzing their future predictions.

Wisconsin Previewed

Ashland, Wisconsin

IN A junket through Wisconsin, with stops in Madison, Eau Claire, Menominee, Beloit, Superior, River Falls, Appleton (Joe McCarthy's home town), and Ashland, I have found most people pretty thoroughly convinced that the Republican nomination will be decided in the Wisconsin primary on April 1. Wisconsin voters have not forgotten that Wendell Willkie made the big gamble here in 1944 and lost—after his loyal floor leader in the 1940 convention, Harold Stassen, entered the fight against him at the last moment.

In the battle shaping up many feints have been made, promising a real April Fool's primary. The situation is complicated by a tricky primary law which provides that candidates cannot be entered unless they "affirmatively assent." This provision made it impossible to enter Eisenhower, since the General could not give his affirmative assent without violating army regulations. In consequence, the Eisenhower people tried to unite on a favorite son, such as Governor Walter Kohler, former Governor Oscar Rennebohm, or the veteran Republican

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

leader Fred Zimmerman, but their efforts failed. Indeed, it looked as though Taft would be a shoo-in in Wisconsin until Governor Earl Warren entered the race.

Now that the deadline for filing has passed, the Republican contest appears to be a three-cornered Taft-Stassen-Warren affair in which there will be little debating but a lot of nasty in-fighting. Taft is the type that swings wild and usually misses but occasionally lands a haymaker; Stassen is the skilful boxer who keeps out of range; Warren is the slow mover who likes to wear down his opponents. With a big grin on his face Earl appears to be smothering his opponents with kindness when he is really cracking their ribs in a clinch.

Stassen's chances are least impressive. With the backing of Thomas E. Coleman, the state's most powerful Republican leader, Stassen managed to win twenty-seven of the thirty Republican delegates in 1948. But Coleman is now one of Taft's delegates and his manager here. Stassen's new slate is largely made up of nobodies; it contains only two of the delegates he lined up in 1948. Governor Walter Kohler was for Stassen in 1948; he

prefers Eisenhower today. Stassen had the Republican state organization in 1948; today nearly 80 per cent of the Republican county chairmen are for Taft. Not only does Taft have the organization, but the organization is much stronger than it was in 1948, for the Republicans



Senator McCarthy

have been repairing their machine. Stassen's campaign has been cleverly angled to pick up anti-Taft votes rather than to win support for a Stassen program, but with Warren in the race, Stassen is no longer the sole beneficiary of the anti-Taft sentiment. In retaliation Stassen has filed against Warren in California, where some fairly strong anti-Warren sentiment is to be found among diehard Republicans.

The Warren contingent in Wisconsin

is a coalition of frustrated pro-Eisenhower people, members of the former Progressive Party, independent Republicans, Dewey Republicans, and a few Warrenites. Philip La Follette has been its prime mover. The day I interviewed him in Madison he was completing last-minute arrangements for the meeting at which the Warren delegation was projected. The delegation includes such pro-Eisenhower leaders as State Senator Bernhard Gettelman; General Ralph M. Immell, Adjutant General under La Follette and candidate for the Republican nomination for governor in 1948; and Fred Zimmerman, Secretary of State since 1938, a former governor, and one of the state's most popular political figures. It also includes Republicans who supported Governor Dewey in the last three campaigns. Carl Rix, former president of the American Bar Association, selected the Dewey Republicans and serves as chairman of the delegation. The bait used to get all these elements together was Phil La Follette's assurance that "should Warren fail to get the convention nomination, the elected Wisconsin delegates pledged to him would shift to General Eisenhower." Unable to agree on a favorite son, these elements could agree on Warren. None were for Stassen. Warren, therefore, seems the most likely compromise candidate among anti-Taft elements at the convention if Eisenhower fails to win the nomination. The Warren delegation is supported by the Madison *Capital-Times*.

Phil La Follette's pro-Warren activity has aroused much conflicting comment in Wisconsin. Many Democrats believe that he is out to split the anti-Taft vote. He served, of course, on General MacArthur's staff in World War II and led a slate of MacArthur delegates in 1948. He has said that his personal affection and esteem for MacArthur are unchanged. Before organizing the Warren delegation he had expressed a preference for a Taft-MacArthur slate. The key to the La Follette riddle may be that there is little sentiment for MacArthur in Wisconsin, at least as a Presidential candidate.

The main question is whether the Warren candidacy will in fact split the opposition to Taft, thereby enabling Taft to register an impressive victory. My guess would be that Warren will split the anti-Taft vote with Stassen and will succeed in winning many independent, progressive, and Democratic votes. In Wisconsin's Presidential primary people do not need to declare their party affiliation and large numbers of Democrats traditionally vote for or against Republican candidates. For example, in 1948 the Republican candidates polled almost four times as many votes as the Democratic candidate; yet Truman carried the state in November by about 50,000. Whatever Phil La Follette's motives may be, most of the Warren delegates are genuinely anti-Taft. Warren denies that he is merely a stand-in for Eisenhower, but "Ike-Warren" and "Eisenhower Backers for Warren" clubs are being organized in many communities, with the emphasis more on Eisenhower than on Warren.

ACROSS every aspect of the Wisconsin primary falls the shadow of Joe McCarthy. To understand why, one needs some background facts.

After Senator Taft half-heartedly repudiated McCarthy in response to an editorial ultimatum in *Life*, McCarthy threatened to support Stassen in Wisconsin unless the repudiation were withdrawn. Taft promptly repudiated the repudiation, but McCarthy has not yet indorsed Taft. Returning from a recent speaking trip, McCarthy said that he found "unlimited" popularity for General MacArthur, "a lot of good solid support" for Senator Taft, and "a considerable amount of sentiment for Eisenhower and Stassen." It will be noted that Joe draws a wise political distinction between popularity, solid support, and sentiment. The order of the listing probably indicates his personal preferences.

Whatever the facts, the impression that a Taft-McCarthy alliance exists has strengthened Taft in Wisconsin. McCarthy is genuinely popular with the Republican organization. He gets far more invitations to speak than he can accept. When two young delegates to a Republican conference last summer tried to interpose objections to a resolution praising him, angry men rushed at them, women screamed, and according to Robert H. Fleming of the *Milwaukee Journal*, the meeting turned

into an "emotional hippodrome" which Governor Kohler later characterized as "disgraceful." Joe is also a hero to the "little people." To the man in the street who admires his violent denunciations, he is a tough scrapper, a two-fisted fighter. I was amazed to find even anti-McCarthy people insisting, with a curious emotional involvement, that McCarthy is sincere.

The best evidence of McCarthy's strength is the fact that he was able to force Governor Kohler out of the Senatorial race. The few polls that had been taken indicated that Kohler could defeat McCarthy, but Kohler—well-bred and well-to-do—was apparently afraid to take on such a ruthless opponent. He was also discouraged by the failure of the Senate subcommittee to press the investigation of Senator Benton's charges against McCarthy and by the Loyalty Review Board's final disposition of the John Service case. Tom Coleman maintained all along that Kohler would not run against McCarthy. "When the chips are down," he was quoted as saying, "all the little blocks will fall into place." They seem to have fallen into place very nicely for Coleman, who is looking forward to winning in Wisconsin in November with a trio of Taft, Kohler, and McCarthy. Kohler apparently has reelection in the bag, and his name will head the Republican ticket.

Of the many strange details of McCarthy's career that need to be investigated none is more interesting than his remarkable friendship with Harold Stassen. Coleman handpicked McCarthy to oppose Senator Robert La Follette in 1946; up to this time McCarthy had been on his own politically. To help McCarthy, Coleman brought Stassen into the state to campaign for him. In 1948 McCarthy repaid part of the debt by serving as the number two delegate on Stassen's slate. The friendship seems to have continued. One of McCarthy's chief supporters in Wisconsin told me, for example, that Harold had given Joe a real assist by his testimony before the McCarran committee attacking Philip Jessup. In the current campaign Stassen has consistently refused to take issue with McCarthyism.

McCarthyism has another connection with the Wisconsin primary. Of the state's 3,500,000 residents about half are church members and half are not. The Roman Catholics are the largest single denomination, followed by the Lutherans, and then by the reform Protestant groups. McCarthy is not exactly a devout Catholic—as a judge he was known as a granter of "easy" divorces—but he enjoys powerful Catholic backing in Wisconsin, despite the hierarchy's recent statement condemning smear tactics. Catholic strength was one reason why Kohler hesitated to enter the Senatorial race. Everyone denies publicly that there is such a thing as a Catholic vote, but off the record the vote is discussed with great candor. Not all Catholics are for McCarthy by any means, but the politicians will tell you that enough of them are

to make their support a major factor in his strength. McCarthy's tacit alliance with Taft is doubly important since it gives Taft strength where he is weakest—among voters of lower-middle-class or working-class origin. Incidentally, Tom Coleman is a Catholic.

It is by no means clear, however, that McCarthy will end up in the Taft camp. Lately he has said many kind things about MacArthur, but Joe is fickle. Back in 1948, when he was all-out for Stassen, McCarthy sent a personal letter to most of the registered voters of the state in which he pointed out that although MacArthur was a great general he was "ready for retirement," and besides, he was not really a "native son" of Wisconsin since "neither his first nor his second marriage, nor his divorce, took place in Wisconsin"—a statement clearly addressed to the Catholic and Lutheran objection to divorce. Many Wisconsin politicians think that McCarthy intends to play a hands-off game before the convention in the hope that he may be able to get the Republican vice-presidential nomination.

WISCONSIN Democrats have their own troubles. A Truman delegation was barred for the same reason as an Eisenhower delegation—that its candidate would have been forced to indicate his acceptance. Governor Adlai Stevenson could not be entered since he is running for reelection as Governor of Illinois. Fearing that some maverick delegation might be chosen—say, a Kefauver delegation—which would thus obtain control of the party's state apparatus, the Democratic Organizing Committee formed a pool, or panel, of delegates from all districts, listed in the order of the total vote they had received at regional party meetings. It then induced Kefauver to accept a slate chosen from this pool of reliable party members. Another delegation chosen from the same pool is pledged to Jerome Fox of Chilton, as a favorite son, but it is really a Truman delegation. The state's conservative Democrats are annoyed by this effort to retain control of the party apparatus and have entered a delegation of their own. I was impressed by the quality of the Democratic Organizing Committee, which seems to have completed the task of organizing a Democratic Party in Wisconsin begun in 1942. Most of the leaders I met were young, energetic, intelligent liberals. The state chairman of the committee, James E. Doyle, who happens to be Phil La Follette's law partner, can point to a steady increase in the state-wide Democratic vote since 1946.

Whomever the Democrats select in the state primary in September to oppose McCarthy—it now looks as if Henry Reuss of Milwaukee would be the man—Joe should have a real fight on his hands. In any case McCarthy is the key to the Wisconsin situation, both in the primary and in the general election. If a successful coalition cannot be formed in Wisconsin against

Taft, it may be impossible to prevent his nomination. If Taft is nominated, the Republicans will have embraced McCarthyism, and they may even be saddled with Joe as the vice-presidential candidate. On the other hand, either Eisenhower or Warren, if nominated, would be under enormous pressure to repudiate McCarthy,

and this could be an important factor in the Senate fight.

Taft, Stassen, and Warren are spending the last two weeks of this month campaigning in Wisconsin. The primary here should provide the first real test of sentiment in both parties.

The Tory Budget and British Labor

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

FIRST impressions of the British budget, based on the rather scrappy stories in the New York press, were fairly favorable. Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler's proposals, it appeared, would not present an easy target for criticism by a Labor opposition that was committed to support of the government's rearmament program and could not deny the urgency of further measures to restore Britain's balance-of-payments position. True, Labor could be expected to protest strongly against the cut in food subsidies from \$1,148,000,000 to \$700,000,000—a move calculated to raise prices of almost all basic foods and to add some 21 cents per head per week to the cost of housekeeping.

However, while taking away with one hand, Mr. Butler appeared to be giving generously with the other. Changes in income-tax rates and exemptions were to remove two million wage-earners from the tax rolls and to reduce substantially payments for all in the lower brackets. To prevent hardships children's allowances—paid for each child after the first—were to be raised from 70 cents a week to \$1.12, and old-age and veterans' pensions were to be increased. Social services, apart from the recently announced minor modifications in the national-health system, were not to be axed. And the chief new burden imposed was a new excess-profits tax absorbing, together with other corporation levies, up to 73 per cent of profits. Altogether it seemed a moderately tough but reasonably equitable budget.

Second impressions, after reading the text of the Chancellor's speech and the broadcast commentary on it of his predecessor, Hugh Gaitskell, were definitely less favorable. Careful analysis of his proposals suggests, indeed, that they are both inadequate and unjust. They are inadequate because they do not provide for a reduction in total purchasing power commensurate with the anticipated shrinkage in Britain's supply of consumer goods; they are unjust because they redistribute burdens in a way that will put heavier loads on weaker shoulders.

With regard to the second point it appears that those hurt most by increased food prices will gain least by the supposed offsets. For instance, as Mr. Gaitskell pointed out, while all subject to tax before the budget will save

something, the gain is smallest at the lowest level and then steadily increases up to the \$5,600 bracket—a considerable income in Britain. At the other end of the scale are those whose income is already too small to pay tax. A married man with three children now pays no tax if his earnings are below \$33.60 a week—above the average wage. His wife will in future get 84 cents more in children's allowances, but her food bill will be almost \$1 higher. Moreover, according to Mr. Gaitskell, most of the two million who will no longer pay an income tax will in fact save less in tax than they have to pay in increased prices. In addition, they must expect an increase in national-insurance contributions, and higher prices for clothes and other articles owing to a revision of the purchase tax which will apparently advance the rate on low-priced goods and decrease it on the higher-priced.

Mr. Butler's chief claim for his income-tax changes is that they will increase incentives. The man who earns overtime pay or gets a production bonus will now find less of his additional income withheld for taxes and may be encouraged to increase his productivity. This is true, but probably only a minority of British workers are in a position to augment their pay by these means, and to many now working part time this talk of incentives will be a bitter joke. Moreover, the increase in output which may be achieved—and Mr. Butler does not seem to be counting on much of a total increase—may be offset by labor troubles arising from demands for higher wages.

Now let us consider the budget in relation to Britain's number one problem, its foreign-trade deficit. Last year, despite a modest increase in exports, this deficit reached \$1,444,000,000, which compared with a surplus of \$666,000,000 in 1950. The chief cause of this striking deterioration in Britain's balance of payments was the expansion of imports by \$3,080,000,000, largely owing to higher prices; the result, aggravated by a decline in export earnings of other sterling countries, was the rapid depletion of gold and dollar reserves, which by the end of last month were only \$1,770,000,000, representing a loss of \$2,000,000,000 since June 30 last.

Unless this hemorrhage is checked quickly, the sterling bloc, which depends on the central reserves held by

Britain, is likely to disintegrate, and Britain itself, forced to trade on a cash basis, will be unable to buy enough food to sustain its population or enough raw materials to keep its workers employed. Quite properly, therefore, the government is seeking to restore the balance by both inhibiting imports and stimulating exports. The effect on the British consumer of this shrinkage in foreign supplies is to be softened to some extent by running down stocks. On the other hand, the volume of domestically produced goods available for the home market is also being reduced by measures taken to swell exports.

If further inflation is to be avoided, this decline in home supplies ought to be matched by a commensurate fall in purchasing power, but Mr. Butler does not seem to have faced this necessity. What he takes away by reducing subsidies and increasing gasoline and other taxes is in fact rather more than outweighed by the increases in pensions and children's allowances and the tax reliefs. However, his final balance sheet shows an estimated surplus of \$1,506,000,000, which he thinks will leave the public "only just about enough to pay for the goods that are likely to be available."

This is such a dubious assumption that I wonder if the Chancellor is not making a number of other assump-

tions that he prefers to keep to himself. Does he expect, perhaps, that some millions of low-income families will no longer be able to afford the whole of their meager rations, so that the total demand for food will decline? Or is he anticipating that the increase in the rediscount rate from 2½ to 4 per cent, which was the biggest surprise of the budget, will have a strongly deflationary effect on the economy? Dearer money, he told the Commons, will reinforce the direct controls imposed on home investment and so free more of the output of the capital-goods industries for export.

But increased credit restrictions and higher interest may also cause real distress in textile, furniture, and other consumer-goods industries that are already in trouble, causing bankruptcies and unemployment. That too may be intended, for the ending of what comfortable, conservative economists like to speak of as "overfull employment" would not only aid recruiting for the undermanned defense industries but serve to check demands for higher wages. Of course such a policy hardly conforms to Tory election pledges to maintain full employment, but with the Laborites squabbling among themselves the government may feel it can count on a fairly long respite before it must account to the electorate.

The Crisis in French Movies

BY MADELON BERNIS

Paris
LAST Christmas the big Paris department store, the Louvre, made an arrangement with R. K. O. to show scenes from the Disney movie, "Alice in Wonderland," as part of its holiday display. R. K. O.'s advance publicity told the astonished French public: "Votre Père Noël, c'est Walt Disney."

That same Christmas week the once great French movie industry was winding up the worst year in its history. Its deficit was nearly six million dollars. The studios of Joinville, St. Maurice, and Francœur, where many of the finest French pictures had been made, had been closed down since fall. Six of the largest companies—Discina, Filmsonor, Gaumont, Pathé, Sirius, and U. G. C.—had announced they were "temporarily" ceasing production. Such well-known directors as Bresson, Carné, Cayette, Cocteau, and Grémillon had not made a single movie in 1951. At least half the workers in the industry were unemployed.

Producers who did manage to scrape together enough money to make a film often had to wait several months

before they could get into the first-run houses, most of which were filled with American pictures. While "Alice," for instance, was drawing crowds in three of the largest Paris movie theaters, "Jeannot l'intrépide," the first full-length French animated cartoon, was shown in houses with only one-fortieth as much seating capacity. Nearly half the total movie receipts went to American films.

A complex train of events led up to this sorry state of affairs. It began in June, 1946, when Léon Blum, Foreign Minister of the new French Republic, signed the famous Blum-Byrnes accords in Washington. At that time the French film industry was facing the end of the false prosperity it had enjoyed during the Occupation when it had its home market all to itself and that market was an excellent one, with people flocking to the movies to get a little relaxation free from German surveillance. In order to reestablish itself, the industry required financial aid, including foreign loans, and equitable export-import agreements with other countries, especially the United States.

The accords Blum brought back with him did not provide any of these things. He had agreed that the United States could export films without limit to France but

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had obtained no return guaranty that American distributors would lift their all but total embargo on French films. France wanted dollar credits for reconstruction. American movie interests wanted a bigger share of the French market. A good part of the industry saw the handwriting on the wall. Louis Jouvet warned: "The profound alteration which these accords will effect . . . strikes a death blow to our national integrity, our dramatic art, and our intellectual and cultural life."

It was soon apparent that Jouvet was right. From 1946 to 1948 France imported 1,500 American films and turned over to them a good 65 per cent of the total movie receipts. The situation was so bad that in September, 1948, after an all-industry committee had protested to the government, the Blum-Byrnes accords were revised. Only 121 American films a year would now be taken by France, which in return agreed to import no more than 65 films from all other countries. As additional help to producers, French exhibitors were required to show French films at least five weeks out of every thirteen, and a government Aid Fund was set up. The receipts from two new taxes, one on admissions and one on production, were to be returned to the industry in the form of a loan, the largest part of which was to be used to finance new films.

NONE of these measures struck at the root of the trouble, and their temporary beneficial effect was soon dissipated. The ten million dollars paid from the Aid Fund to producers has just about equaled the increase in their costs. Total receipts, however, have gone down, with the result that studios are today in a worse position than they were in 1946. American competition still makes it impossible for the French even to approach profitable production for the home market.

The more precarious the outlook becomes, the more bitter is the feeling against the American quota. While the law requires exhibitors to show French pictures about two-fifths of the time, French producers must fight the Americans against overwhelming odds for the remaining three-fifths. American companies have well-organized distributing agencies in France with much more money at their disposal than the French can dream of spending. Paramount, for example, spent more than \$200,000 advertising the French dubbed-in version of "Samson and Delilah"; "L'Auberge rouge," one of the best French pictures of 1951, had some \$8,000 budgeted for its publicity. The American companies, in actuality, pay for the exhibitor's advertising. In return, he not only shows the full number of American pictures allowed but usually extends himself, presenting them at preferred times, as on week ends and holidays.

The French cannot possibly recoup their losses at home by selling abroad. The United States, using the same dubbed-in pictures it distributes in France proper,

is a formidable competitor in French colonial and French-speaking countries. Central Europe, which was one of the biggest pre-war markets, is permanently cut off. Although France has been able to increase its film exports to Italy, Western Europe is in general cool toward the idea of importing French pictures. How can it be otherwise when, under the French-American agreement, France is allowed to import only sixty-five non-American films? The United States also continues effectively to bar French films. In order to combat this embargo, the French movie industry would have to organize an elaborate distribution set-up in the United States, for which it has no money.

Even the home market, such as it is, is diminishing. In the past two years the number of moviegoers in France has dropped markedly. Since 1946 the price of admission has quadrupled. The average Frenchman, bedeviled by the rising cost of necessities, can no longer afford his traditional weekly evening at the movies. Moreover, even French movies are becoming too "Americanized" for his taste. The same taboos that are deplored in American films are beginning to creep into the French product. There is the same fear of presenting anything controversial, the same desire to please everybody and offend nobody. Producers, hoping to retain the small nugget of American sales that still remains to them, hesitate to make films that might be considered "sordid," "licentious," or "un-American." Claude Autant-Lara, brilliant director of "Devil and the Flesh," says: "We are making pallid, unreal films, pictures for children. Can you blame the French public if it stays at home and reads the Sunday scandal sheet?"

The French movie industry has of course other troubles besides these imposed restrictions. In the first place it is badly disorganized. There are only a few large companies. Most of the two hundred producers are small entrepreneurs who do not own their own studios. Usually they are in debt. Only a few have distributing organizations of their own. There is also a great deal of cheating on the part of the exhibitors, who have been accused of pocketing 30 per cent of the returns. But these are among the perennial troubles of the industry. They may have aggravated the present crisis; they did not cause it.

Last winter's shutdowns revealed clearly the precarious state of the industry today. The government's announcement that only 15 instead of 35 per cent of the tax on foreign receipts would be paid into the Aid Fund started a panic. Even the large companies stopped production, though some studios have now partially reopened. In consequence the government will delay its action until June and has meanwhile set up an investigating commission. In all probability some alleviating measures will be taken, but there is no hope that anything drastic will be done. The quota will not be cut any

farther—the Americans now depend on the foreign market to pay for many of their films and would put up too big a protest. The Aid Fund will be enlarged a little, and with this crumb of assistance the French cinema may be able to go on for a while longer.

The fact is that a "non-essential" industry like the movies cannot survive in the inflationary economy which

prevails in France today. It cannot, on its own, fight against both dollar-buttressed competition and the high cost of living. The government, pressed as it is for funds, is completely unable to provide the necessary help. Instead, it sells out the French film industry for dollar credits—as Blum did in 1946—and taxes it as a luxury industry to get revenue to spend on war production.

The Problem: Guns and Butter Too

BY MARVER BERNSTEIN

IN THE past two years Americans have tried to become accustomed to a new set of alphabetical symbols designating the agencies carrying out the federal defense-mobilization program. Headed by the Office of Defense Mobilization and the Department of Defense, these agencies function in a hostile political and administrative environment which seriously hampers their effectiveness. Experienced Washington observers tend to view their difficulties with something approaching alarm. It may be useful, therefore, to recount the major factors determining the conditions in which economic mobilization must be worked out.

The federal government now has broad powers over the production of goods needed for the armed services, the allocation of scarce materials, prices and wages, the availability of credit for consumer purchases and industrial development, and labor-management relations. The basic statutory authority for the economic-mobilization program is the Defense Production Act, which was passed by Congress early in September, 1950, and amended in August, 1951. Although the Korean war had broken out in June, 1950, the administrative agencies created by the act did not in the main get their economic programs under way until 1951. The principal public controversies since then have been over price controls rather than over the control of materials and production, though price controls have imposed no substantial restrictions while production controls have caused marked deviations from industry's normal pattern.

Life today among the bureaucrats (I use the term in a friendly way) is dominated by uncertainties and delays. Most of these frustrations are the result of the failure of the Administration and the Department of Defense to make clear-cut decisions concerning the requirements for armaments, military "hardware," uni-

forms, food supplies for the services, and the like. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have struggled constantly to determine how many men and what weapons would be necessary to fight the Korean war and to prepare the country for possible attack, but they have not been able to state confidently, even for a brief period in the future, the magnitude and content of military requirements. In consequence the civilian defense agencies, generally speaking, have had no clear policies to guide them in defining the scope of production controls and no adequate data for measuring the probable inflationary impact of the defense program.

The program adopted, within the framework of the Defense Production Act, depends largely on the degree to which industrial production must be converted from civilian to military goods. In estimating requirements the armed services traditionally give little heed to economy. Most military planners assume that the proper objective is to fill all military supply lines with all the goods that could conceivably be needed. This might be called the insurance theory. Obviously it tends normally to overstate military needs and, more significantly, to assume that civilian needs are purely residual—to be met so far as the production situation permits after all military requirements are fulfilled. There is, of course, a fair measure of logic in this approach. However, in a period in which Presidential policy is to provide both guns and butter it is calculated to wreak havoc with what we wistfully call the normal peace-time economy. Recently Secretary of the Army Pace, who was formerly Director of the Budget and chief economizer of the federal government, has taken steps to make the army more economy-minded; the navy too reports that it is rating officers on cost-mindedness. Nevertheless, Congressional investigating committees continue to report incident after incident of extravagant waste and inept business practices in the armed forces, especially in procurement.

Another handicap of the mobilization agencies is the widespread feeling in Washington that the country's political leadership, both in the White House and on Capitol Hill, is inadequate as measured against the de-

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fense emergency. One hears frequently that Truman has much greater administrative ability than Roosevelt had, but he lacks Roosevelt's inspirational qualities. Moreover the economic-mobilization program began to operate precisely in the period in which any President's prestige and influence normally are lowest, that is, in the last half of his second term. This is the period in which Congress becomes less and less willing to follow the President's lead. It is the period which usually finds Congress without capacity to focus attention on major issues of policy.

FROM an administrative point of view, the chief corollary of weak political leadership has been the lack of strong central direction for the economic-mobilization agencies and the reluctance of the planning agencies—the National Security Resources Board, the Office of Defense Mobilization, and the Munitions Board—to discharge their planning responsibilities. Before 1950 the National Security Resources Board had on paper a lot of plans which were to be put into operation at the outbreak of war. But these were plans for total war and total mobilization. As blueprints for partial economic mobilization they were less than satisfactory. Moreover, nobody seemed to know with what techniques the government could best control economic affairs in a period of limited mobilization. World War II experience was only partly relevant.

The absence of strong central coordination and direction of the entire program is immediately responsible for important operating defects. Economic mobilization is brought about through a number of complex and enormously difficult processes which depend upon their

careful meshing for best results. The task of translating a set of figures on required military end items into raw materials flowing to designated defense plants producing according to a predetermined schedule involves a great many agencies. Even more agencies are needed to restrain inflationary forces, encourage the discovery of new sources of raw materials, improve the productive capacity of our European allies, control rents in areas where they have been skyrocketed by defense activities, and find jobs for workers unemployed as a result of the industrial dislocations occasioned by the defense program.

Given good-will on both sides, civilians and military personnel can work together well in specific situations, but too often the relationship is tense and acrimonious. One of the standard problems of defense mobilization is to keep civilian-military tension from becoming dangerous. The factors already discussed heighten this tension. In the absence of strong political leadership, effective administrative coordination, and firm military requirements, civil-military friction can wreck a program. Civilian and military officials, in this atmosphere, frequently become closely identified with a particular point of view, which at best is agency-wide rather than government-wide. We all know the fanatical devotion of marines and ex-marines to the Marine Corps. We are less familiar with the single-minded devotion of the bureaucrat to his agency's program, which may be wholly unrelated to other important needs of the government.

Economic mobilization, finally, functions in an ideological climate which exalts the productive process. The largest corporations naturally get the lion's share of procurement contracts. Companies are encouraged to expand their production facilities and supplies of materials by a bewildering variety of measures, such as rapid tax write-offs, guaranteed purchase contracts, long-term development contracts, and premium pricing. The bonanza of defense work is marred for the major producers only by the fear of building up "excess" productive capacity. The old bugaboo of surpluses is already being mentioned in business journals.

This is by no means an exhaustive catalogue of the factors which substantially affect the administration of the economic-mobilization program. Yet even this short list suggests that the political and administrative climate in Washington during an election year will become more rather than less unfavorable. In the meantime some 16,000 people in the Economic Stabilization Agency, about 400 in the Defense Production Administration, and scores of employees in other mobilization agencies formulate and administer price, production, and related controls with a chance, at best, of meeting only partially the objectives of the Defense Production Act.

On the assumption that controls will be required until American-Soviet relations are substantially eased,

Which Paper Do You Read?

IN ORDER to deceive the people of the world, U. S. imperialism deputized U. N. organizations to execute the Point Four plan with which U. S. monopoly capital attempts to enslave the people of the Orient, and used [Owen] Lattimore, who had some "liberal" tinge in the past, to head the mission. Such was the malicious intention of U. S. imperialism. Lattimore had in 1926 traveled from Sinkiang to India via Kashmir and had made detailed investigations of the border regions of China, India, and Afghanistan. His second visit has certainly just produced valuable results for the aggressive plans of U. S. imperialism. He rushed back to the U. S. at the end of March to answer charges made by a Senator that he was a Communist. As a matter of fact, Lattimore has all along been planning to establish a dominating position for U. S. influence in all Asia.—*Quoted in the January 11, 1951, issue of the Chinese Press Survey, Shanghai, from an article in a Chinese periodical by Chiang Tzo-yi of the Chinese Academy of Science.*

we need to learn to live with economic mobilization. What can be done to make the program more effective and to insure that the broad implications of mobilization for defense will be democratic? First, civilians in Congress and the executive agencies must continually press the armed services for more detailed justification of their demands for strategic materials and armament. Second, mobilization officials must realize more clearly the impact of military preparedness on the American economy and the economies of the Western democracies. All possible steps must be taken to prevent economic prosperity from becoming heavily dependent on production for defense or war. Third, in our attempt to exercise effective economic control over production, prices,

and wages, we should take advantage of our strengths and minimize our weaknesses. We should make better use of flexible monetary controls and lessen our reliance on direct price controls, which require scores of government offices and thousands of employees for their administration. By depending overwhelmingly on direct price controls in the present period, we run the risk of discrediting their application and undermining their usefulness when they may be desperately needed. And fourth, the price of industrial cooperation in the mobilization program must not be the uncritical acceptance by government officials of the views of the big-business community, or any other organized interest group, as the primary guide to public policy.

The Japanese "Insecurity" Treaty

BY HELEN MEARS

THE United States and Japan reached agreement last February 27 on administration of the security treaty which gives us the "right to dispose United States land, air, and sea forces in and about Japan," effective upon ratification of the peace treaty. These two documents—the peace and security treaties—represent the culmination of what bipartisan supporters term our "successful" Japanese policy. John Foster Dulles, chief architect of the treaty-making, has modestly called the peace treaty "an act in accordance with the fundamental moral principles of the great spiritual teachers and leaders of all nations and of all religions." Secretary Acheson, upon signing the security treaty, called it a "voluntary agreement between free peoples for the maintenance of peace and security."

When contrasted with the facts, such statements seem to cast doubt on our sincerity. To claim that the security treaty is a "voluntary agreement between free peoples" when one of the signers is an occupied nation and the other the occupier is to put a peculiar interpretation upon "voluntary" and "free." As a matter of fact, the Japanese were told from the first that they would get no peace treaty unless and until they ratified the security treaty. Not satisfied with warning the Japanese, our military also warned the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the peace treaty should not receive final ratification until the agreement on American post-treaty military rights in Japan was concluded. In short, we made no bones about it—no bases, no peace treaty.

The agreement signed in Tokyo last February 27 es-

tablishes these post-treaty military rights. What are they? Although at this writing details are not available, dispatches from Tokyo suggest that our military leaders have won their long fight to retain most of their occupation privileges in Japan. The *New York Times* has quoted State Minister Okazaki ■ telling the Japanese press:

In principle United States garrison troops and their dependents will be tried by American military courts for whatever crimes wherever committed. However, in serious crimes Japan will be authorized to demand the surrender of such persons for trial in Japanese courts. . . . A joint Japanese-American commission will confer and establish precedents for each case encountered.

This means, in brief, reestablishment of the principle of extra-territoriality—the very principle which Asiatic peoples have resented most in Western policy for more than a century. We surrendered this policy in Japan quite early, in the 1890's. We surrendered it, albeit reluctantly, in China during World War II. Now, during a military occupation of Japan, we are reviving it to implement a treaty which we insist restores sovereign independence to Japan!

It is safe to predict that the security treaty will get us into serious trouble not only in Japan but elsewhere in Asia. In our preoccupation with the military aspects of our anti-Communist policy, we are neglecting political and psychological aspects which in the long run will prove decisive. We insist that the Soviet and Chinese Communists are wrong when they charge that we are turning Japan into a colony instead of a sovereign nation, or when they charge that our Japanese bases are intended for an attack on China rather than as ■ defense of

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Japan. From the Japanese point of view, however, the security treaty seems admirably designed to encourage such misinterpretation.

Take the question of bases. Americans have been told—and most of us believe—that the Japanese *want* us to maintain bases in Japan to “deter aggression” by the Russians and Chinese. But are our bases really so welcome? Last October the *Oriental Economist*, conservative and pro-Western, printed the following exchange:

Commentator: I guess the Americans are under the impression that most Japanese have a desire to be included [in the United States defense system].

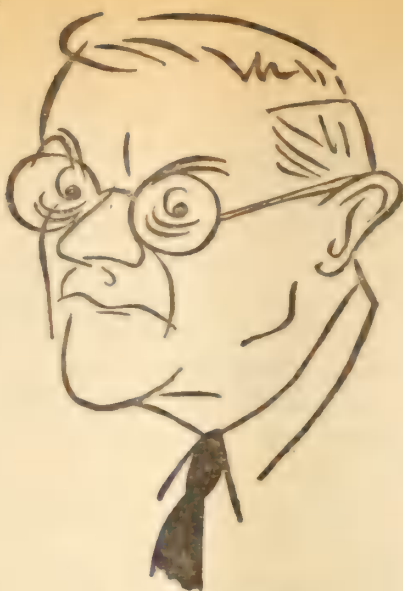
Questioner: Suppose, for argument's sake, we Japanese did not so desire, what would happen?

Commentator: Even if we turned it down, America would stand pat on its demand. That's the important point.

Surely there is no hint here of a “voluntary” and “free” agreement. There is implication only of duress. The fact is that opposition to the security treaty in Japan has been persistent and widespread from the beginning, so widespread indeed that on the eve of the Diet debate on ratification the Diet sergeant-at-arms—according to the North American Newspaper Alliance reporter—added to his staff a group of jiu-jitsu experts in order to guard against “free-for-alls” in the legislative chamber. The Diet did in fact ratify both treaties, but only after what the American press termed “stormy” sessions.

FROM Japan's point of view the security treaty offers the reverse of security. It does not even pledge the United States to defend Japan; it says merely that United States forces “may be utilized to contribute to the security of Japan against armed attack from without.” One can hardly imagine anything more noncommittal. On the other hand, the treaty provides that our forces in Japan “may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East.” Practically this means that we may use our Japanese bases for pushing war farther north into Korea, or China, or anywhere else in the Far East. Thus Japan's participation in any military adventure involving the United States or the United Nations becomes automatic. We may contemplate this situation with great satisfaction, but the war-weary Japanese can hardly be expected to do so.

Nor, for all the occupation privileges it grants, is the security treaty an unmixed blessing to our occupation force and to the G. I.'s who are its backbone. The



John Foster Dulles

G. I.'s may be used, according to the treaty, “at the expressed request of the Japanese government, to put down large-scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan caused through instigation or intervention by an outside power or powers.” This is clearly designed with Communist-inspired riots in mind. It presents a challenge which the Communists may be happy to meet. And what is to prevent the Japanese government from labeling every riot “Communist-inspired”—including riots inspired by hunger and unemployment? American soldiers might thus be thrust into mêlées in which the hands of the Japanese masses—Communist and non-Communist and anti-Communist—would all be turned

against them. If the cementing of American-Japanese friendship is one of the objectives of our Japanese policy, certainly we are going about it the hard way.

Again from the point of view of the Japanese, we are not only offering insecurity rather than security but are demanding in return an insupportably high price. One of our first occupation moves was to supervise the writing of a new Japanese constitution which expressly provides that “the maintenance of land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potentials, will never be authorized.” Today that policy has been completely reversed. The Japanese are required not only to pay for a growing army of their own but also to contribute to the support of American garrisons. Japan's military budget for 1952 is nearly one-sixth of what the four years and three months of its pre-Pearl Harbor war with China cost.

The political dangers of the policies inherent in the security treaty are clear. But the strategic dangers cannot be ignored. It is dangerous to assume that the Japanese are prepared to cooperate wholeheartedly with our anti-Communist policies. True, the Japanese historically fear Russia; they fear Russia today. But the Japanese know that their islands are not defensible; if war comes again, their tinder-like cities will again be pulverized and millions will starve. It is this which has induced in so many Japanese a fervent desire for neutrality in any new war.

A realistic look at the security treaty, within the frame of actual conditions in Japan, can lead only to the conclusion that it is our gravest political and strategic blunder since the end of the war. American policy-makers have been persuaded to place assumed strategic and military advantages ahead of ideological principles which, in the long run, will decide the contest of democracy against communism in Asia. And this time the errors cannot be charged against secret war agreements or alleged Communist traitors in the State Department.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Handbook on Communism

COMMUNISM IN WESTERN EUROPE. By Mario Einaudi, Jean-Marie Domenach, and Aldo Garosci. Cornell University Press. \$3.

IN ITS serious tone, careful scholarship, and amazing compactness this collaborative study of Western European communism offers a welcome contrast to the emotional, imprecise, and diffuse writing on such topics that is currently the fashion nearly everywhere except in strictly academic circles. Here at last is a handbook on communism that can be read with profit by both the specialist and the general reader. The authors assume no knowledge on their readers' part; they explain every organizational unit or personality even at the risk of platitude. And they have wisely restricted themselves to the two great countries of the Western European continent—France and Italy—the only ones in which communism offers a real and continuing threat to a free society.

Their book is at once a history, a current analysis, and a proposal of remedial measures. This triple function gives it a somewhat uneven character. As history it is almost too brief. As a remedial program it is encouraging but not completely convincing. As analysis, however, it is nearly always admirable. The authors have grasped the essentials of Western European communism—its organizational solidity, the talent, self-dedication, and ruthlessness of its leaders, and its continuing appeal to populations starved for a political faith and profoundly skeptical of their rulers' interest in the well-being of the poorer part of the population. French or Italian communism, Mr. Domenach warns us, "cannot be assessed only as a 'party' organized for the political struggle, nor solely as a 'conspiracy' organized for the seizure of power; it is an immense machine, as complex as the state which it everywhere attacks. . . . It is a complete society which, in embryonic form, already exists inside the society it aims to replace." And he adds that we should not take too seriously the loss of

membership and votes that, in France at least, has recently seemed to presage its decline. The hard core of militants—perhaps 15 per cent of its membership—is the real key to its strength; and this remains virtually untouched. "In order to direct the movement of the masses a party must first create the strong skeleton of a body which will take on flesh according to circumstances. When circumstances become critical, the body may be reduced to the skeleton, but the skeleton will not disintegrate."

Of the three authors Messrs. Garosci and Domenach are Europeans, and Mr. Einaudi is an American professor of Italian birth. This intimate connection with European society gives their analysis a depth and understanding—a sense of an experience personally or at least vicariously shared—that is usually lacking in American treatments of Communist themes. Such is particularly the case with the parts of the book written by the two Europeans—Mr. Domenach's section on the French party and Mr. Garosci's on the Italian.

This is not to say that Messrs. Garosci and Domenach are in any sense pro-Communist. The former is a well-known historian and a former leader of the ill-fated Party of Action that during the war years embodied the aspirations of the most intelligent and imaginative of non-Communist Italian anti-Fascists. He has seen the destruction of his hopes for a renovated, democratic Italy, and his knowledge that the Communist leaders bear a heavy responsibility for this disappointment gives his writing about them a tone of cold, quiet anger. These men he has fought and he obviously dislikes them profoundly. At the same time he understands the motivation of those who vote Communist because they see no other alternative to clericalism and reaction in an Italy in which the forces of the non-Communist left are divided and pitifully weak. He explains why it is that the Italian Communists have not suffered the same loss of voting strength as the French, and, along with their allies the left-wing Socialists, actually

increased their vote between the parliamentary election of 1948 and the municipal elections of last May and June. Unfortunately, Mr. Garosci's section is too compressed to permit him to elaborate with much originality on these themes. We learn the basic facts about Italian communism—but not a great deal more.

Mr. Domenach's section, on the other hand, is both the longest and the most original in the book. Like his Italian co-author, Mr. Domenach is a veteran of the struggle against fascism: in the French Resistance he worked with Communists in a common cause; now, editor of *Esprit*, the journal of the French Catholic left, he fights the Communists politically and ideologically while advocating some of the same social goals. Hence the tone he takes toward his late allies combines compassion with reproof. And in so doing he reminds us of a number of things that we have tended to forget in the enormous simplification of American attitudes that the past four or five years have witnessed. The great strikes of the autumn of 1947, he tells us, were not originally Communist in inspiration—as nearly all American publicists have assumed. Rather they were an independent outgrowth of the "wide disparity between wages and prices," which the Communists, now out of the government, decided to support and exploit in the interests of their campaign against the Marshall Plan. I am not quite sure that this is the whole story, but I am very glad to have Mr. Domenach's corrective entered on the record. Similarly, Mr. Domenach's characterization of Maurice Thorez as a "Tito manqué"—a man who, if he had remained in France during the war, might have made a reality of a "Western communism" independent of Soviet control—is the most arresting item in the whole book. It suggests—and here again the author corrects the simplifications of hindsight—that the hopes of those who looked for this sort of development between 1942 and 1947 were not totally illusions at the time. That they eventually proved such does

not mean that a large body of Frenchmen did not at one time think and act in these terms and that a certain number do not do so still.

As opposed to the contributions of the two Europeans, Mr. Einaudi's section—a general introduction and analysis—has a tone of detachment and of optimism about reducing Communist strength that reflects the greater remoteness of an American university campus. At the same time this relative detachment enables Mr. Einaudi to see the potential weakness of the Communist position and to strip away its pretenses more rigorously than either of his collaborators. Western European communism, he asserts, far from being a movement for social progress, is necessarily attached to "feudalism, inefficiency, and obsolete economic policies." Essentially retrograde in character, it thrives in countries whose "social structure . . . has maintained rigidities and cleavages" that favor a class-warfare approach. Once such countries have been fully modernized, the appeal of pseudo-revolutionary Marxism will all but vanish. Hence it is no accident that the Communist leaders direct their heaviest assaults against the Marshall and Schuman plans: these truly revolutionary measures "are bound to bring about far-reaching social and political changes that will create the conditions under which communism will not be able to survive."

This is a bold and compelling argument. It is far more discerning than the usual amiable banalities of Marshall Plan propaganda. Yet it suffers from some of the same deficiencies. It fails to take into account the extent to which the pressing needs of rearmament have diverted the American program in Europe from its original social-welfare goals. More important, it ignores the whole element of psychological inertia—the nearly universal apathy, weariness, and frustration—antedating communism, deeper than it, and largely independent of economic conditions. Characteristically, it is Mr. Domenach rather than Mr. Einaudi who draws our attention to "that inarticulate despair that is the fundamental psychic element of the European crisis." So long as despair remains the basic European attitude, communism—and other essentially irrational doctrines—will main-

tain their appeal. For communism, like Gaullism, offers a *mystique*—and with it a refuge for sick souls. Has Western democracy a *mystique* to put in its place? H. STUART HUGHES

The Peacock Vein

THE GROVES OF ACADEME. By Mary McCarthy. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

THE experimental college is a subject for satire made to Mary McCarthy's hand. As a going institution of our society, it implicates a more public range of targets than the utopian colony of "The Oasis," and her dealings with it result in an extravaganza as diverting as Peacock.

For sheer comic bravura the poets' conference that fills the second half of the book is the show-piece. The method is a sort of verbal sonata form; theme, restatements and developments, coda. The lady poet who leads off the speakers takes Virgil as her subject: "A faint sigh rustled through the faculty. From the point of view of the student body, the choice was not a happy one. The majority of the students present had never heard of the person being alluded to as the Mantuan; they supposed he was a modern poet whom the faculty had not yet caught up with—a supposition correct in a sense, as Howard Furness, maliciously grinning, remarked in his slippery voice afterward."

The theme started, its potentialities unfold in an accelerando of double-edged ironies. For the students the situation is saved by the fact that one of them is doing a project on Hermann Broch and "The Death of Virgil." "Lise's major project, as the news of it spread around the room, evoked instant respect and attention; heads turned to nod at her approvingly, as though some member of her family had just been mentioned from the dais." Virgil too engages Dr. Muller, a pillar of the faculty who "like many historians, had certain regressive tendencies arising from the nature of his subject, which called forth a tolerance for the past, in the same way that some occupations, like sand-hogging, give rise to their own occupational diseases." Virgil, he feels, has much light to throw on "the phenomenon of imperialism in our time." Couldn't the poet's praise of

Augustus in the Eclogues be considered an example of irony? Miss Mansell, who has been lecturing on problems of poetic style, catches only the word *irony* in his question and refers him to "somebody named Empson—if he caught the name rightly—and his treatment of the pastoral mode."

Finally, after this workout in the more esoteric keys, the theme broadens to its quantum of general reference as the dead-pan "normally" of the coda impales a whole phase of contemporary culture. The next speaker—a not unrecognizable elderly poet of the avant-garde who is "a bank president in private life"—takes Lucretius for his subject. "In the audience the President frowned; the faculty was uneasy. . . . Furness was recalling, with some disquiet, the old poet's bland question at the sherry party—'Is this the fabled college where everything is run backward?'—and the air of gentle disappointment with which he bore the news that no, indeed, it was not, that the

Startled, I Remember

Immensely the low sun
Paints all our city—shines
Prodigal on water towers;
Sweetens deep windows.

There it is, suddenly,
The soul of it: New York
Gold in the late day,
Dying and smiling.

Startled, I remember
Him that most loved this.
Where is he now, then?
Didn't I hear—

Oh, but the least—yes,
Certainly I felt it:
Mind and body turning, turning,
Trying to see.

Only as his would—
Once again, once again—
Oh, but he must sleep, though.
Let the night be.

Epitaph

Let this be true, that I have loved
All men and things both here and gone;
But most the men whose love surpassed
My love, and so lives on and on.

MARK VAN DOREN

courses ran normally from the immediate past to the present."

For the rest, the Peacock vein is imbedded in a tissue of psychological comedy: an anatomy of "occupational diseases" of laborers in the progressive-academic vineyard, "nice, high-minded, scrupulous people," with a sense of "vicarious outrage—the vocational endowment of all educators," and a "nervous habit of self-correction, always emending, penciling, erasing." By fabricating an issue of academic freedom the paranoiac Mulcahy of the not nice and unscrupulous minority provides the "case" for a web of decisions and revisions that leave him firing the high-minded President who started by firing him. The specialized little world that comes credibly to life within the framework of this plot is a microcosm of general cultural trends; it would be hard to think of any facet of its possibilities for comedy that "The Groves of Academe" does not light up.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Introduction to Vedanta

VEDANTA FOR MODERN MAN.

Edited, and with an Introduction, by Christopher Isherwood. Harper and Brothers. \$5.

VEDANTA, a body of teachings derived from the ancient Vedas and from later classics, is the nearest thing to a Bible that modern Indians possess. Unlike the Christian or Jewish Bible, however, it is constantly receiving fresh additions, on the principle that divine inspiration never ends. As a philosophy Vedanta forms the common basis of all the well-known Indian religions, including Buddhism and Jainism. As a system of religious thought, it has crossed continents, its influence having been acknowledged by such thinkers as Goethe, Schopenhauer, Emerson, Bernard Shaw, Carl Jung, and Albert Schweitzer. Mr. Isherwood calls Vedanta a "non-dualistic philosophy," in the sense that *spirit* alone is real, everything else being *Maya*, that is, appearance or illusion. Spirit, or Brahman, is the Vedantic God and is regarded as the ultimate reality. In this world of *Maya* a man leads only a shadow life of pretending. His real life does not begin until his divine essence, his Atman, has coalesced with Brahman.

To make Vedanta intelligible to the West, Mr. Isherwood presents an anthology of sixty-one essays and poems by thirty-six teachers or lovers of Vedanta, including Jawaharlal Nehru, Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, Rabin-dra Nath Tagore, John van Druten, and Hubert Benoit. In this meeting of East and West, the contributors discuss such topics as the Godward purpose of life, the discipline of Yoga, the bearing of Vedanta on daily affairs, and why, in the words of Mr. Huxley, "Time must have a stop." We are also given glimpses of Sri Ramakrishna, a Bengali saint (1833-1886), whom Romain Rolland and many noted Indians revere as a spiritual leader of the rank of Jesus and Buddha. Finally we learn that a number of Vedanta centers, for study and not for proselyting, have been established in the West—there are two in New York—under the direction of Swamis sent by the Ramakrishna Order of India. Clearly, the Vedanta *Weltanschauung* has formidable support.

It was probably the collapse of scientific materialism—a philosophy which helped to plunge us into the current series of world wars—that gave Vedanta its chance in the West. The materialists, who claimed that there was no such thing as mind, dominated Western culture from the time of Darwin and Karl Marx until the other day, when Jeans, de Broglie, Schrödinger, and other super-physicists proved that there was no such thing as matter. The shock of this discovery sent our cultured professional classes reeling. Bernard Shaw's "Too True to Be Good" dramatizes the event in the tragedy of the disillusioned atheist who, having learned of Einstein and nuclear fission, sees his solid, soulless, machine-like world dissolve into the mysteries of relativity and the quantum theory. In a word, the downfall of materialism left our cultured people gyrating in a spiritual vacuum. And nothing was more certain than that this vacuum would be filled by some religious belief up to date enough to treat science and religion as two necessary, compatible, and reinforcing sides of the intellectual movement of humanity. Among the religious philosophies that have tried to fill the void are the Butler-Bergson-Shaw version of evolution, which comes from Europe, and Western Vedanta, which comes from Asia.

What are the most striking features of Vedanta? To begin with, it has no canonical Bible. Its scriptures consist of a continuous body of inspired literature that extends from the old Vedic hymns of 3,000 years ago to Aldous Huxley's "Indian Philosophy of Peace" and Radhakrishnan's "Religion and the World Crisis," written the other day for the present book. There is no dominant founder, like Mohammed or Buddha, whom everyone must worship. Vedanta has temples without priests, counsels of perfection without dogmas, and a spiritual discipline without rites. Its one altar is the soul of man. Though Vedantists believe that a reunion with Brahman, through a strict training of the body-mind, is man's chief end and glory, they do not claim to be a Chosen People or to possess the one and only valid faith. Thus a newcomer is not required to disavow the gods, saints, or heroes that have been dear to him. He will not be asked to give up Christ for the sake of Krishna. On the contrary, he is expected to consider Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus as teachers no less trustworthy than Shankara or Rama-

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krishna. Obviously the Vedantists, with their doctrine of the Atman, have a mystical element that brings them close to the Quakers, with their belief in the inner light, and to the creative evolutionists, with their faith in an instinctive drive toward perfection. But what makes Vedanta unique is its emphasis on special mystical practices and also the fact that these practices—mastered aforetime by such Western seers as Pythagoras, Plotinus, and Meister Eckhart—are taught not merely to an esoteric group or to an intellectual élite but to anyone willing and able to undergo the intense Yoga discipline.

Mr. Isherwood has produced an anthology all of which is worth reading and some of which is in the highest degree inspiring. The book provides a first-class introduction to the Vedanta conception of Life and God.

FELIX GRENDA

A New Language

TOWARD A GENERAL THEORY OF HUMAN JUDGMENT. By Justus Buchler. Columbia University Press. \$2.75.

THE central idea of this book is formulated in terms of the neologism "proception." This word is intended to suggest the "moving union" in the human individual "of seeking and receiving, of forward propulsion and patient absorption." By intention it represents the "interplay" and the "unitary" (why unitary?) direction of the individual's activities and faculties. Apart from his "proceptions," "he" is not an individual but a succession of spasms or kinks in the ether. In terms of this conception Professor Buchler develops a theory of "human judgment" deployed in its several basic dimensions of "communication," "compulsion," "convention," "perspective," and "validation." The point about "proception," evidently, is that it is intended to bring the sensory, conceptual, and motivational variables of human personality into a single system of interrelationships which leaves out nothing save prime matter. Buchler seeks first inclusion and then articulation—a favorite word. His is a philosophy of "transcendence," but only in the sense that it seeks to go beyond the traditional bifurcations and reductions implicit in such terms as "mental"

and "behavioral." Yet it remains devoutly naturalistic and conceives the human organism as the joint function of its physical and social environments.

It is not surprising that Buchler finds previous frameworks for interpreting judgment inadequate. Unlike older "spectator" theories of mind, his analysis stresses the "funded" interpretations of an interacting, socially oriented individual. But unlike the more recent pragmatic theories, his doctrine admits of felt immediacies (Dewey called them "havings") and givens. The sheer brutality of things—including in one sense interpretation and communication themselves—incluctably forces itself upon the individual's attention. In relation to this aspect of his world the individual is perforce observer, sufferer, or patient. But he is also a manipulator, a doer, above all, a judge. And in this dimension he molds and interprets the world in his own image. From this point of view, things become products, facts classified data, and nature a subject matter for—"proception."

How far Buchler's development of his root idea accomplishes a basic reorganization of our conceptual patterns for the understanding of symbolism, communication, and method is perhaps a moot question. Since each of us brings to the reading of any book his own funded experience, it is inevitable, as the author himself would probably insist, that readers of this work will disagree as to its fertility and its suggestiveness for new interpretations of the phenomena of which it treats. In any case it needs to be supplemented by more exact and more detailed analyses of the complexities of human discourse. Lacking them, some readers who have already carried the analysis of some particular dimension of human judgment beyond the point to which Buchler's study takes us, will doubtless find it alternately vague and elementary. I found it in part a none too clear restatement of views I seemed already to know. But in part I also found, as in the discussion of conventions, a certain freshness of approach or as in the discussion of validation, a prod to further thinking.

Apart from his basic term Buchler generally manages to avoid jargon—perhaps the besetting vice of contemporary American philosophy. But he has a way of extending the sense or use of

words beyond their ordinary meanings and roles, and so in a way he has perhaps inadvertently invented a new language of interpretation in the process of analyzing and explicating an old one. This is always a hazardous business. Sometimes new words function as catalysts simply because they are free from the stock associations by means of which all words tend to enslave our minds. "Proception" is not a lovely word; but it may force us out of our conceptual ruts. Words are often telescoped theories; old ones often little more than counters by means of which we reenact ingrained prejudices. How much prejudice and how little understanding is concealed, for example, in the little word "race"! Placed in new contexts or invested with new twists of meaning, old words may sometimes do the trick of making us think, and all the more effectively because they force us to see the familiar in a new light.

But there is also the risk. For we may think we have a new idea when all we really have is an old word used in an unusual way. We may spend time on redefinition which would be better spent in the assimilation of new facts or in genuine analysis of terms which we habitually employ without full comprehension of their meaning. A new way with old words can all too often trick us into supposing we have made an advance in thought, when what we have done is to say queerly something quite obvious. Take the word "articulation," for example. In its ordinary uses it means to utter distinctly, to express clearly or systematically, to divide into words and syllables. But in Buchler's account, by what I can only call a process of association or suggestion, it undergoes a series of sea changes which cause us to suppose we are really learning something when nothing is going on but verbal play with a familiar term. Thus "criticism is articulation, and articulation is realization." In every instance of social communication there is "an implicit mutual demand . . . for proceptive articulation in the form of products, overt manifestations of proception." "Articulation is the manipulation (and the implied proceptive deliverance) of products as ends in themselves. . . ." There may be something in all this—but it is said in such an odd way.

This accounts, I think, for the sense of "novelty"—or strain—one experiences in reading Buchler's book. In another context this sort of thing might, of course, be an exciting venture. But in the context of what is, or should be, an explanation and elucidation of human judgment it is often merely misleading. Even more important, it results in a discourse which is less precise than it needs to be. And this is inevitable, since it forces us to break loose from our old linguistic moorings without providing a seaworthy raft on which we can be sure to keep our minds afloat.

HENRY DAVID AIKEN

Old Masters in Color

ART TREASURES OF THE LOUVRE.

Text Translated and Adapted from the French by René Huyghe. Commentary by Mme René Huyghe, with a Short History of the Louvre by Milton Fox. Abrams. \$10.

THE publishers of the Library of Great Painters here inaugurate a new series entitled the Library of Great Museums. Except for the monograph on El Greco, whose color is extremely "modern" and therefore more than usually susceptible of reproduction, this series represents an important effort to extend the facilities of color reproduction to the domain of the old masters. One cannot avoid the conclusion that, superior as many of these plates are to other reproductions of the same pictures, the old masters are still reluctant to yield up their secrets to color filters. Those of them who employed gold backgrounds can rest assured that modern glossy paper can record no echo of their splendors. The Madonna labeled Cimabue basks in the roseate glow of a sort of Turner sunset, while Giotto's St. Francis is ecstatic before a background somewhere between the color of straw and a French omelette. In general, the plates are keyed too dark and too hot. Too many bodies and faces seem lit by a roaring fire, and Daumier's Crispin has already turned to the color of a boiled lobster.

Most of the later painters come off very adequately, especially Rousseau le Douanier, whose terrifying fable of war is expressed in flat tonal areas and sharp value contrasts. Among the older painters, Zurbaran, who also employs

abrupt contrasts of dark and light, is well transposed. A real tour de force is the Fragonard "Bathers," the juicy confections of which must have presented formidable difficulties for reproduction.

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Verse Chronicle

THE latest book in the admirable Muses' Library series (Harvard University Press; this number priced at \$2.10) contains the poems of Sir Walter Raleigh (*sic*, without the *i*; the history books, it seems, have been spelling the name wrong this long time). The format, as usual with this series, is not only handy but nice, and the needs of the student are met in such a way as not to confuse or put off the lazier general reader. The editor of this particular volume is Agnes M. C. Latham, whose introductory essay, careful and excellent throughout, lifts into moments of moving brilliance.

The North Sea poems of Heinrich Heine, here translated by Vernon Watkins (New Directions, \$3), were written by a young man in a rather exalted state, a mood, pro tem, of emancipation, ecstatic rather than depressed by the riddle of life. In looser and larger meters than the wrier characteristic Heine, they nevertheless have their moments of concision, sharpness of observation, and immediate sensual perception amid the romantic yearnings and swoonings. Such is their looseness of form, so free are they from tight idiomatic effects, that the translator has his work more than half done for him before he starts; Mr. Watkins, himself an easy-going mellifluous poet with no great hold or bite, has enough sympathy with this kind of rhythm and enough respect for the concrete nouns and verbs not to let the tidal wave of adjectives and the adverbial froth and spume sweep him entirely away: the English version, on facing pages, is substantially just to the German.

Roger Fry has by no means done equivalent justice to Mallarmé in the twenty-nine out of sixty-four translations he has made from the latter's "Poésies," now published, in a rather jumbled book, by New Directions, price \$2. This edition includes the Fry translations with their French originals,

the other poems in the French only, an introduction and commentaries on the poems by Charles Mauron, an early introduction by Roger Fry, a publisher's note, an appendix: did I say jumbled? M. Mauron's introduction is excellent; his remarks on obscurity in general, and Mallarmé's peculiar kinds of obscurity in particular, are very much to the point. His commentaries, however, serve to confuse the average reader, meaning in this case me, or to lead him up the garden of literary scholarship. One feels that the time would be better spent reading the original French two or three times extra. If Mr. Fry has not translated Mallarmé as well as Mr. Watkins has Heine, it must be said, of course, that the task was enormously more difficult. I am sure that Mr. Fry's interest, understanding, and devotion went much

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deeper into Mallarmé than Watkins's possibly could with the Heine North Sea poems, but in rendering the poems into English he makes the most ghastly elementary mistakes. Surely no good writer could ever have said, in any language, the equivalent of "and my lamp which nathless my agony knows," or "whose ecstasy pure lies in painting the end." *Nathless* and also *whilst*, forsooth! I suspect there are other misprints than the one (p. 51) which renders the first line of a sonnet sestet meaningless: "For Vice, having gnawed by nobleness inborn" ("*Car le Vice, rongeant ma naïve noblesse*").

I suppose every reader of *The Nation* realizes that Roger Fry was by no means the inept idiot that these brief excerpts make him appear; if the paragraph above seems an abuse to his memory, I should like to make amends by quoting M. Mauron: "He was so sociable that he could never enjoy anything without at once feeling the need to share it with those around him. Therein lay, I think, the secret of that equilibrium which to the last prevented him from growing old: the correction of fastidiousness by generosity, and of generosity by fastidiousness."

"A man," observes M. Mauron, "may be said to be characterized by his obsessions." It is with these that Theodore

Roethke deals in his third book, "Praise to the End" (Doubleday, \$3). The title strikes me as unhappy, in a kind of guarded way, suggesting both a kind of finality which Mr. Roethke would be the last to advertise and a cheery facile optimism he would be the first to deny. The poems here continue, as well as repeat, the themes of "The Lost Son"; what we are offered here is a sequence. With many a writer who affects to plumb the depths of his own unconscious, one feels that after he has dived into the bathysphere, he is only too apt to emerge with nothing but the bathetic—or the banal—and that if he comes up with something rich and strange, or only grotesque, one cannot feel sure but that he has planted his deep-sea bucket in advance with a few specimens of starfish and sea urchins, not to mention an old boot or two, just to make it look better. Mr. Roethke is more convincing; he has established, and this is a matter of technique as surely as feats of prosody, avenues of communication to his own unconsciousness. Poetry made from this relation is bound to be difficult, obscure, intensely personal; the question will always be whether the poet can reach the reader as he has reached himself. One difficulty (stet!—too perfect a keyboard-slip to lose) which the terminology of the unconscious offers, its

censorship, its disguise through vagueness, Mr. Roethke has calculatedly removed; his metaphors and images, his very rhythms, have the direct impact of a fullback hitting the line on third down with two yards to go. The danger here is that the rhythms themselves will seem a little obsessed, and they are also astonishingly easy to imitate—I warn Mr. Roethke right now that within five years he is going to be flattered to loathing; samples have already begun to catch my notice.

The *charge*, to use Mr. Roethke's own term, is the most important thing; to whose interest some effects of subtlety must be sacrificed. But mark that subtlety is a relative term and be prepared to make some structural adaptations; an end-stopped line, for instance, may not sound to you, *en plein air*, exactly the same as it does to the poet coming up from full fathom five. Adept at breathing, so to speak, through his gills, Mr. Roethke seems to me a little less sure of himself when it is time to use his lungs; his Jubilates, if no less original, do seem less experienced than his Misereres—which, by the way, differ from most in having some humor in them. Still, it is asking a good deal of a poet to face and report the horrors of the fire and the slime-pit and in the next breath to think he did see all heaven before him and the great God himself. After all, this is a continuing sequence; give him time.

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Books in Brief

ALEXANDER POPE. By Bonamy Dobrée. Philosophical Library. \$3. Most of us were told for examination purposes that Alexander Pope was a malicious monkey who turned Pegasus into a rocking horse. That estimate of both his character and his poetry has been undergoing steady revision for some years now, and the present charmingly written little book of 120 pages gives a compact summary of the results of the best modern scholarship. Mr. Dobrée, who frankly bases his conclusions on the work of various scholars, especially on that of George Sherburn, is concerned chiefly with Pope's character and draws an essentially sympathetic portrait without falling into the partisanship of Edith Sitwell's somewhat

fanatical defense. Recommended to any reader who wants to be brought up to date pleasantly and briefly.

THE ILIAD OF HOMER. Translated, with an Introduction, by Richmond Lattimore. Chicago University Press. \$4.50. Translations of the Iliad continue to pour from the presses, this being the third or fourth, or so it seems, within the last few minutes. Professor Lattimore's version, while less spectacular than his recent presentation of Pindar, is workmanlike and competent; his introduction is both painstaking and intelligent, and his prosody is cleanly handled.

Drama

MARGARET
MARSHALL

REVIVALS tend to induce in everyone connected with them an attitude toward the play in question similar to that of a fond parent—an attitude at once patronizing and indulgent, apologetic and proud. I find the atmosphere this attitude creates extremely irritating because it makes for self-consciousness all around and particularly in the actors, and because it implies a demand that the play and the performance be judged not on their merits but on the basis of quite extraneous considerations.

Many a revival of Shakespeare and other old masters has been corroded by the atmosphere I have described; it hangs thick over ANTA's revival of Clifford Odets's "Golden Boy" (ANTA Theater). Its effects, I could not help thinking, were reflected in the two reviews I read. Brooks Atkinson of the *Times* succumbed completely to its moist warmth and basked in it as in a steam bath. To him, all was wonderful. Walter B. Kerr of the *Herald Tribune* did not succumb, but he obviously felt guilty and his dissent was apologetic.

"Golden Boy" is not a very good play. It is skilfully constructed, but its plot is patently contrived. It has passages that are well conceived and freshly written; it is also ridden with the most ordinary kind of fancy writing and with clichés of the socially conscious thirties.

Like most clichés these contain a modicum of truth but not enough to transform them into eternal verities, and they are only intermittently appropriate to the characters who propound them. It follows that some of the characterizations are authentic and some are not.

The characterization of the Golden Boy is defective on another score. His development is stated rather than demonstrated. In the beginning his passion for music, admittedly hard to portray, is not made manifest; his later passion to make money is not very convincing either, but rather taken for granted, since it is documented mainly by a brief scene which shows him lusting after big cars speeding by; finally, we are told that he has disintegrated, but the process has not been depicted.

John Garfield's performance of the part is better than the writing, but he cannot make up what it leaves out. Lee J. Cobb as the old Italian father is more than adequate in a set part that requires little acting. The parts of Tom Moody, the prize-fight manager, and of the Golden Boy's brother-in-law, Siggie, are well acted by Art Smith and Michael Lewin; likewise the very minor but amusing bit of the "ham" prize-fighter. These parts are also well written. For the rest, the characterizations are uneven, and I thought the acting remarkably bad. In one case at least the revival psychology was clearly responsible. The gangster originally was meant to be taken seriously, or so I presume. In this production he is played for laughs as if he were a period piece—which in the context of the play makes no sense whatever.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE recently formed Artur Schnabel Memorial Committee announces that one of its immediate projects is the reissue, in cooperation with RCA Victor, of all Schnabel recordings on LP. I take this to mean the recordings of Mozart concertos and Schubert piano works and the earliest recordings of Beethoven concertos previously issued here by Victor; but I hope it means also the ones not issued by Victor: the re-

cent European recordings of, among other things, Beethoven's Concerto No. 4 and Mozart's Rondo K.511, with some of the most beautiful playing of Schnabel's career; the pre-war recording of Schubert's posthumous Sonata in B flat; and of course the Beethoven Sonata Society recordings—above all the ones of Opus 109 and Opus 111, which have not, like the others in the series, been available on HMV records, though his performances of these two works were among his outstanding achievements, and the performance of Opus 111 perhaps the most remarkable and memorable of all.

It was the more remarkable for being flawed in the way Schnabel's performances often were—by unprecise,

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confused execution of difficult passage-work, by excessive and distorting intensity. One hears nothing of that kind in the performance of Opus 111 by Solomon just issued on an RCA Victor LP—nothing but unfailing and amazing perfection in the execution of passage-work, the shaping of phrase. But one also hears in Solomon's performance nothing of the tension from one note to the next that was the distinctive feature of Schnabel's playing and the secret of its power—the tension, at once cohesive and expansive, which produced the propulsive continuity, the cumulative force of the wonderful progression in the second movement from the hushed mystery of Variation 4 to the superearthly illumination of the end. And so the progression has no such continuity and force in Solomon's perfect performance.

One of the year's worst LP couplings gives us this Opus 111 not with another of Beethoven's last sonatas, but with the "Pathétique." And of the two works, both transferred to LP from recent HMV 78's, it is the "Pathétique" that is

excellently reproduced, and Opus 111 that comes off the record with thin, shallow sound and terrific surface and background noise.

Another bad Victor LP coupling gives us Mozart's Sonata K.576 and Scriabin's Sonata No. 4 for piano. The Mozart is a fine work, with some of his most developed and complex writing for the instrument; William Schatzkammer's performance of it is fluent and in good taste, though also without the tension that I spoke of a moment ago, and that I have heard impart more exciting life to Mozart's music.

Bach's great Passacaglia for organ is, for the first time, not only effectively played by Helmut Walcha but clearly reproduced by a Decca record which also offers his performance of the uninteresting Pastorale in F.

Five of Mahler's last songs, to poems of Rückert, contrast strikingly, in their somber mood and matured idiom, with the four songs from the early "Lieder aus der Jugendzeit" and the "Es sungen drei Engel" originally written as a movement of the Third Symphony. The early ones are sung engagingly, on the Vanguard record, by Anny Felbermayer, soprano, the late ones with vocal magnificence and expressive power by Alfred Poell, baritone; and there is fine playing by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska, which Vanguard again reproduces with a beauty of sound that I haven't heard from other recordings of this orchestra.

The folksong-like substance of Janacek's Sinfonietta is quite engaging in the third and fourth movements, and the fifth builds up an impressive conclusion with its unusual number of brass instruments. The performance by the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Leipzig under Vaclav Neumann is reproduced with harsh distortion in the climaxes. On the same Urania record the charming Rossini-Respighi "Rossiniana" is played with insufficient animation and grace by the Berlin State Opera Orchestra under Hans Steinkopf; and the recorded sound of loud passages is gritty and harsh.

Period has issued a Russian recording of Prokofiev's Violin Concerto No. 1 which makes the tone of the great violinist Oistrakh gritty and ear-lacerating, the sound of the orchestra distant and

dim; and as it approaches the center of the record the conclusion of the work is enveloped in a hash of distortion. Most of the record is taken up by Miaskovsky's Violin Concerto.

Not very interesting to my ears were Mozart's Piano Concerto K.451, well played by Jeannette Haie with the National Gallery Orchestra under Bales (WCFM); Haydn's Symphony No. 22 and Concerto in F for violin and harpsichord, both stolidly performed by the London Baroque Ensemble under Karl Haas with Jean Pougnet, violinist, and Lionel Salter, harpsichordist (Decca). And things to skip are the seventeen-year-old Strauss's Violin Concerto and eighty-year-old Strauss's Oboe Concerto, excellently played by Siegfried Borries, violinist, and Erich Ertel, oboist, and the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin under Artur Rother (Urania); also the Vladimir Rosing performances of Musorgsky songs reissued on LP by Decca.

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MY SON JOHN," the story of a traitor out of Anytown, U. S. A., goes across the screen dodging its point with all the deftness of a suspense yarn. The point was to show you the heart of a home-grown Communist as well as his day-to-day scurrings in the red network, but all you get is generalized bombast in his folks' idealized democratic household and familiar tear-jerking situations. Plotwise, a bright shy boy goes into government work and, reversing "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," becomes a top Soviet spy. Back home for a rare visit, he mentions a speech he is to make to the graduating class of his old Alma Mater, and the content of that speech gets him into a dozen angry arguments on communism with his folks, who are charter members of the church and the Legion, and inspire each other with lingo from the gridiron ("Take the ball, John!"). An amiable FBI agent keeps poking around the neighborhood, and pretty soon the mother discovers the truth about her favorite son, leading to tear-duct scenes as she teeters on the edge of insanity

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and soul-stirring shots of the son's face as he begins to see the democratic light (in one silent stretch, shadows play over the face, changing it back and forth from Judas Iscariot's to Abe Lincoln's). The rest is mechanical fireworks: the flight from his co-spies, his bullet-ridden car spinning up the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, and the tape-recorded recantation of the dead ex-Communist played back to the empty faces of the sweet, innocent graduates.

With Helen Hayes, the late Robert Walker, and director Leo McCarey—the latter a social philosopher who makes platitudes boom like the truth—heavily involved in "My Son John," no one is going to fall asleep for want of effervescent dramatics. McCarey tries to stop United States youth from falling for the party line with the same formula he used in the past to get the kids off the street and into church—that is, tears, faith, and solid red-blooded Americanism. It is done with such earnestness as to be slow-moving, but the actors are masters of intricate timing and intonation and have the easy spontaneity and control to put across a story that is mostly talk in parlor, bedroom, and bath. Walker, with his unhealthy face and blunt sincerity, plays the traitor in a way that makes you marvel at how much this craggy, solemn-toned actor learned about his business and the people outside it in the last few years of his life. He was, I think, the first great actor to turn up in decades of films, one who reminds me only of silent geniuses like Conrad Veidt, Keaton, or an awkward, sour, dissipated version of Barthelmess. Helen Hayes plays the manic mother with all the eccentric wallop of Eleanora Duse doing a Krafft-Ebing rewrite of "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch." With Frank McHugh making you feel happy that he is back in films and McCarey working powerfully in the new style of close-ups, disembodied faces, and immobilized groupings, the movie is worth seeing, if only to dig Hollywood's latest political orientation.

Two Works of Art that reek with social therapy and old-fashioned technique—everything from grainy photography to sentimental curlicues—are in the neighborhood, occupying the bottom half of double bills. The quaint adolescent study called "The Big Night" is so

slow, murkily lit, and incoherently involved with the meek pantomime of John Barrymore, Jr., that it might make more sense if the reels were run backward. However, "On Dangerous Ground" almost achieves a success in spite of itself. In the first place, it has to worry over the old chestnut about reform of the incorrigible by sweetness and trust—personified this time by a blind, tottering Ida Lupino who inspires cop Robert Ryan to mend his brutal ways. In the second place, it is tied to the idea that anything that moves makes a good motion-picture. The movie is a treadmill of stumbling, fumbling, smooching, hurtling movement, and by the time it reaches the run-down of an adolescent murderer over half the snow-covered hills of northern California, the customer is as fed up with motion as the panting actors. But the story is told with a camera and a rather unorthodox one, though it is often late to the scene and not sure of what is about to happen. Some of the support—Ward Bond and Anthony Ross—is good, but the chief virtue of the film is the fascinating jumble of action that results when two awkward, determined characters (Bond and Ryan) try to outlaw each other at the job of detecting.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times" and "Oswald Spengler: A Critical Estimate."

MARK VAN DOREN is well known as both poet and critic.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR., is at work on a biography of Francis Parkman.

FELIX GRENDON, novelist and critic, is the author of "No Other Caesar."

HENRY DAVID AIKEN is a member of the Department of Philosophy of Harvard University.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., is chairman of the Art Department of Williams College.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES has recently published a verse translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

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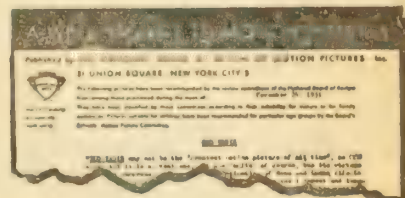


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Letters to the Editors

Malthus's Assumptions

Dear Sirs: Many of your readers will welcome, as I do, Professor de Castro's article *The Malthusian Scarecrow*, which appeared in your February 16 issue. Professor de Castro rightly points out that the Malthusian theory "survives the facts which contradict it because it can be used to rationalize various interests and situations." Out of his own special knowledge Professor de Castro has made a valuable contribution toward refuting Malthusian dogma with facts. This he has done well in discussing the relation between food supply and population and possible new sources of food.

I regret, however, that Professor de Castro found it necessary to use additional arguments which seem to be less well supported by facts. While it is true that economically backward populations tend to have a high birth rate, this does not mean that malnutrition is the cause of high fertility. I do not myself know the literature on starvation and estrogen content, but I would question that a direct correlation has been established between estrogen levels and fertility.

Nor, despite Professor de Castro's claim, do his figures on the Japanese population increase from 1945 to 1949 prove his point that a low nutritional level causes overpopulation. The population of the United States grew about as fast as—or a little faster than—Japan's during the same period.

The explanation for poverty does not lie in the realm of social phenomena, just as the explanation for poverty does not lie in "overpopulation," but in the character of social institutions. Professor de Castro himself recognized this when he pointed out that "political and economic conditions placed a premium on large families" in the early United States. . . .

The important point to remember about Malthus is that his avowed aim was to combat the egalitarian movements of his day. . . . His theory "appeared at a time," says the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, "when the upper classes, terrified by the French Revolution, found in it a much-needed justification for the existing order against the radical proposals of Godwin and Condorcet." . . . Malthus believed that the poor of his day would learn from his "population principle" . . . that the principal and most permanent cause of poverty has little or no direct relation to forms of government or the unequal division of property." Neo-Malthusians have been disappointed when the poor refused to agree. . . . The day may not be too distant, when the people of "China and elsewhere," having overcome the social causes of their poverty, will have also starved out the neo-Malthusian form of genocide.

HARRY GRUNDFEST

Associate Professor of Neurology
New York at Columbia University

Fewer Gadgets, More Safety?

Dear Sirs: Leonard Engel's article *Plane Facts*, which appeared in your March 8 issue, oversimplifies the problem of improving airline safety. The article tends to give the impression that technical improvements in the airplanes themselves are all that is needed to make commercial aviation safe for those below as well as those aloft. While many recent accidents appear to have been due to technical failures, the over-all

accident statistics indicate that bad weather is at least an equally important cause.

The airplane Mr. Engel suggests—namely, one with a large wing surface in proportion to its weight, low speed, and few "gadgets"—is exactly the airliner of the early years of commercial aviation, when the accident rate was far greater than it is today. The DC-3 has these characteristics to a considerable degree, but the figures do not show that commercial flying was any safer when it was used almost exclusively by the airlines of this country. . . .

Since each of the hundreds of instruments used in a modern plane is a safety feature, eliminating any of them, as Mr. Engel suggests, would be foolish until something better is developed.

Mr. Engel's suggestion of the "Ercoupe" as a prototype for large commercial airliners shows a lamentable lack of understanding of the relative requirements of commercial and private flying. The unique safety feature of the Ercoupe is the elimination of the inadvertent stall—a frequent cause of accidents in amateur flying but never encountered in airline operation. As for the Ercoupe being "the plane of the future," there is plenty of opinion to the contrary among pilots who have flown it, including myself.

That improvement in airline safety is desirable no one will deny. But it will not be obtained by returning to lower speeds and fewer instruments. Continued study and improvement of all phases of airline operation is the only practical answer.

C. FAYETTE TAYLOR

Cambridge, Mass.

[The author of the preceding letter is an eminent aeronautical engineer, coauthor of *"The Airplane and Its Engine,"* and *"The Internal Combustion Engine."* He is one of the editors of *"International Tests in Mechanical Engineering"* and a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.]

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Crossword Puzzle No. 457

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 See 22.
- 5 Beat up, least of all this. (7)
- 9 Turn and annex, by the sound of it. (5)
- 10 Standard measure with pens, undoubtedly. (9)
- 11 A coward kills his love with one, according to Wilde. (4)
- 12 Are alms and an amphibian reputedly fireproof? (10)
- 14 Don't stand outside! (What a singular piece of apparel!) (4, 2)
- 15 Condemn weight by study, perhaps. (8)
- 17 The opposite of a fool's paradise? (You might find the compact in it.) (8)
- 19 One should have an attitude of prayer in matins. (6)
- 22, 23, 6 down, 1 across. Slight reason for madness on her part, no doubt! (4, 4, 2, 4, 4, 1, 5, 7)
- 23 See 22.
- 26 Shaky way of getting lemurs out of it. (9)
- 27 Want ice? We can't be around to see it cut up. (5)
- 28 Knives, for example, used in fighting smugglers? (7)
- 29 Ask for rent, in a way, and dine with it. (7)

DOWN

- 1 Uncover the ears, perhaps. (5)
- 2 The position of the Bishop? (7)
- 3 Done and undone, like a knot. (4)

- 4 Twisted braids? (You'd be no good in any case, if they do it to you.) (6)
- 5 Make Pat ~~smile~~? Tests will! (8)
- 6 See 22.
- 7 The pit elevator might have to leave. (7)
- 8 Where do you find their names? Check back, or note at the bottom. (9)
- 13 Not heavy construction, but there's home work in keeping with it. (10)
- 14 Not a real tin scythe! (9)
- 16 They might carry a striking force. (Adobes have them.) (8)
- 18 Is the one with the most feet a trial about everything? (7)
- 20 He's got a title, perhaps, but sounds like he said he wouldn't run! (7)
- 21 See 25 down.
- 24 Spanish-German and eight, in the main? (5)
- 25 and 21. Equivalent to stop, look, and listen when no audition is required? (4, 3, 3)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 456

ACROSS—1 PERIWINKLE; 6 SMUG; 10 ENTITLE; 11 SOUNDLY; 12 ERROR OF CLOSURE; 15 AVENUE; 16 LEGACY; 18 CROWBARS; 22 PRESUPPOSITION; 24 FLEANCE; 25 EVIDENT; 26 REST; 27 GRASS-GREEN.

DOWN—1 PREFERABLE; 2 RETIRED; 3 WATER MOCCASINS; 4 NEEDFUL; 5 LASTLY; 7 MIDIRON; 8 and 14 GUYS AND DOLLS; 9 CURSIVE WRITING; 13 and 17 KENSINGTON GARDENS; 19 ROOTERS; 20 ABILENE; 21 APPEAR; 23 AFAR.

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By Goodwin Watson, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, author of "Action for Unity," and other books.
- III. BIG BUSINESS AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM**
By J. Austin Burkhart, teacher of political science at Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri.
- IV. THE FOOT IN THE DOOR—ORGANIZED RELIGION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS**
By Jerome Nathanson, leader at the Ethical Culture Society, chairman of Federal Aid to Education, and author of "John Dewey: The Reconstruction of Democratic Life."
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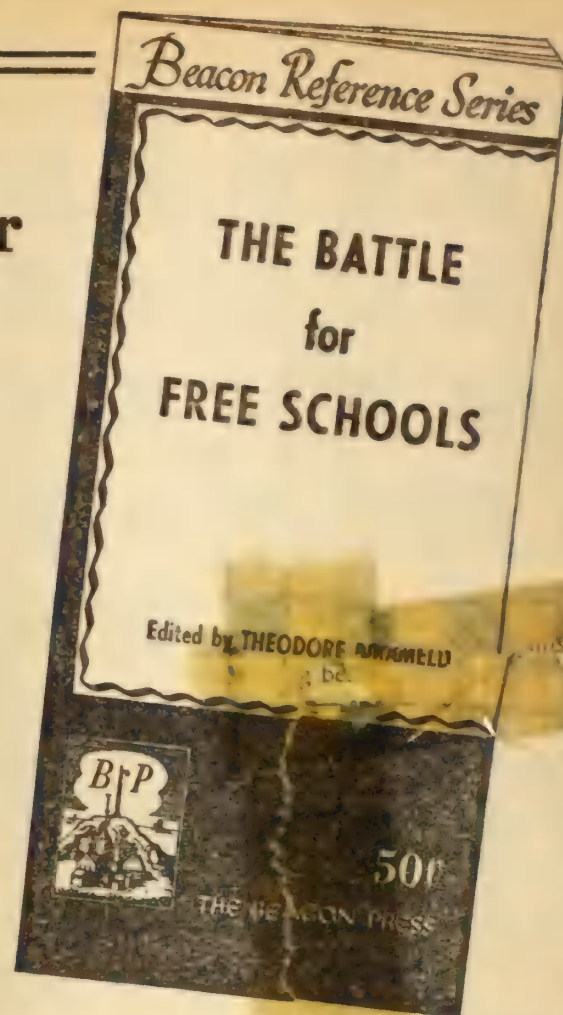
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South Africa's Crises—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

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Pat McCarran's Iron Curtain

Exposing the New Immigration Bill

BY ALEX. BROOKS

✱

British Television

BY ANDREW ROTH

✱

Will the South Bolt?

BY ROBERT E. WILLIAMS

AROUND THE U. S. A.

America Plus, Inc.

San Francisco

A NEW outfit called America Plus, Inc., is sponsoring a "Freedom of Choice" initiative measure to amend California's constitution. Solicitors are collecting dimes to defray the cost of getting 305,000 signatures before June 6 to qualify the measure for the November, 1952, ballot. Sponsors of the amendment firmly believe that they have found a gimmick by which it may be possible to annul the gains achieved in the past decade through civil-rights and fair-practices legislation.

The amendment implies that any civil-rights legislation prohibiting discrimination is "unreasonable." It purports to give owners of private property "freedom" to choose their neighbors, and business men freedom to choose their employees and customers. In a word, it would legalize almost any type of discrimination against just about any class of persons.

From the background of the sponsors, one can safely infer that should this measure be adopted only right-wing, isolationist Americans of indisputable Anglo-American antecedents would be immune to discrimination. The honorary national chairman of America Plus is State Senator Jack B. Tenney of Los Angeles County. Tenney, who also heads Americans for MacArthur, recently had to defend America Plus against the charge of anti-Semitism. His defense was simply that it is "pro-American." Tenney's conception of Americanism is indicated by his admiration for McCarthyism, which, according to him, "is beginning to mean courage and patriotism against overwhelming odds."

Once a leading left-wing Democrat, Tenney is now a staunch Republican. He served as chairman of the legislature's committee on un-American activities until lobbyist Artie Samish—a credit to Artie for this one—managed to have him removed from the committee. To Tenney's work on the committee, however, Californians are indebted for the list of "subversive" organizations

which recently figured in the Lieutenant Governor's denunciation of the state Superintendent of Education, also a registered Republican, as a dupe of socialism. Arguing that a series of textbooks chosen by a state-wide commission for use in the public schools showed a leftist coloration, Tenney successfully opposed their adoption. The books were later used by the United States navy. To date Tenney has not chosen to attack the navy, but he denounced the United Nations as an "international monstrosity." He is now a candidate for Congress in the Twenty-second Congressional District of California.

Whether persons belonging to labor unions might escape discrimination under the amendment is still uncertain, as the final draft has not been prepared. Meanwhile, a brochure put out by America Plus declares that it gives business men the right to refuse employment to any person but that this right can be restricted by contract. It is possible that the final draft of the act will so expand the employer's "freedom of choice" as to invalidate union-shop clauses in collective-bargaining agreements.

Everyone with a bona fide signature and a dime is being encouraged to sign the petitions. The America Plus brochure appears to argue that a Negro, for instance, or a Jew, might find it to his interest to sign if he happens to operate a hotel, bar, skating rink, or other private business, since he would be able, under the amendment, to refuse service to any class of persons he desired, say, to whites or Gentiles. As a property-owner, he could even contract with his neighbors to keep old-line Anglo-Saxon, white Protestants in another part of town.

On the eve of the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions America Plus plans to hold a "Continental Congress" and then to ask both conventions to concur in resolutions adopted there. In this manner it hopes to launch a national movement to quash all anti-discrimination laws—local, state, and federal. At the least, it believes, the America Plus resolutions might les-

sen Governor Warren's chance of winning the Republican nomination. Tenney, it should be noted, has sided with a curious Republican splinter group that is trying its best to break Warren, even at the risk of splitting the Republican Party in California. He was one of the speakers at a "hate Warren" dinner of California Republicans held in Los Angeles last November.

The America Plus movement, with its pro-MacArthur, hate-Warren overtones, is supported by the Wage-Earners' Committee of Los Angeles. There seems also to be some "oil money" behind it. Indeed, the movement may turn out to be a simple front for a "stop Warren" delegation. Governor Warren has some powerful Republican enemies these days in California, including John Francis Neylan and L. M. Giannini (Bank of America), both of whom are bitter about his opposition to the regents' loyalty oath at the University of California. At the same time, of course, America Plus hopes to gain some support from the Dixiecrats at the Democratic convention, thereby sharpening the dilemma which the Democrats face on civil-rights matters.

Meanwhile universities—Santa Clara amendment ulty-sponsor seven other the state are The ultim Plus include Bill of Rig United State California is its ideas. If ceeds here, into other s its organizer

Oklahoma and Texas and hopes soon to open headquarters in Tulsa.

America Plus is the same old poison in a bright new package. Spare a dime for a cup of hemlock, buddy?

C. W. PARKER

[C. W. Parker is an instructor in English at Napa College, Napa, California.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 174

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 29, 1952

NUMBER 13

The Shape of Things

RUSSIA'S LATEST PROPOSAL ON GERMANY appears more serious with every day that passes. Fear is seeping through the Atlantic community that this time Moscow is not bluffing but calling our bluff, forcing us either to stand by our commitment to a united, democratically established Germany or openly to renounce it. The caution displayed by the Western nations in preparing an answer to the Soviet note reveals their awareness of the dilemma in which they seem to be caught. No matter what they say—their reply has not been finally approved as this issue goes to press—they can hardly do more than temporize. They may insist that before they consider Russia's terms, the United Nations Commission now attempting to find out whether the conditions for free elections exist must be allowed to pursue its inquiry in East Germany. They may try to argue that the day of national armies is passed and that German forces can "safely" be allowed only as part of the army of the Western alliance. But these devices make sense only if the Moscow proposal is not genuine. If Moscow is really prepared to pay the price it has offered to keep West Germany out of the Atlantic alliance, the West will have to raise the Russian bid or watch Adenauer go down to defeat along with his pro-Allied policy.

✱

JUST AS THE WESTERN NATIONS AGREED, under American pressure, to arm the Germans in order to contain Russian strength, so Moscow is prepared to arm them in order to contain the Atlantic alliance. The risks must have been carefully calculated in advance. If Moscow's plan prevails, Germany will soon be the strongest European power this side of the Soviet frontier, and the fate of the Continent will depend on which way that power leans. The Kremlin may believe it can make a deal with a restored German state, a new Rapallo; but it may be satisfied for the present merely to deprive the Atlantic community of the core of its armed strength, and, relying on the complementary nature of Russian and German interests, to draw the two powers together in the future. Whatever the Kremlin's calculations, its offer to negotiate a general peace treaty with a unified sovereign Germany, assured in advance of a national defense force and a revived arms industry, with no restrictions placed

on the use of Nazi officers and servicemen, has sent a chill through Europe. Even the satellite states show signs of fright, as indeed they should. For a rearmed German nation is a nightmare which cannot be exorcised by any formula of "neutralization." Russia's move is as dangerous as it is bold and shrewd, with possible consequences too far-reaching even to be guessed at today.

✱

"UNLESS VIGOROUS PROTEST IS MADE . . . Congress is likely soon to pass a bill on immigration, naturalization, and nationality which has in it elements that are both obnoxious and dangerous." That is what *The Nation* said editorially last July 21 of the McCarran omnibus immigration measure. Since that time the bill and its House equivalent, the Walter bill, have been subjected to certain changes. But on the basis of the analysis of the two bills in their present form which appears on page 299 of this issue, we see no reason to alter our original opinion. The bills are still racist in concept, destructive of civil rights, and in general cut closer to the measure of a police state than to American democracy. The Walter bill may come up for debate on the floor of the House some time next week. Like its Senate equivalent, it is an extremely long and complicated measure whose terms are little known to any but a handful of House members. Certain alternative proposals—the Humphrey-Lehman bill in the Senate and the Roosevelt bill in the House—have never had hearings. *The Nation* urges its readers to wire their Representatives at once asking them to vote for recommitment of the Walter bill, thus assuring its reconsideration in the light of an informed public opinion and of the alternatives put forward by Roosevelt in the House and Humphrey and Lehman in the Senate.

✱

THE AIR FORCE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT will not renew the six-month contract given to Dr. Walter P. Schreiber, commander of the Military Medical Academy under Hitler, who has been on the staff of the Aviation School of Medicine at San Antonio, Texas. On the basis of his Nazi record and involvement in war crimes, the Boston chapter of the Physician's Forum had protested his presence here. News reports indicate that Dr. Schreiber is now insisting on a public hearing before, presumably, he is sent back to Germany. We think Dr. Schreiber should be granted his re-

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quest. It would be instructive to hear from him how Nazi medical science, under his supervision and with his collaboration, degenerated to the inhuman butchering of thousands of concentration-camp inmates in the name of "experimental research." It would be even more instructive to learn from him the identity of the person or persons responsible for inviting him here in the first place. A second public hearing would then be in order.

✱

AS WAS ANTICIPATED BY *THE NATION* IN ITS issue of March 15 the Feinberg law has now been invoked by its intended victims. Arguing that under the law only the state Board of Regents, and not the Superintendent of Schools in New York City, can prosecute their clients, attorneys for eight teachers facing departmental trials won a stay last week from Lewis A. Wilson, Commissioner of Education. In the end the courts will have to decide the issue. But in the meantime—to quote Rose Russell of the Teachers' Union—"it is truly ironic that the teachers should have to look to the Feinberg law for protection." True enough. Up to the very moment that the Supreme Court upheld its constitutionality, the teachers—were arguing—and continue to argue today—that it is a vicious law which violates the Bill of Rights and whose only practical effect can be to put teachers into mental strait-jackets and to turn children into FBI spies. Nevertheless, the Feinberg law does preserve some modicum of protection for persons and organizations charged under its provisions. No organization can be listed as subversive, for instance, except after proper hearing; individuals are entitled to an open hearing and have the right of review in the courts. The safeguards are absent from the procedures being followed by Superintendent Jansen of New York City's school system, which have already resulted in suspension of teachers without fair hearings. The Feinberg law, bad as it is, is the teacher's only recourse at the present time.

✱

SENATOR McCARTHY'S FOOTWORK MUST BE the envy of the entire lightweight division. When the press attacks him, he appeals to the advertisers. When a Senate subcommittee attacks him, he appeals to the press. When a fellow-Senator attacks him, he appeals to television. The only thing he never does is stand and fight his attacker. He has, at the moment, two admirable opportunities to do so. Seven months ago Senator Benton submitted 30,000 words of documented charges against McCarthy before the Senate subcommittee on privileges and elections. Last week Benton, in a stirring floor speech ably supported by Senator Lehman, declared: "I herewith offer unequivocally to waive any immunity which I may enjoy under the Constitution or under the Senate rules if any question of my personal

legal responsibility is ever raised." In other words, he waived Congressional immunity and challenged McCarthy to take him to court. This is one fight the Senator from Wisconsin can take on. The other is the challenge issued by the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, which has asked the Wisconsin Senator to repeat to the Senate as a formal motion of censure what he had already told the press—that is, that the subcommittee on privileges and elections is biased and prejudiced. McCarthy will take up neither challenge. This is as certain as the fact that the Senator from Wisconsin will run for reelection in November.

Spotlight on Wisconsin

THE strong showing made by General Eisenhower in the New Hampshire and Minnesota primaries has clarified the fight for the Republican nomination by greatly reducing the margins of error. There was nothing surprising about the returns—the polls indicated which way the wind was blowing—but the political effect of reasonable anticipation is very different from that of proved fact. Eisenhower's remarkable popularity is no longer a matter of conjecture; it has been confirmed in the only way that carries real conviction to politicians—by votes cast. Even the General's backers were so reluctant to take his popularity for granted that they permitted Harold Stassen to bluff them out of Minnesota's delegates on the basis of three or four meetings at which Stassen drew fairly large crowds. But now a chain-reaction has been set in motion: Taft has withdrawn from the New Jersey primary—a damaging admission of weakness—and a long line has suddenly formed for the Eisenhower bandwagon.

The spotlight, of course, now shifts to Wisconsin. Should Taft fail to win by an impressive margin in the April 1 primary, he might just as well concede the nomination to Eisenhower. Although it has been clear from the outset that Governor Earl Warren is a stand-in for Eisenhower in Wisconsin, the pro-Eisenhower elements who organized the Warren delegation are abandoning the pretense that Warren is a candidate in his own right. It is difficult, of course, for one man to campaign as the proxy for another, but in the special circumstances which prevail in Wisconsin there is reason to believe that it can be done successfully. The pro-Eisenhower forces have sufficient time to establish the fact, by meetings, radio, and the press, that a vote for Earl is a vote for Ike. Besides, Governor Warren is an ideal stand-in candidate. He is discreet, cautious, reasonably affable, and he likes to affect a self-effacing manner. He will not kick over any traces or commit any indiscretions. He will also draw some votes in his own right, for he has made a good impression in Wisconsin, where his matter-of-fact style

of campaigning underscores the old-fashioned shrillness and absurdity of Taft's table-thumping tactics. Warren is not the usual "stalking horse" candidate in any case, for what he lacks in glamour he more than offsets by his possession of real political riches. Wisconsin is quite a distance from Sacramento, but Wisconsin voters are not likely to overlook the fact that Warren has one of the largest state delegations in his vest pocket.

As the Eisenhower sun moves to the zenith, the crisis in the Democratic Party will rapidly deepen. It is already apparent that the President and his top party advisers have lost command of the situation. Mr. Truman made the mistake of thinking that he could hold delegations without becoming a candidate for reelection. The device of using popular pro-Truman "favorite sons" to control key delegations might have worked had it not been for Senator Kefauver's brashness in insisting that he was not only Tennessee's favorite son but every other state's favorite son as well. When he entered the New Hampshire primary, a state which lacked a strong favorite-son candidate, the fat was in the fire. The President was then forced to reverse his position and did so in a belated and awkward manner. The write-in vote for Kefauver in Minnesota—where he had expressly withdrawn from the race—is an even stronger indication of the dissatisfaction with Truman's leadership than the heavy vote for Eisenhower. The President may be surrounded by sycophants and yes-men, but he still has access to the election returns, and the returns from the primaries in New Hampshire and Minnesota can hardly have encouraged him to seek reelection.

The more apparent it becomes that Truman will not run the more difficult it will be for him to steer the Democratic convention. It is always hard for an outgoing President to dominate his party on the eve of a convention; it becomes doubly so when, as now appears to be the case, the President permits the situation to get out of hand. At the same time, as the Eisenhower boom grows, the likelihood diminishes that Governor Adlai Stevenson will want to try for the nomination. Both on the West Coast and in New England, moreover, it is already somewhat late to launch a strong campaign for Governor Stevenson. In fact, the greater Eisenhower's chances for the Republican nomination, the more fluid the Democratic situation becomes, especially since few clear-cut tests seem to be shaping up in the remaining primaries. Thus the curtain may well rise on a Democratic convention without any strong grouping of delegations having been formed to fill the vacuum—an ideal situation for the emergence of a dark horse.

On the other hand, tensions in the Taft-McCarthy-MacArthur wing of the Republican Party will also be increased as the Eisenhower stock goes up. Given the degree of paranoia that exists in this quarter, it is reasonable to anticipate an outbreak of self-destructive violence

in the form of wild charges, denunciations, and a reckless use of smear tactics that will only further isolate Taft. The difficulty that the Taft-McCarthy-MacArthur elements face is that they have been outmaneuvered. Eisenhower enjoys the advantage of being billed as the candidate of the "liberal" wing of the Republican Party when in fact he is probably also the candidate of the solid right wing—as distinguished from the diminishing "isolationist" right wing. The forces that Taft heads constitute not so much a "wing" of the party these days as a formation of lost battalions trying to fight their way back, with much bombastic rhetoric, to the safety of Fort William McKinley. Now that the Eisenhower movement has outflanked these battalions, the time has come for a hard drive at the center of the line. Wisconsin is the battleground for this drive. Should Taft's line fail to hold there, it will only remain for General Eisenhower to take charge of the final mopping-up operations. The time for his return would seem to be shortly after the Wisconsin primary. New Hampshire and Minnesota were recruiting campaigns; Wisconsin is the scene of the first major engagement. It may prove, also, to be the last.

South Africa's Crises

IN THE midst of celebrations of "three hundred years of progress," South Africa finds itself plunged into a grave constitutional crisis and, what is more serious, facing on April 6 the opening of a movement of civil disobedience by its oppressed native population. For both situations the Nationalist government headed by Dr. Daniel F. Malan, which took office in 1948, is squarely responsible. In accordance with its policy of *Apartheid* (separation), it has passed a series of measures discriminating against the non-European elements of the community—Negro, colored, and Asiatic—and taking from them their already limited political, social, and economic rights.

One of these measures, the Separate Registration of Voters Act, which removes colored (half-caste) voters in the Cape province from the common electoral roll, has been found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court because it was passed by a bare majority of both houses of Parliament instead of by a two-thirds' vote of a combined session, as the constitution requires. Infuriated by this ruling, Dr. Malan has declared that the government will move to prevent the courts from passing on the validity of legislation, a threat that if carried into effect would be a long step toward the dictatorship which his opponents assert is his final aim.

It is doubtful, however, if the Nationalists are yet in a position to take so drastic a step. They have gone a considerable way toward purging the army of "unreliable" elements and have begun to build up a party auxiliary

force, the *Skietcommando*, modeled on Hitler's S. A. and S. S. But their high-handed methods have aroused opposition among Europeans as well as natives. Last year a former R. A. F. officer, Adolph G. Malan, a distant cousin of the Premier's, founded the Torch Commando with the express object of rallying anti-Nationalist sentiment. Joined by thousands of veterans, this has rapidly become a formidable organization and one that would probably present a serious obstacle to a government coup.

The Torch Commando, which seems to have put new life into the lethargic official opposition, the South African Party, should also serve to check the Nationalists if Malan decides to fortify himself in a contest with the courts by seeking a new mandate. At the last general election the Nationalists failed to obtain a majority of the popular vote; their narrow victory was due to over-representation of the rural areas where they have their greatest strength. There is little reason to suppose they would do better now, and they might very well lose the narrow margin of seats by which they control Parliament. Thus Malan appears to be at the end of his political tether unless he can create a situation which will enable him to seize the role of indispensable savior of the white race. April 6 may offer him the opportunity.

Last December the African National Congress, the largest and most representative native group in South Africa, decided that the time had come for action against the *Apartheid* program, which was condemning their people to perpetual helotry. It called, therefore, for immediate repeal of the discriminatory laws and, failing satisfaction, determined to launch on April 6 a campaign of mass civil disobedience. Malan's only reply was a warning that any disorders would be "dealt with."

While the African leaders hope to restrict their followers to passive resistance—they cannot hope to challenge the guns and tanks of the whites—they know that the result of their action will probably be bloody massacre. When it comes to native demonstrations, South African police are quick on the trigger, and the history of that unhappy land is full of tales of unarmed, orderly groups of natives shot down just because they had gathered to protest against some injustice. Usually that has been the end of the "incident," but this time, if the whites begin shooting, they may provoke a despairing revolt from one end of the country to the other.

That in turn would create a hysteria of fear in the white population, which is outnumbered by the non-white elements four or five to one, and give Malan a chance to proclaim martial law and swoop down on his enemies of all races. But it would also reveal to the world the rotten foundations of white supremacy in South Africa. Such bloody publicity, many natives have come to believe, is essential if they are ultimately to regain their freedom.

Fair Offer on Steel

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington

WITH long faces and the usual wailing about poverty, the powerful steel companies last week-end faced the crucial decision of whether or not to force a strike by the United Steelworkers in order to compel the government to authorize price increases covering—or more than covering—the entire wage-increase “package” recommended by the Wage Stabilization Board.

Nathan P. Feinsinger, W. S. B. chairman, correctly described the proposed settlement as a “darn good” one. It was good not only because it was acceptable to the union but also because the board had skilfully avoided two dangerous possibilities. It set no formal pattern for annual “productivity” wage increases—based on the assumption that output per man hour has risen—and declined to make a formal decision that would have caused January, 1951, to be dropped as the month from which to calculate cost-of-living increases.

The wage settlement was hastily publicized as proposing a 17½-cent hourly wage increase plus “fringe” benefits variously calculated as equivalent to from 5.1 cents to 9 cents an hour. Actually the recommended basic increase was less than 17½ cents. Spread across the entire year and a half of the proposed contract period, from January 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953, the flat wage increase averages 15 cents an hour. It begins with 12½ cents, retroactive to January, adds 2½ cents on July 1, and adds another 2½ cents on January 1, 1953.

In return for this the union accepted the W. S. B. recommendation of a no-strike contract lasting for eighteen months—six months longer than is customary. It waived in advance any claim for increases following future rises in living costs and did not insist on productivity increases comparable to those in United Automobile Workers' contracts, in which 4 cents is added annually to the basic wage scale. Both these demands are swallowed up in the July and January 2½-cent increases, which average out to 3.75 cents an hour for the year beginning July 1—less than the U. A. W. members get in productivity increases alone. Industry members who filed angry dissents to the proposals of the labor and public members of the W. S. B. carefully avoided dealing with the fact that the United Steelworkers might have been entitled to considerably more money had the public members accepted a different formula.

The last “free” contract negotiated by the union and the steel companies was signed in October, 1950. In the next few months there was a terrific spurt in living costs. By W. S. B. figures the men were entitled to 9 cents more an hour to match the rise in consumer prices from January, 1951, to January, 1952. The union would have won an additional 8 cents—a total of 17 cents—had the

board reverted to the October, 1950, contract date instead of keeping the January, 1951, base period. It got only 12½ cents effective at once, and part of that may be spread around, through collective bargaining, to meet union demands for larger shift and grade differentials.

Industry spokesmen have for months been using every available forum to announce that they could not afford a penny more in higher costs and to warn that “another round” of wage increases would be followed inevitably by price rises spreading through the entire economy and starting another spiral of inflation. Not until last week did industry members of the Wage Board finally agree that they might tolerate a total wage rise of 13.7 cents an hour. There was danger, in fact, that practically all standards of wage stabilization might be wrecked in the steel controversy. If the Wage Board had granted a full 17-cent basic cost-of-living increase and in addition had felt compelled to grant “productivity” increases, hundreds of other unions would have demanded the same benefits.

On the subsidiary issues there is a hollow sound to the industry's outcry about “fringe” raises won by the union and about the W. S. B.'s recommendation of a union shop. Most of the fringe increases are awarded in the form of six paid holidays a year. Does the steel industry hope to maintain forever a substandard contract under which workers get no paid holidays? Thousands of contracts in other industries now provide for them; the steel companies have simply been behind the parade.

The companies make a tremendous uproar about the government “dictating” the union shop. Why should the government have to “dictate” it? The union shop is established practice in American industry. The theory that workers should not be forced to become union members can be effectively reversed: the majority that want a union shop should not be forced to work side by side with others who take all the benefits the union wins but refuse to bear their share of the union's expenses or help decide its policies. The argument disappears in any case in view of the fact that the steel companies already have closed-shop contracts with unions other than the United Steelworkers—with coal miners and railroad workers, with building-trades workers and other employees.

THE issue now is prices. Ellis Arnall, Economic Stabilization Director, has testified that the steel companies are entitled to one price rise based on the Capehart amendment—to compensate for all higher costs experienced through July, 1951—and possibly to another if it can be shown that higher wages impose an inequity. Every industry has a right to prices that bring profits up to 85 per cent of earnings in three of the four years of the 1946-49 base period. Twice in the post-war years the steel companies have refused to raise wages until promised price rises. The Office of Price Stabilization has sta-

tistics indicating that steel earnings are high enough to bear a substantial increase in costs without higher prices.

There will be no steel strike—not even a short one—if the companies accept the W. S. B. proposals. The union has repeatedly postponed strike action to give the board a chance to complete its complex calculations

and negotiations. Honest bargaining on issues left unsettled by the board and a willingness by the companies to work out price problems through processes already available under the Defense Production Act would make a work stoppage in the basic steel industry completely unnecessary.

Will the South Bolt?

BY ROBERT E. WILLIAMS

Raleigh, North Carolina

IN CHOOSING Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia as their standard bearer the leaders of the "Stop Truman and Trumanism" movement in the South undoubtedly made the best possible selection for accomplishing their purposes in the Democratic National Convention. Whether Senator Russell will also serve their ends after the convention is a different question. But by accepting his leadership the original "rebels" have to a large extent transferred from themselves to him the power of decision. Senator Russell's opinions and not those of Senator Byrd or Governor Byrnes or Governor Talmadge will be sought by the men trying to work out a platform that will prevent a split in the party. And in all probability Senator Russell will decide whether the revolt is to die with the convention or to be carried on by means of a splinter party. Certainly, it would be difficult for the anti-Truman movement to obtain popular support in the South without the aid of the man chosen to lead it.

Russell's record and point of view—except on civil rights and states' rights—are very different from those of Harry F. Byrd, James F. Byrnes, or Herman Talmadge. Russell does not show Byrd's ultra-conservatism, Byrnes's personal antagonism to President Truman, or Talmadge's demagoguery. But he has a larger following than these men or anyone associated with them, and circumstances made them need his leadership. It was obtained only after considerable pressure had been exerted in his home state.

The circumstances which confronted the leaders of the revolt were President Truman's refusal to say whether or not he would be a candidate and the uncertainty as to the Republicans' choice. Their primary



Senator Russell

objective is the defeat of President Truman, and they want that defeat to be utter and complete. They want not only to prevent the election of Truman but also to make certain that nobody who is backed by Truman or who supports the Roosevelt or Truman programs becomes President.

It is not remotely probable that the rebels will get all they want at the Democratic National Convention, or even that they will get enough to satisfy them. Senator Russell will undoubtedly be more easily satisfied. The risk of choosing a leader who might not go all the way with them had to be taken in order to obtain a standard bearer certain to make a better showing at the convention

than they themselves could hope to make.

Senator Russell's qualifications were clearly revealed at the 1948 convention. The 1948 revolt was headed by a weaker set of men than is the present movement. Ben T. Laney, then Governor of Arkansas, was considered the strongest of the lot and was chosen as the candidate to present to the convention, but it soon became apparent that he could not command anything approaching a solid Southern front. At the last minute Senator Russell, who had previously stood aloof but had been disgruntled by the adoption of a strong civil-rights plank, was induced to let his name go before the convention.

Most of the South rallied behind Truman. Nowhere was his strength demonstrated more plainly than in the North Carolina delegation, which contained more pro-Truman members than any other from the South. When the delegation was elected, it was expected that all but one or two of its thirty-two votes would be cast for Truman, and the expectation held until Russell entered the field. The Senator's friendships with the delegates, plus the feeling engendered by the platform fight, so changed matters that Truman got only fourteen of the thirty-two votes, the remaining eighteen going to Russell.

ROBERT E. WILLIAMS is associate editor of the Raleigh News and Observer.

Russell is stronger now than he was in 1948. His leadership is more widely accepted in the Senate, and his reputation throughout the country was enhanced by his handling of the MacArthur investigation.

What course will he follow in the convention and afterward? And will his course be satisfactory to those who induced him to enter the race? No one can answer those questions categorically. Senator Russell himself does not pretend to be able to do so. He has declined to speculate on whether he will lead or join a splinter-party movement, but he always takes pains to remind his questioners that he did not bolt in 1948, although tremendous efforts were made to get him to do so. That reminder is important, but not necessarily controlling. If the present and future can be judged by the past, Senator Russell's course in the convention is reasonably certain. He will oppose the renomination of President Truman to the last roll call. If President Truman is not a candidate and Russell cannot obtain the nomination for himself—he has no illusions about his chances—he will exercise his judgment as to other candidates. He has recently opened headquarters in Washington and launched a national campaign for convention votes.

Russell supported the so-called court-packing bill in 1937 and has been more consistently pro-Administration than any other Southern Senator except Kefauver, Hill, and Sparkman. But he shares the views of the most rabid Southerners on some phases of civil rights and states' rights. Even on those questions, however, he is more amenable to compromise than many others on his own and the other side. His state abolished the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting some years ago and is the only state in the Union permitting eighteen-year-olds to vote. But he is quick to resent anything he construes as an

affront to the South. On his record Senator Russell may be expected to go into the convention in good faith, and to accept its verdict unless he feels that the South has been treated unfairly. On that point he is less sensitive than some of his colleagues but by no means free from emotion.

The Southern revolt has become more respectable and more responsible by its acquisition of Senator Russell as leader. If he should refuse to carry on after the convention, the movement would lose much of its impetus. Its eventual course will depend to a considerable extent on the action of the Republican convention. The Southerners who would like to see Senator Taft the next President concede that they could not carry the South for him, even if they supported him openly and President Truman were his opponent.

There is little danger that Senator Russell will head a third party merely to serve as a stalking horse for the Republicans. In the alignments resulting from the struggle over civil-rights legislation, his defections from the position taken by the majority of his party have been more numerous in recent years than during the New Deal or the early part of the Fair Deal. Even so, an analysis by the *Congressional Quarterly* shows that in 1951 Russell voted with the Democratic majority in 80 per cent of the forty-eight contests in which this majority was defeated by a Republican-Democratic coalition. This 80 per cent compares with 3 per cent for Senator Byrd and 68 per cent for Democratic Senators from all sections of the country.

By choosing such a man to lead them the anti-Truman Southern Democrats have greatly increased their strength for the time being. In the long run they may have lost more than they have gained.

North Dakota Showdown

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Fargo, North Dakota

A SHOWDOWN fight in North Dakota, long in the making, will this year determine not only who controls the Republican Party in the state but the future pattern of North Dakota politics. The Republican Organizing Committee, meeting in Bismarck, has decided to run Representative Fred G. Aandahl against Senator William Langer for the Republican Senatorial nomination. For weeks the committee has been debating whether to risk losing a Republican seat in Congress—and with it Aandahl's influence as a member of the House Appropriations Committee—or suffer the humiliation of seeing its arch-enemy, Langer, returned to the Senate without substantial opposition. The delegates to the recent state

convention finally decided that now was the time to deal with Langer.

The fight shaping up between Aandahl and Langer has a personal as well as strictly political basis. The feud between the two men dates from 1932, when Langer, who had just been elected governor with Non-Partisan League backing, launched a successful recall campaign against Aandahl, then a member of the state Senate. Aandahl returned to the state Senate in 1939 and later played a prominent role in the formation of the Republican Organizing Committee, which was set up in 1943-44 as a means of unseating Langer and of removing the taint of N. P. L. radicalism from the Republican Party in North Dakota. Aandahl was the committee's first candi-

date for governor. He was elected in 1944 and served two additional terms; he is now finishing his first term in Congress. He is a well-liked, able, conservative Republican, who has announced that he favors the nomination of Senator Taft, as do probably most of the Organizing Committee. Aandahl is certainly the strongest candidate who could be entered against Langer and is conceded to have a fifty-fifty chance of winning the Republican nomination.

FOR the first time in its brief history the R. O. C. this year will be presenting a "united front" of candidates against its Non-Partisan League rivals. The same convention that decided to back Aandahl for the Senate indorsed A. R. Bergesen of Fargo and Otto Krueger of Bismarck for the two Congressional seats. In the past the R. O. C. has sought to create disaffection in the ranks of the N. P. L. by indorsing at least one of its nominees for Congress. But this year Aandahl, Bergesen, and Krueger will campaign as a one-for-all and all-for-one trio. They are out to defeat not only Langer but the veteran N. P. L. Congressman, Usher Burdick. For the first time, also, the R. O. C. now has state-wide strength. At a recent state convention delegates showed up from counties which have sent N. P. L. candidates to the state legislature for the past thirty years.

Since North Dakota can almost certainly be counted on to be in the Republican column in this year's Presidential election—and by a big vote—it would seem that the R. O. C. might be able to defeat Langer and break up the N. P. L. as an influence in the Republican Party. But the entry of a strong candidate against Langer may have the effect of revitalizing the N. P. L. For the last twenty years the League has been largely dominated by Langer—to the annoyance of its younger members. A rift between these younger "insurgents," many of whom are members of the Farmers' Union, and the older pro-Langer elements has developed. But now that a serious threat has appeared in the form of the new R. O. C. "united front" of candidates, Langer can be expected to heal the breach and breathe new life into the organization. The Aandahl-Langer fight will certainly bring out a big vote.

Since the depression there has been a constant tug-of-war between the N. P. L. and the R. O. C. for control of the Republican Party. The division between these groups follows traditional, sectional, ethnic, and socio-economic lines. N. P. L. elements are concentrated in the western, arid part of the state; the R. O. C. supporters are found mainly in the more prosperous, humid Red River Valley. The N. P. L. is made up of descendants of the "hell-raising" radicals of former years; the R. O. C. of descendants of the Republican "stalwarts" of the same period. Many N. P. L. members are of Russian-German descent—the so-called Volga Germans; many of the R. O. C. adherents are of Norwegian descent. The former are

largely Catholic, the latter Lutheran. N. P. L. farmers tend to belong to the Farmers' Union; R. O. C. farmers, to the Farm Bureau.

Traditionally the N. P. L. has always preferred to function within the framework of the Republican Party. This preference is hard to explain, for the average N. P. L. member is a strange misfit in the Republican camp. Logically the N. P. L. should have gone into the Democratic Party in the early period of the New Deal. Indeed, the younger Farmers' Union men in the League, under Quentin Burdick's leadership, tried to bring about such a realignment, which would have roughly paralleled the break-up of the Progressive Party in Wisconsin. But tradition was too strong; the older N. P. L.-ers still wanted to work within the Republican Party, probably because it was isolationist in foreign affairs. At present the N. P. L. and the R. O. C. are about equal in power; each holds about the same number of elective offices, state and federal. The Democratic Party remains a small patronage outfit controlled by Dave Kelly, the national committeeman.

North Dakota liberals have mixed feelings about Senator Langer. They remember with distaste his crude indulgence in patronage politics as governor. They feel that Langer is first and always for Langer. Though he quarreled personally with the late William Lemke, Langer is also associated with unpleasant memories of Gerald Nye and the attempt to inject anti-Semitism into North Dakota politics. Liberals are critical of Langer's position on most international issues. At the same time they agree that he has an admirable voting record on domestic issues and is passionately attentive to the wishes, problems, and whims of his constituents, regardless of their political affiliations. Langer is said to run one of the best "service" offices in Washington; if you want anything in Washington, just write Bill Langer. And proud parents of new-born North Dakota babies are made still more proud by the receipt of a personal congratulatory note from "Bill and Lydia" which invariably arrives before mother and baby have left the hospital.

Carl F. Kraenzel and the other social scientists who prepared that interesting report, "The Northern Plains in a World of Change," maintain that just as the people of the northern plains have long failed to recognize the distinctiveness of the region and its special problems, so the regional political thinking needs to be readjusted to new trends in national and international economic policy. Senator Langer is an example of this maladjustment: witness the incongruity between his views on foreign policy and on domestic issues. In the past North Dakota could indulge in this type of schizophrenic politics, but the maladjustments have created tensions which today are forcing a basic political realignment. This year's election will be an important step in the process.

British TV: Low-Budget Highbrow

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

AMERICAN viewers frequently find British television less exciting but more rewarding than their own. The women announcers are attractive, well-dressed, and obviously cultured but seldom the voluptuous beauties who telecast in the United States and France. British TV censored the fast-moving American comedy "Apples in Eden," by Frances Agnew. The play was about a lawyer secretly married to a tennis star and still pursued by his former mistress. It had the top dramatic spot one Sunday, but before it was repeated, the TV controller decided to cut out the word "mistress," a scene showing the lady *en negligée*, and a silhouette of her in the shower. He admitted there had been few complaints, but he felt it wise to avoid the charge of bad taste.

On the other hand, political debate on this side of the Atlantic is much freer. The BBC has not recently televised any admitted Communist, but in its weekly round-table "In the News" it allows remarkably frank discussion of international and domestic issues. The chairman is frequently a Liberal, and usually a militant Conservative and a militant Laborite take part. Robert Boothby, M. P., is one of the regular Conservative speakers; Bevanites Michael Foot and Tom Driberg or the Socialist professor A. J. P. Taylor present the leftist view. Professor Taylor said recently that Britain had been exploiting the colonial territories for 150 years, which was long enough. That sort of thing draws a few indignant letters but nothing like the attacks directed against much milder statements in the United States.

Comparing British and American television is rather like comparing the well-bred, restrained daughter of a poor British vicar with the uninhibited family of an American millionaire. British television is calmer and more intellectually stimulating and is free from the annoyance of commercial advertising, but it lacks the variety, color, and richness of the American product.

TV in Britain, like radio, is the monopoly of the semi-governmental British Broadcasting Corporation. Its revenue comes chiefly from its share of the £2 (\$5.60) sound-and-television license fee paid annually by viewers; some additional revenue is obtained from advertising in the BBC's *Radio Times*. About 150,000 viewers are "pirates" who pay no fee. Actual expenditures last year came to £1,718,578 (almost \$5,000,000), which was roughly the amount paid by TV license holders.

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British TV, unable to make gigantic leaps forward by tapping the tills of private companies anxious to sell soap, can grow no more rapidly than its public grows. This growth is proceeding at the rate of 50,000 a month. With the average cost of a set between £65 and £75 (about \$200)—which for the average viewer represents ten weeks' salary—sales do not mount too fast. When the tax on sets was doubled recently, sales were almost halved in many areas.

Although it has recently been overtaken by American television, the BBC has made steady progress since it first pioneered in this medium. Its experimental transmissions began in London in 1929. The first public service of high-definition television in the world was initiated by the BBC when Alexandra Palace went on the air in November, 1936. When service was suspended during the war, 20,000 receivers were in use.

On resuming service in June, 1946, British television was confronted with the problem of developing into a national institution while struggling with a limited budget and an audience impoverished by heavy taxation. By the middle of 1949 the London transmitter at Alexandra Palace served 150,000 television sets. This number was soon doubled by the opening of the first relay station near Birmingham. But not until last year did television become anything like mass entertainment. After the world's biggest transmitter was opened in October to serve Lancashire and Yorkshire, the additional 75,000 viewers thus obtained brought the total to over a million. When the Scottish and Welsh-West Country transmitters start operation, presumably before the end of 1952, 78 per cent of the country will be covered.

Britain is fully committed to a 405-line interlaced scanning system, which many American visitors find clearer than the 525-line system they know at home. (France uses 441 and 819 lines; Holland and most of the other European countries 625.) Britain and Europe in general use positive modulation, which requires maximum power for a dead-white picture; the United States uses negative modulation, maximum power for a black picture. Color television is relegated to the future by the need for an inexpensive method of converting transmitters and receivers. The BBC has said: "It is hoped that the radio industry will design and manufacture equipment which can be thoroughly studied and tested before any decision about a future color-television system for public service is made."

In the field of drama British TV is doing an outstanding job on its modest budget. It presents an average



American vs. British TV: The Line Is Different

of two full-length dramas plus two one-acters a week. And full-length really means full-length. Several months ago Elmer Rice's "Counsellor-at-Law" was given in its original two-and-a-quarter-hour length, instead of in the fifty-seven-minute version to which it is usually tailored in the United States to fit into a sponsor's hour. Once every quarter a Shakespeare play is shown, also an opera. First-class modern drama by writers like Lillian Hellman, J. B. Priestley, and Bernard Shaw are mixed with some second-rate potboilers. The acting is usually competent and sometimes outstanding. There is talk now of earning dollars by selling telefilms of the shorter dramas to American television stations.

Television still shows a tendency to experiment in production techniques. One experiment which didn't come off was Lance Sieveking's "A Tomb with a View," which tried to establish a mood and a pace by inserting a number of still shots—infuriating much of the audience. There has also been considerable criticism of the recent production of Jacques Offenbach's operetta, "La Belle Hélène." This missed fire partly because it is hard to handle operetta on the small TV screen and partly because modern anachronisms were superimposed on an 1860 satiric version of a Greek story.

British TV dramatists, like others, are struggling with a medium combining the advantages and disadvantages of theater, movie, and radio. As Val Gielgud, head of the BBC's TV drama section, puts it: "The reaction of the film audience, which is numbered in hundreds, is quite different from the reaction of the television audience, which is divided into individuals or small groups. Therefore the 'target approach' of the producer must be proportionately different. The economic and 'facilities' conditions of film production cannot for an instant be compared with those conditioning television practice. A large-scale film budgets in terms of hundreds of thousands [of pounds]; a television production in terms of a couple of thousand at the outside—and this is exceptional."

British TV plays are indeed "low-budget" by American standards. It is estimated that some \$300,000 is spent every week in New York for television plays; a compara-

ble figure for British TV would be \$10,000. In New York, of course, there are half a dozen programs to choose from; in Britain there is only one. But even so, British costs are reasonable—for the average play about £900 (\$2,500). This includes two and one-half weeks of rehearsals but not the expensive overhead—cameras, technicians, and so on. An opera costs about £2,400 (\$6,700), to produce, which is why only one is given every quarter.

ANOTHER outstanding accomplishment of British TV is its children's hour, usually scheduled from 5:30 to 6:30 p. m. Since there are no other television broadcasts until 8 p. m., children can lead the normal life of the pre-TV era. "Poverty has its compensations," was the comment of one visiting American parent. What British TV lacks in time for children, it makes up in quality. Thus in the week ending December 11 it gave them their own newsreel, three plays, a puppet show for the very young, a cowboy movie, and demonstrations of how to pick out a tune on the piano and how candy is made. The participation of the audience, which is estimated to number three million, is encouraged. Once children were asked to write the continuation of a serial, and 1,400 plays were submitted. An art competition brought 6,000 entries the first week. Next May experimental telecasts specially designed for schools will start.

For older viewers "Outside Broadcasts" open up a world far beyond their normal experience. About fifteen of these are televised a month, running the usual gamut of sports, festivals, ceremonies, and other major events. Coverage of the election was excellent. One of the things British TV does best is the documentary study of an industry or a social problem.

At least two British TV comics utilize the type of situation humor which Fred Allen feels is the best form of humor for television. But these two—Terry-Thomas and Eric Barker—do only a thirty-minute spot apiece every two weeks. Terry-Thomas has struck a rich vein of visual humor in his frantic impersonations; Eric Barker's amusing topical humor includes take-offs on other TV programs. Lack of a pool of competent

comics and "gag-men"—and of the funds to pay them—rules out more shows of similar interest.

Many here are happy that TV cannot dominate life in Britain so completely as it does in the United States, but there are complaints. Thursdays, for example, are called "blank" because the Sunday play is repeated. Many who approve the BBC monopoly feel that there should be some choice of programs in TV as in sound radio, which offers the Home, Light, and Third programs. Others think TV should be completely divorced from sound broadcasting instead of staying under the BBC roof. Some defects could perhaps be cured by more

financing, which could be obtained by raising separate TV license fees to, say, £2 a year.

There is surprisingly little call for a commercially sponsored TV. It has been suggested that advertisers might be allowed to sponsor shows during unused hours, but commercial sponsors seem little interested in heavy investments in "dead" hours. For twenty-five years every parliamentary commission has indorsed the present system. The *Times*, commenting on the subject, said: "The remedy for television, if it is bad, is to improve the BBC's conduct of it and not to undermine the foundations of British broadcasting."

McCarran's Iron Curtain

BY ALEX. BROOKS

SHORTLY after the First World War the United States went through a period of intense anti-foreign isolationism which eventuated in the Immigration Act of 1924. This act established the rigid and restrictive quota pattern under which we have been operating since. Introducing into our law a racist concept of national origins, it gave large quotas to the Northern and Western European nations, where the pressure to emigrate was slight, and small quotas to the Southern and Eastern countries, where pressure was great. As a result, the Northern and Western quotas have been largely wasted, and European immigration to the United States for the last twenty years has totaled less than one-third of the allowable amount.

Now we have come full cycle again, and current post-war jitters threaten to cause another wave of discrimination and restriction. Unfortunately, little public notice has been given to quietly planned long-range changes which would effectively strangle for many years to come a flow of immigration which only recently was temporarily augmented by hard-won D. P. legislation.

Under the guise of preparing a streamlined and efficient revision and modification of our antiquated immigration laws, Senator Pat McCarran and Representative Francis Walter have presented two practically identical omnibus bills which provide thirteen new grounds for excluding future immigrants, more than twenty new grounds for deporting displaced persons and other immigrants admitted in past years, and a practically undetermined number of new ways of depriving a naturalized American of citizenship. These bills purport to eliminate racial discrimination and to tighten naturalization and denaturalization procedures. Actually, they embody more

than a hundred changes which would weaken the rights of immigrants and aliens.

The most blatant hypocrisy of the new bills is their claim to eliminate racial discrimination. They make a gesture in this direction by admitting a sharply limited number of Japanese, Koreans, Indonesians, and Burmese. The Japanese would be given a quota of 185. In addition, all Orientals, many of whom are at present ineligible for naturalization, would be allowed to become American citizens. This would enable 85,000 first-generation Japanese already living in this country to achieve their dream of citizenship.

Though they make this partial concession to racial equality, the bills retain many obsolete and obnoxious discriminations and add a number of new and unwarranted ones. For instance, the retention of the 1920 census figure as a base for determining the rate of immigration perpetuates a discrimination against the Southern and Eastern Europeans, who have contributed the bulk of our immigration in the last thirty years. It is these people who are in dire need of asylum in this country. All their quotas are oversubscribed; some of them are mortgaged into the next century by recent D. P. legislation.

The framers of the Walter-McCarran bills make certain that Orientals will be strictly limited to their quotas by expanding an already enacted racist measure to provide that any immigrant "who is attributable by as much as one-half of his ancestry to a people or peoples indigenous to the Asia-Pacific triangle" is to be charged to the quota of the country of his "ancestry," regardless of his place of birth or citizenship. Total immigration from this group is limited to 2,000 a year. This discriminatory provision, strikingly reminiscent of Hitler's abhorrent Nürnberg laws, was openly fashioned to exclude all but the bare handful of Orientals provided for

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under stringently limited quotas. Under this rule, a citizen of Great Britain, born in that country of a British father and a Chinese mother, would not be admitted to the United States as a member of the British quota of 65,000 but would be shunted to the Chinese quota of 105.

The Walter-McCarran bills go still farther in discriminating against Negroes. Under the present law immigration from colonies and other dependent areas is charged to the quota of the governing country. Citizens of Trinidad, Jamaica, and other West Indian colonies, most of whom are Negroes, at present have relatively free access to the United States. The new bills stipulate that hereafter not more than 100 persons may enter annually from one such colony. This would have the intended effect of reducing Negro immigration from the West Indies by about 90 per cent.

In order further to enlarge the grounds for exclusion, deportation, and denaturalization, the Walter-McCarran bills eliminate the non-quota status of professors. Restrictions are also tightened against the victims of religious persecution, who were formerly granted an exemption from literacy requirements. A similar exception for close relatives of legally admitted aliens and citizens of the United States has also been dropped.

One of the profound ironies of the Walter-McCarran bills is their subversion of certain safeguards against administrative abuse favored by their authors six years ago. Senator McCarran himself hailed the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, designed by his Senate Judiciary Committee to provide additional judicial checks on possible abuses by administrative officials, as a "widely heralded advance in democratic government."

The Administrative Procedure Act is, in effect, emasculated at many points by the new proposals. Prosecutors, for instance, may also serve as judges in immigration cases. Exclusion or deportation is not based on whether an alien has actually done something wrong but on whether an immigration official is "satisfied" or "has reason to believe" he has. The Attorney General is even empowered to sanction deportation or deprive a resident of his precious citizenship when certain facts appear in his "opinion" to warrant such drastic action.

One of the three liberalizations embodied in the McCarran-Walter bills weakens the absolute bar against the admission of totalitarians set up by McCarran's own Internal Security Act of 1950. Totalitarians actively reformed at least five years prior to their application for admission may come in if their presence here is thought to be "in the public interest." But an alien who at any time after he was admitted to this country has been engaged in a Communist or totalitarian cause, regardless of whether he later acknowledged his mistake and became a valuable member of the American community, must be deported. Finally, the bills would disqualify

from citizenship an applicant who had been unlucky enough to belong to a "direct predecessor" of a Communist or totalitarian organization, even one originally democratic in character, from which he later resigned in protest.

At their joint hearings the Walter-McCarran bills met vigorous opposition from representatives of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious groups and of Italian, Czech, and other nationality groups, from the American Bar Association Committee on Aliens and Naturalization, and from other quarters. Some of the more objectionable sections were removed as a result of this criticism; most of them remain.

THE Walter bill was suddenly reported out and scheduled for floor debate two weeks ago. Senators Lehman and Humphrey and Representative Roosevelt, alarmed by Congressional apathy concerning the bill, alerted others. A vigorous effort, headed by Roosevelt in the House, was made to postpone floor debate until Congress could be informed of the widespread organizational opposition to many of the bill's features. As a result, consideration of the bill was postponed. Since then, numerous religious, civic, educational, nationality, and labor groups have urged recommittal so that there may be time to consider thoroughly the more than one hundred amendments being prepared.

In the meantime, a substitute omnibus immigration bill which will almost certainly get Administration support has been introduced by Senators Humphrey and Lehman and Representative Roosevelt. This bill, cosponsored by Senators Benton, Langer, Kilgore, Douglas, McMahon, Green, Pastore, Kefauver, Morse, and Moody, is everything the Walter-McCarran bill is not. It would codify, simplify, and humanize the present law in many ways. It would modernize the quota system by basing quotas on the 1950 instead of on the 1920 census (thus increasing the total quota), and would provide much greater flexibility in the operation of the quota system by allowing for the "pooling" of unused quotas. The previous year's unused quotas would be allocated to immigrants who are relatives of American citizens and of aliens residing here permanently, to those whose services are urgently needed in this country, to victims of religious and racial persecution, and to special-hardship cases. The total flow of immigration would be enlarged by as much as 75,000 each year merely by the intelligent use of the quotas conceived appropriate when our present immigration law was enacted.

Unlike the McCarran-Walter bill, the Humphrey-Lehman-Roosevelt bill actually eliminates all vestiges of racial discrimination. It provides, for instance, for proportional quotas to Japanese, Burmese, Koreans, and other Asiatic groups who at present have no quotas, and also for proportional quotas for such groups as the

Chinese, who have been limited to approximately 100. The concept of nationality by ancestry instead of by birth is eliminated.

The H-R-L bill provides the protection against administrative abuse absent from the McCarran-Walter bills. Exceptions to exclusion can be based on special circumstance. By relying to a heavy extent on factual grounds for exclusion rather than on the "opinion" of administrative officials, the bill avoids a large area of potential administrative abuse. Its administrative features

are a striking improvement over those of the current law.

The H-L-R bill provides a statutory basis for the Board of Immigration Appeals—assuring its freedom from administrative influence in weighing appeals and reviews in deportation cases—establishes a Visa Review Board within the State Department to handle appeals against the decisions of consular officials, and makes the Administrative Procedure Act applicable to deportation cases. All new powers granted to the Attorney General are surrounded by safeguards.

The Ballot Comes to Bhuti

BY JEAN LYON

New Delhi, India

INDIA has recently completed what should go down in history as the world's most strenuous expression of ballot-box democracy. For the first time its entire adult population was eligible to vote. For the first time the people went to the polls and elected a government. The process took four months. Two and a half million ballot boxes were placed within reach of the nearly 180,000,000 potential voters. Prime Minister Nehru traveled more than eighteen thousand miles in his campaigning.

My most vivid experience in the whole long period, during which I followed the proceedings in three different states, was my two-day stay in a mountain village called Bhuti. On the first day Bhuti's two-room schoolhouse was transformed into a polling station—a most original creation, for none of the villagers had ever seen a real station. On the second day some 600 of the 1,200 adults living on the side of the steep mountain on which the Bhuti schoolhouse was perched, in full view of the snow-capped Himalayas, came to the station to vote.

The day of preparation was a mad day. Seven civil servants, most of them under thirty, gathered at the schoolhouse in the chill mountain dawn. They had brought with them one small canvas bag of supplies and twelve ballot boxes with non-tamperable sealing devices. They faced two completely bare schoolrooms—Indian schoolrooms never contain anything but students, for the floor serves as both desks and chairs. The team was headed by a young government veterinary surgeon who when he had received his orders to report at Bhuti had been a hundred miles away treating mountain sheep. He had ridden a mountain pony for four days to get to his assignment. At the schoolhouse that

morning he kept thumbing through the pages of the election manual, reading the rules to the local school teachers who were his assistants—five men and a girl.

The most important rule was that the ballot boxes must be behind curtains, so that voting would be secret. But what to use for curtains? Twelve hours later he had not only his curtains but registration desks, polling booths, and a separate entrance and exit. All day long people had trudged up and down the path between the schoolhouse and the village carrying things on their heads. Floor mats had been sewed together with strings for curtains. Ballot boxes were set on planks supported by rocks. The exit had been devised out of the schoolroom's back window, with a Lifebuoy-soap box as the step under the window sill.

That night the polling team spent the night rolled up in blankets on the floor of the new station—all except the girl school teacher who went back with me to the rest house, three miles up the mountain. The boys told us later that their chairman had kept them awake until two in the morning reading the entire election manual to them by the light of a kerosene lamp.

By mid-morning of the next day—Election Day in Bhuti—the steep slope above the schoolhouse was bright with the head scarves of the hill women and the checkered wool shawls of the men. Election posters were pasted on the gray rocks. People gathered in knots around those who felt like expounding their election preferences. Some had brought along their hand spindles and settled down for a long sociable day.

This largely illiterate electorate was anything but lethargic. Some were not quite sure yet how they would vote and went around gathering opinions. Those who voted first took on the job of instructing the others in the intricacies of registration and dropping their ballots into the boxes marked by party symbols. Women received last-minute directions from their menfolk. Self-appointed

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poll watchers loudly reprimanded the three constables for being lax in their duties if anyone strayed into the area around the schoolhouse before it was their turn to vote. The low-caste Kolis, a farm-labor group who until a decade ago were admittedly treated "worse than dogs," were out in full force, both men and women.

That Bhuti had a polling station at all seemed amazing to me after I saw that empty little schoolhouse and the primitive huts in the village. That the people knew enough about the candidates to make a choice seemed even more amazing after I had tramped over the mountainous terrain, where the fastest means of travel was a pony. But what made that Election Day most impressive was knowing that there were thousands of other Bhutis in India and that over 50 per cent of the eligible voters in them cast their ballots. The illiterate peasant of India, the country's heart's blood, had taken part in choosing a government.

IF I was most interested in the long-range educational value of the elections, Indian commentators were concerned rather with the immediate political results. The success of the Communists in the south came as a surprise to Indians for two reasons. First, it had been believed that the Socialists were India's second largest party. While they were known to be weak organizationally, they seemed more unified than the Communists and certainly more firmly established than the new mushroom parties. The second reason was that Nehru had emphasized in his campaign speeches the danger from the right rather than the left. His most spirited attacks had been aimed at the communal parties—right-wing groups formed along religious lines. Neither the Socialists nor the communal parties showed the strength expected, and the Communists with their united fronts, though a small number in the whole picture, have definitely developed into the leading Congress opposition. They are still, however, a numerically small opposition. In the House of the People, the lower house of the Parliament, Communists and their left-wing allies won 27 of the 497 seats, the Socialists coming in third with 12 seats, and the three major Hindu communal parties combined having but 10 seats. The Congress Party remains solidly in control with 363 seats. All the opposition parties together hold but one-fourth of the seats in this main national legislative body.

The picture in the state assemblies is perhaps more telling. In four of the twenty-three state assemblies the Congress Party failed to win a majority, and in a fifth its majority is one. In Travencore-Cochin, where some 70 per cent of the population is literate as against 10 per cent in the rest of India, and in Madras, India's second largest state in both area and population, the Communists have won such substantial blocks of seats

that with backing from their allies and some of the independents they could make it impossible for the Congress to form ministries. In Hyderabad, despite the fact that they had been a law-and-order problem there until recently, they won nearly one-fourth of the assembly seats. The results in these three states are generally interpreted as more of a vote against the Congress than a vote for the Communists. But the fact that the people chose the far left rather than one of the more moderate opposition parties, like the Socialists or the new Peasants, Workers, and Peoples Party, which was last year's offshoot from Congress, seems to indicate that they are in a mood for drastic change. A very different phenomenon was the landslide for the landlords' group in Rajasthan, where the Congress won a majority of only one.

The story is nowhere near as simple as it looks in the tabulated results. There were innumerable cross currents, such as the Christian-Hindu feud in Travencore-Cochin, which made people vote for candidates on religious rather than ideological grounds, and the strong caste loyalties in Madras, upon which the Communists reportedly played. A thorough study of the elections in these states might prove some new truths. In Rajasthan, where the peasants are still, in large part, living under a feudal system, they voted for their feudal overlords. In Madras, where at least the top layer of landlords has been eliminated, the land reforms were

apparently not far-reaching enough to make the arguments of the Communists lose their appeal.

Undoubtedly the elections show widespread dissatisfaction with the Congress government. In an established democratic country the opposition to the party in power could have been larger without indicating so much discontent. This is being viewed with alarm in some quarters and should be. If the government does not recognize the people's discontent and search out the reason for it, the foundation for democratic development in India grows shaky. Abroad, alarm should be diluted with a large dose of respect for the Nehru government, which was willing to risk its one-party control in possibly premature national elections.



Nehru

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Fallacies of Spengler

OSWALD SPENGLER. By H. Stuart Hughes. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

THE purpose of the Twentieth Century Library is to give the intelligent layman a basic understanding of those thinkers of the last hundred years who have most influenced the intellectual currents of our time. The present volume on Oswald Spengler fulfils this purpose exceedingly well. Destined for the layman and not for the specialist, it is written with ease and clarity; it is a good example of the "popular" presentation of a difficult subject and offers much within its small compass. It is well informed, and the discussion of the relationship between Spengler and the National Socialists is judiciously balanced. For the very reason that the book offers such a thoughtful and sound exposition of Spengler's theories, it should be pointed out that the author, an assistant professor of history at Harvard and associate director of the Russian Research Center there, has been too strongly fascinated by the "profundity" of Spengler's pessimism regarding Western civilization and our times.

Mr. Hughes rightly presents Spengler as a great artist. His "pictorial, figurative language, his talent for finding the images and personalities that set off in high relief an entire epoch of the past—these give to his work a character of excitement, of tension, and of evocative melancholy." But as a thinker Spengler was in no way original, and as a prophet or intuitive seer he was weak or mistaken throughout. He was one of the many intellectuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who hated or feared nineteenth-century Western civilization with its capitalism, parliamentarism, democracy, and big cities, and who looked back with nostalgia to the time before the commercial and industrial revolutions.

Like many German and Russian intellectuals Spengler had no understanding knowledge of the West, especially of England and the United States. Speaking of the future of the United States, he saw before him neither a real

nation nor a real state but a boundless field and a population of trappers, drifting from town to town in the dollar hunt, unscrupulous and dissolute. Spengler's estimate shows the same lack of understanding, the same supercilious contempt for the West which Hitler showed in judging and in underestimating America. The parallel goes even farther, and Spengler reveals the same depressing shallowness of historical and political judgment as Hitler—though the literary style, the occasional flash of genius, and the breadth of knowledge put him otherwise high above Hitler. Both believed that Bolshevik Russia "had ceased to be a state" and had fallen prey to a barbarian horde, fundamentally not different from the United States, with its standardized population, its purely economic life without any depth or any true political outlook, its ruling trusts not so different from the Russian state trusts.

Spengler identified Western civilization with what he called the Faustian man, a predominantly romantic and Germanic type, certainly one of the elements of modern civilization, which also includes, however, the classical sense of measure and law and that moderation and compromise which triumphed in the Glorious Revolution. Spengler's sense of a decline of Western civilization had been expressed infinitely better by a long line of more original thinkers, by De Maistre and Donoso Cortès, by Paul de Lagarde and Konstantin Leontiev. There had been a number of minor Germans, well known in their time, as pessimistic as Spengler later was. To mention one among many, Karl Vollgraff, professor of political science in Marburg, answered in 1851 the question how humanity looked in his day with the words "a colossal heap of ruins," and protested in 1831 against the constitution for Hessen as a fraud, because parliamentary democracy could not meet the needs of the time. These prophets of doom were wrong, though their number was great. Even Jacob Burckhardt erred when he predicted that "a definite and supervised stint of misery, with promotions and in uni-

form, daily begun and ended to the sound of drums," must logically come from modern Western civilization. It came where modern Western civilization was weakest, in Russia, and for a certain time in Germany and Italy; it did not come in Burckhardt's Switzerland or in the English-speaking countries where what Spengler despised most in Western civilization was strongest.

Spengler regarded Mussolini as "a master-man with the southern cunning of the race in him." Unfortunately for him, Mussolini was not a master-man or even one with the cunning of a Franco. Spengler expected the Germans to become the shield against Russia and Asia. His prediction was neither original nor correct. The alliance between Bolshevik Russia and Asia against the West of which Spengler made so much had been openly proclaimed by Lenin. The Germans, whom Spengler jubilantly called the "strong race, the eternal warlike in the type of the beast-of-prey man," did not save Europe from Bolshevism but brought the Russians to Berlin and Vienna. English parliamentary democracy and American democratic industrialism saved the world from the German threat to Western civilization and are now saving it from the similar Russian threat.

Though pessimism seems at present very fashionable, it is hardly justifiable to call Spengler "a loyal son of the West" or to speak of a renewed interest in him. Mr. Hughes calls him more correctly in another place the typical "incompletely educated German intellectual manifesting [toward the West] an uncritical a series of prejudices as any lower-middle-class German." Spengler's "state of mind of an old society anticipating its end" does not offer a key to our times. All his essential predictions have failed to materialize. Nor does the world at present, at least in the West, point to cultural sterility and dictatorship, as the modern Spenglerian seems to believe. Brooks Adams predicted in 1896 a similar decay: "No poetry can bloom in the arid modern soil, the drama has died, and the patrons of art are no longer even conscious of shame

at profaning the most sacred of ideals." But the arts are today certainly not more neglected or sterile than they were in 1890. Spengler and the Spenglerians underestimated the vitality of Western civilization and society. HANS KOHN

Truman's Self-Portrait

MR. PRESIDENT. By William Hillman. Pictures by Alfred Wagg. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$5.

LIKE Harry S. Truman, this is a wonderful human document. It is not really a book by Hillman so much as a newspaperman's dream realized, a publisher's delight, a journalistic beat of stupendous proportions. The President of the United States writing and talking about himself, his inner feelings, his private attitude toward present and former associates (most of them still living and able to talk back), some of his problems and decisions. What more could the happy, happy collaborators ask this side of River Jordan?

As might have been expected, Truman emerges in these pages as a devoted, patriotic, earnest, hardworking President. But the record shows a man of much broader dimensions than used to be assumed: he is well grounded in history and the classics, an astute observer of the human scene, a man who has enormous respect for his office—the Presidency, not the individual picked by fate to fill it. He is a lonely man—as lonely as Lincoln—and sometimes for the same reasons: people don't call him an "ape" and a "baboon," as they did Lincoln, but plenty of them think they know more about running the President's job than "little" Harry, and occasionally they find themselves suddenly on the outside looking in. Unlike the Lincolns, however, the Trumans have an extraordinarily happy family life.

There are some great gaps in the section devoted to Truman's diaries. From September, 1948, to March, 1949—the whole period covered by the campaign, the election, and the inauguration—there is not a line. So we do not know what he may have written about a Senator like Olin Johnston of South Carolina, who fought the President's reelection but pushed into the front rank of those who "greeted" him on his triumphal post-election return from In-

dependence. We don't see the National Security Council at work, the Cabinet in operation, the Central Intelligence Agency making its reports. These are the private papers and comments of Harry Truman, not the public ones, and not all the private papers are available.

We get a glimpse of the President's attitude toward his subordinates. When he appoints a man to a quasi-judicial agency he then forgets about it: he expects the man to do good work or he would not have appointed him. Was he privately dismayed when Mon C. Wallgren demoralized the Federal Power Commission? Does he yet have any idea of his failure in four Supreme Court appointments, in which Roosevelt's liberalization of the court was undone? If so, nothing in the record as set forth by Hillman indicates it.

Yet there is enough to make a first-hand document that is fascinating both because of its revelations of Truman the man and its glimpses into the office of the Presidency. The man is enjoying his job now, even though conscious of its burdens. He could write during the Berlin blockade and just after the Chinese entered the Korean war that he feared we were close to all-out conflict, and write it simply as a fact, not something to keep him awake nights, because he honestly believed he had done everything possible to prevent war. There are other examples of raw courage; and anecdotes about how he learned the folk habits of our democracy.

Will he run again? Is it conceivable that after making more enemies by his candid comments he will try for the Democratic nomination? The answer is probably a qualified no. One suspects that when he began his interviews with Hillman he had every intention of retiring after his term. Whether he has now been persuaded that he must "save" his policy is a different question. If he gets mule-headed about this he can be a tough customer even for such other tough customers as Byrd, George, Taft, and his whole assortment of bipartisan enemies. He is not easily scared. He was troubled but not scared even when he had difficulty in 1946 with both Jimmy Byrnes and Henry Wallace, to say nothing of Harold Ickes. The best guess is that he will still feel that he has done whatever he could and step

aside for new party leadership; but if he should decide to run, the book would not hurt him, despite the anger it must arouse. In the decisive Northern and Western states more people distrust Byrnes, really, than distrust Truman, and the President's homely touch, which shines through the book, would have its effect.

WILLARD SHELTON

Dos Passos: The Second Trilogy

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. By John Dos Passos. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$5.

IN THIS newly assembled trilogy—the individual volumes appeared in the decade from 1939 to 1949—Dos Passos continues the savage assaults on American life he began so memorably in "U. S. A." But where in the earlier trilogy his target was nothing less than our whole moneyed society in the first thirty years of the century, here it has shrunk to certain aspects of our political life during the 1930's and '40's. And where then his orientation was radical if not actually Marxist, it has now, during the course of his own personal evolution from left to right, altered to an extreme conservatism which looks upon almost every kind of government activity as wasteful or wicked.

What makes these later novels less exciting and effective than the earlier ones is their occasionally querulous tone, a sharp recession in the reality of their characters, a contraction of outlook on Dos Passos's part. His attack upon the Communists in the first novel, "Adventures of a Young Man," is perfectly valid factually and historically, but it suffers from the incredible naivete of its hero, Glenn Spottswood, and a tendency to project the dense jungle of leftist politics in the oversimplified terms characteristic of the proletarian novel so fashionable in the thirties, when this story was first published. The second volume, "Number One," is equally unimpeachable on grounds of fact. Its target is machine politics and the political boss, and again the impact of Dos Passos's fictional version of Huey Long is watered down by the character of the narrator, Tyler Spottswood, who is chronically drunk for reasons never explained and swamps

the book in a tedious procession of binges and hangovers. The concluding novel, "The Grand Design," attacks the New Deal for having reneged on its idealistic promises and corrupted the American dream by undermining the old traditions of self-reliance and individual initiative. Of its visible accomplishments there is scarcely a word, and Roosevelt, who never appears directly, is referred to in almost constantly sneering terms.

One emerges from the trilogy with a growing feeling of hopelessness. There seems no room in Dos Passos's world for men of good-will, who are murdered like Glenn, take refuge in drink like Tyler or in suicide like Georgia Washburn—whose death, though she is a minor figure, moves us more than Glenn's—or in the chagrined and disillusioned withdrawal from Washington of Paul Graves and Millard Carroll, who had come there originally under the New Deal spell. The Rousseauist theory of the good individual born into a corrupt universe, which animated Dos Passos's fiction from the beginning, has contracted here into a grinding pessimism that lowers the vitality of the writing even when its documentation is most accurate.

Yet the reader is seldom allowed to forget that he is in the presence of one of the powerful and significant novelists of contemporary American literature. There are scenes and writing here that rank with the best things in "The 42nd Parallel" and "The Big Money." Glenn Spottswood, that excessively ingenuous and victimized young man, organizes the coal miners in a remote mountain area of West Virginia. Their lives, grimy habitations, and intensely poignant reactions to a desperate situation are narrated with a bold and resourceful hand. Some of the bombastically ingenious speeches and sinister vulgarities of Chuck Crawford, the political boss, are unreelied with a grimly comical effect, though Chuck himself has been overshadowed by the far more complex and convincing figure of Willie Stark in Robert Penn Warren's "All the King's Men." The travels of Paul Graves, the non-political agricultural scientist who wants to make the corn grow better, among the farms of Alabama and Nebraska give Dos Passos a characteristic opportunity to prac-

tice his superb talent for recreating the concrete place. These and other vivid passages survive the arid stretches, factionalist involvements, and niggling defeatism of "District of Columbia." They remind us that though Dos Passos is not at his best here, he retains the power to arouse and persuade.

But the energy and technical ingenuity of "U. S. A." have abated. The drift and flow of American life that once caught up the Dos Passos characters in an irresistible stream, and filled the reader with a sense of exhilaration even when the seamiest aspects of the industrial age were being exposed, have been replaced by narrower channels and a slower movement. The vitality, the exhilaration are no longer so pronounced. The vigorous, rough-textured style has grown gritty and monotonous. And in place of Mac, Charley Anderson, and J. Ward Moorehouse, we have the Spottswoods, father and sons, the most spectacularly uninteresting family in recent fiction.

The closely knit structure, descriptive power, deep feeling for country are still plain in Dos Passos, but this second trilogy is a weaker, smaller achievement than the first.

LEO GURKO

Deathless Salesman

DUVEEN. By S. N. Behrman. Random House. \$3.50.

SAUL STEINBERG'S jacket design for this book makes any other preface unnecessary. Four differently shaped portholes frame identical icons of the Lord Duveen of Millbank. The Man of Distinction, in quadruplicate. While Duveen was not quite in the class of the Pharaoh Khephren, with his twenty-odd portrait statues in his temple at Gizeh, Steinberg, invoking the same theory of salvation by multiplication, confers on him a sort of Oriental immortality.

Ordinarily a reviewer's first task is to indicate the contents of the book at hand. In the present instance it is perhaps sufficient to report that the six essays on Duveen which appeared in the *New Yorker* last fall are now available as a single item, illuminated, in the medieval sense, by Steinberg's drawings. As nearly everybody has read these essays, this review will be limited to some marginal comments.

Although the text has the implacable



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pace and impersonal slant of other *New Yorker* profiles, with the authorship effectively submerged, one may still speculate about Behrman's intentions. Is he playing "the most spectacular art dealer of all time" dead-pan or straight? He has managed to embalm an age with a collection of anecdotes, an age which lost a prime force when Duveen died thirteen years ago. He is largely content to let the picture he has drawn speak for itself. Each suggestion of a sly leer is countered by a hint of hero-worship. With personality looming so large in Duveen's story, such hero-worship is not altogether unjustified. Nevertheless, somebody ought to protest when manipulation is lent enchantment and vulgarity is glamourized into something nostalgic. Veblen, where is thy sting?

Unless I have misunderstood the reference, one of the anecdotes contains an error in fact. It relates how Bernard Berenson, the hero of the essay called "B. B.," met an old friend, a German, who is described as the director of the Dresden Museum before the war. "He returned to resume his former post," Berenson says, "but the Russians came and carted everything off—all the most beautiful things. . . . What made my friend cry was not alone that they took

the things off but that *they were so badly crated!*"

The error of this tale is in the first part, not the second. The man who was the director of the Dresden Museum before the war—in fact, since 1910—died during the war. In 1939 Hitler had added to his duties the task of forming a major collection of art for presentation to the city of Linz, which was due for some cultural expansion because Hitler had spent his boyhood there. The manner of the collecting for Linz was not always nice. A successor appointed in the spring of 1943 inherited his techniques of acquisition. The new appointee, who is still alive, is not the present director of the Dresden Museum; nor has he returned to Dresden since the war. He sincerely mourns Dresden's lost treasure, but he filled in the late war years the highest art position the Nazis could confer. I should doubt very much that this is the friend Berenson referred to.

The most remarkable of the six essays, it seems to me, is the one that is primarily about Berenson. But Behrman has fully developed the contrast in personality that the strange association of Duveen and B. B. affords. That it did not collapse sooner is perhaps the most surprising thing of all. In this improbable combination of commerce and culture, the balance of immortality swings sharply in B. B.'s favor. The most exquisite sensibility of our day triumphs over the world's most deathless salesman.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

trying for two years to get to America. They have moved from city to city and have finally reached Cairo, where they hope—one does not know quite why—to obtain from the American consul the precious permits which all the other American consuls have refused. The man (Paul Lukas) is confined to a wheel chair as a result of a wound sustained when an American bomb fell into a Nazi concentration camp where he was confined. So far, so good. We are ready to grant that he should be allowed to go to America; we are convinced that his devoted and capable wife Lili (Gusti Huber) is perfectly able to support the family; and we are all set to be angry if the visas are refused.

But suddenly another Austrian appears on the scene. He is a likable young man who has come to Cairo to buy cotton; he believes that Austria has a future and persuades Lili that the place for Austrians like herself is—Austria. He persuades us too, since we are favorably disposed toward Austria these days; but the immediate effect of this quite new theme is to dilute our sympathy for the crippled husband and to nip in the bud our first fine interest in the fight for visas. We now see the husband's desire to escape as selfish and his exploitation of his wife as cruel; and we find ourselves thinking that it might be just as well after all if the visas were *not* granted. Which is a queer position to have arrived at, given the first scenes of the play.

The resolution of this curious state of affairs is perhaps the best that could be devised. The husband is told by his own doctor that he will die soon anyhow—he has been refused a visa on the same ground—and thereupon commits suicide. The wife and child, though they get their visas, decide to return to Vienna and make a new start, presumably with the aid and comfort of the young Austrian.

The scene is a run-down Cairo hotel, which allows for the usual hotel routine, not to mention the hot-country routine, of types and episodes. The setting, by Jo Mielziner, is very effective; the routines are less so.

Paul Lukas as the husband does very well what little he has to do, though his big scene comes after the "other play" has taken over and the sympathy of the spectator has been diverted.

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

FLIGHT INTO EGYPT (Music Box Theater) has two themes—which is one too many for a play. What is even more of a hazard, dramatically speaking, both themes are valid and timely; and each is completely at cross-purposes with the other. It is as if the scripts of two plays had got entangled, and even so skilful a director as Elia Kazan cannot produce a unified or forceful effect from such disparate materials.

The play depicts the decisive day in the lives of three Austrians, a man and his wife and child, who have been

On balance, the principal merit of "Flight into Egypt" is that it introduces the Viennese actress, Gusti Huber. Her role as the wife—complaining, desperate, hysterical by turns—is a rather thankless one, but she has the skill to keep it from becoming monotonous and to make it sympathetic throughout in spite of the shifts of theme. She gives the impression of knowing her business very well and it would be interesting to see her in a part that gave her more range.

The adjective "old-fashioned" comes to mind in connection with "One Bright Day" (Royale Theater) because it shows the president of a drug company wrestling with a problem in ethics having to do with the quality of the product he manufactures. But the problem is real—and no doubt problems of the same sort come up every day in the week. They are old-fashioned only in the sense that they are no longer fashionable as subjects, having been displaced by the kind of problems posed in "Flight Into Egypt" or Marquand's "Point of No Return." The ending is particularly unfashionable; the president—and capitalist—does the right thing. The play is a well-made play—it is also well acted—and the first two acts have more reality than "Point of No Return." But though the resolution itself is convincing enough, the third act is more complicated and longer drawn out than it need be.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IT WAS not only the voluminous luster and splendor of Flagstad's voice from the lowest to the highest notes of its range that was so amazing at her first appearance here seventeen years ago; it was also her way of singing—of deploying the voice in a long phrase in which it rose without effort to a powerful and securely held high note and went on from this, in thrilling fashion, to another and still another before descending to complete the phrase, all as though breath were not even involved. The years since then have taken the luster from the upper range of the voice; but they haven't changed the way of singing: in the second performance

of Gluck's "Alceste" at the Metropolitan, as on other recent occasions, Flagstad began with her lower notes characteristically voluminous and lustrous, her upper ones thin, edged, and tremulously shrill, until the *Divinités du Styx* at the end of the first act—the first of the occasions when the voice began one of those remarkable sustained phrases which it carried to an exciting climax in a succession of secure, clear, and increasingly powerful high notes, and having done this once did it immediately a second time. There were some in the audience who knew what the voice had lost of its earlier beauty; but anyone who heard it now for the first time and without that knowledge—who heard the lustrous lower notes, the clear and powerful high notes in the sustained phrases so exquisitely and touchingly inflected by musical taste and feeling—would say what he heard was phenomenal. It would be considered phenomenal if it were the singing of a young person; it would have been pronounced phenomenal if it had been Flagstad's singing at her first appearances here at the age of forty-two; and it is even more phenomenal in the performance of a woman of fifty-nine, who ends her career still the greatest vocal artist of our day.

It was an act of intelligence, taste, and courage for Mr. Bing to make the last manifestation of Flagstad's art at the Metropolitan her singing of Alceste's music rather than Brünnhilde's. And whereas the splendor of that art was first revealed here in the shabby performances of the end of the Gatti-Casazza era, this last time everything was done to present it in surroundings worthy of it—a performance bright, clean, carefully put together, and precisely executed. In fact too much was done: Dr. Graf wasn't content with making the chorus expressively active, but had dancers underline the singing with plastic movement; and whatever might be said of the idea of this innovation, the actual movements which looked like a take-off on goings-on in a class in modern dance at a girls' college did not heighten the solemnity of the scenes. And I would say the same of the ballet that Mr. Solov devised for the last scene.

I saw no point last year in giving "Alceste" in an English translation which wouldn't be heard sufficiently in

the Metropolitan; and one thing to say about the performance is that I was in fact able to hear almost none of the words of the chorus and only a few of those enunciated so clearly and well by Flagstad and Sullivan—enough to give me a general idea of the action but not the moment-to-moment detail which the English translation was supposed to give. But another thing to say after the performance is that I see no point in giving an opera in English so that it may be understood, and then assigning to it singers like Schöffler and Pernstorfer whose German accents make their English a foreign language nobody could understand.

The translator of "Alceste," Mr. John Gutman of Mr. Bing's staff, began a publicity article about his translation by declaring opera in English to be something to be accepted here as "Carmen" in German is accepted in Vienna. But "Carmen" in German is a monstrosity; and the fact that such monstrosities are accepted in Vienna is no reason for introducing them here, where—whatever else may have been wrong with opera at the Metropolitan before Mr. Bing took over—one thing that was right was that for the most part the works were given in their original languages. This practice began when the Metropolitan's singers were mostly foreigners; but the fact that they now include many Americans is no reason why it shouldn't continue. As between opera in the original Italian or French pronounced with slight defects by Americans, and opera in an English mangled beyond recognition by foreigners, I would choose the first.

My ear catches an occasional defect in Albanese's Russian; but this doesn't

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diminish the pleasure of hearing that language with the music of the Letter Scene from Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin," which she has recorded for RCA Victor with an orchestra directed by Stokowski; and the language is one of the points of superiority of this performance over the one previously issued by Columbia, in which Welitch sings in German. The other points of superiority are musical—the intensity and passion of Albanese's singing, the cohesive tension of Stokowski's performance of the orchestral part, as against singing by Welitch and playing by the Philharmonia Orchestra under Süsskind that are almost perfunctory. In addition the recorded sound of the Victor performance is far more beautiful, though it becomes afflicted with high-frequency distortion as it approaches the end of the side. On the same LP record is the Villa-Lobos *Bachianas Brasileiras* No. 5.

Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas" is performed on a Period record by Eleanor Houston (Dido), Adele Leigh (Belinda), and Henry Cummings (Aeneas), among others, with the Stuart Chamber Orchestra and Chorus directed by Jackson Gregory. Miss Leigh's soprano is the most beautiful; Miss Houston's acquires in *When I am laid in earth* some

of the sensuous warmth it lacks earlier; Mr. Cummings's baritone is rough. The performance is excellent; its recorded sound is not always clean, and wavers in pitch on the first side.

Several excerpts from Purcell's "The Fairy Queen," including the fine soprano arias *O let me ever, ever weep* and *Hark! hark! the ech'ing air a triumph sings*, and several from "The Masque in Timon of Athens" are on an Oiseau Lyre LP, beautifully sung by Margaret Ritchie and played by an instrumental group under Anthony Lewis. The recorded sound of the instrumental portions is ear-piercing and often enveloped in a hash of distortion.

Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

J. C. Bach: Piano Sonatas: Opus 5, Nos. 5 and 6; Opus 17, No. 6; Tolson (WCFM); music uninteresting; performance unexciting.

J. S. Bach: Selections from the Anna Magdalena Book: Rapf and Weis-Osborn (Bach Guild); minor harpsichord pieces by Bach and others, six fine Bach songs; harpsichord playing fair, singing very beautiful except for some uncertainties of pitch.

Music of Jubilee; Biggs with Columbia Chamber Orchestra under Burgin (Columbia); a selection of familiar chorale preludes and movements from Cantatas; performance fair, with occasionally vulgar brass playing.

Suites No. 2 and 6 for viola; Lillian Fuchs (Decca); the familiar suites usually played on the cello; performance rhythmically heavy, lacks ease; recording a bit cavernous.

Bartok: Viola Concerto; Primrose and the New Symphony Orchestra of London under Serly (Bartok); Serly's realization of Bartok's sketches—some effective moments in a generally scrappy piece; performance good.

Beethoven: Piano Sonatas, Opus 27, No. 2 ("Moonlight") and Opus 81a ("Les Adieux"); Serkin (Columbia); good performance, except for occasional over-excited distortions; noisy surfaces.

Trios, Opus 70, No. 1 ("Geister") and Opus 1, No. 2; Boston Trio (Allegro); performance good; recording very bad; noisy surfaces.

Brahms: Sonata No. 3 for piano;

Rubinstein (Victor); good performance; piano sound lacks body.

Chopin: Preludes; Brailowsky (Victor); poor performance.

Debussy: First Rhapsody for clarinet and piano; Kell and Rosen (Decca); poor performance; recording cavernous and muffled.

Hindemith: Sonata for clarinet and piano; Kell and Rosen (Decca); pleasant inventive music; slouchy and mannered performance by Kell, good one by Rosen; recording cavernous.

Mozart: Organ Sonatas, K. 67, 68, 69, 212, 225, 329; Messner with the Salzburg Mozarteum Orchestra under Paul Walter (Period); pretty uninteresting music except for some charming things in the last two; performance fair; recording brash, badly balanced.

Stravinsky: Three pieces for clarinet solo; Kell (Decca); pleasant, unimportant music; good performance, recording cavernous and blurred.

Wagner: "Tannhäuser"; Seider, Scheck, Paul, etc., with Munich State Opera Chorus and Orchestra under Heger (Urania); chorus and orchestra acceptable, singing very bad.

Landowska plays for Paderewski (Victor); engaging arrangements of Polish folk music by Couperin, Rameau, Landowska, and others; performance effective, occasionally over-effective.

The Italian Madrigal: a collection of music by Landini, Banchieri, Palestrina and others; Vassar Madrigal Singers under Geer (Allegro); what may be beautiful music made to sound uninteresting in this poor performance; recording blurred.

CONTRIBUTORS

HANS KOHN, professor of history at the City College of New York, will publish this spring "Panslavism, Its History and Ideology."

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly *The Nation's* Washington correspondent.

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Crossword Puzzle No. 458

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The Vampire starts off with the unusual wealth of a rose. (1, 4, 5, 3)
- 10 Lessons and lectures do, to scare one. (7)
- 11 Made a mistake with a Churchillian sign, it is said. (7)
- 12 Brawling target man. (9)
- 13 One of those things that fill cavities in some joints. (5)
- 14 Little more than a strong man, finally. (2, 4)
- 16 A joiner, but not the kind Snug was. (8)
- 19 One of the things girls are pledged to. (8)
- 20 Those who hold it in the service usually follow the air line. (6)
- 22 The way of the chase might be familiar to inexperienced huntsmen. (5)
- 23 Making things easier, but finally getting old. (9)
- 25 It feeds by night; but if you do, some say life goes on in part. (7)
- 26 Have a go at it? Certainly not like 15! (7)
- 27 Jots and tittles? In case of help, it's six of one and half a-dozen of the other! (4, 3, 6)

DOWN

- 2 Bent light, by the sound of it. (5)
- 3 See 4.

- 4, 3, 21. Implying the "Street of Thieves" is well-paved? (3, 3, 2, 13, 2, 4)
- 5 Difficult; perhaps, but formerly associated (at least in part) with play? (8)
- 6 Science makes the deer most cynical. (15)
- 7 Take drug, and in real bad condition you'll get beat faster! (9)
- 8 You might put an end to smoke in one of them. (8)
- 9 This god makes nothing but noise finally. (4)
- 15 Unlike 7, this might imply a relatively slow beat. (9)
- 17 Paine's was to do good. (8)
- 18 A broken arm wants a perjured witness to set it. (5, 3)
- 21 See 4 down.
- 22 Bow with a roguish appearance. (4)
- 24 When someone like Lafitte doesn't have a soft spot he's just plain angry! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 457
 ACROSS: 5 PULSATE; 9 UPBEND; 10 STOCKYARD; 11 KISS; 12 SALAMANDER; 14 STEP IN; 15 DENOUNCE; 17 NUT SHELL; 19 MANTIS; 22, 23, 6, 1 across HELL HATH NO FURY LIKE A WOMAN SCORNED; 26 TREMULOUS; 27 ANTIC; 28 CUTTERS; 29 ENTREAT.
 DOWN: 1 SHUCK; 2 OVERSEE; 3 NODE; 4 DISBAR; 5 PROBATES; 7 ABANDON; 8 ENDORSERS; 13 LIGHTHOUSE; 14 SYNTHETIC; 16 FLATTOPS; 18 TALLEST; 20 TRUSTEE; 24 YACHT; 25 and 21 WAIT AND SEE.

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Mr. Truman Steps Aside—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

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April 5, 1952

Joe McCarthy in Wisconsin

BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE

—and at Princeton

BY KARL E. MEYER

*

Impressions of New China

BY V. K. R. V. RAO

VOTE YOUR CHOICE
FOR PRESIDENT! *See*
Page 314

AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Goulding Case

PAUL W. GOULDING, for ten years a member of the faculty of Nazareth (Pennsylvania) Area High School, recently submitted his resignation to the school committee rather than sign the loyalty oath passed last year by the state legislature.

Mr. Goulding is a Quaker, is married, and has three children. Fortunately, he will still be able to provide for his family, for he has been offered a position at the Abington Friends School near Philadelphia. But he will sacrifice a thousand dollars a year in income. He chooses to pay that price rather than conform to a law which he says carries the "superficial and unreal implication that we have only to close our minds to communism in order to save America."

Mr. Goulding taught seniors at Nazareth in a course called "Problems in Democracy" which cut across many fields of thought in the social sciences. His methods were much admired by his colleagues. He turned his class into something like a forum in order to elicit student opinion of all shades.

Before deciding to give up his post at Nazareth, Goulding carefully weighed many factors, not the least of which were economic. In a statement to the press he said: "Frankly, I don't know whether I would have had the courage to refuse to sign the oath if I had not had another position open to me." His opportunities were narrowly limited by his act, for he could hardly find employment in the public schools of any state, whether or not it requires an oath of loyalty of public servants.

The Pennsylvania oath requires all persons in state- or local-government employ to pledge allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States and Pennsylvania and to swear that they are not, and during the period of their employment with state or local government will not become, members of any organization advocating overthrow of the government by force or other unconstitutional means.

What were Mr. Goulding's reasons for refusing to sign this oath? He has answered that question for us:

I think that each one of us must follow his own conscience. Mine was not a snap

decision. I have followed this trend toward regimentation, and I am unable to continue to conform to this kind of pressure in public schools.

That the actual words of the Pennsylvania loyalty oath are relatively innocuous is a tribute to the resistance by a free people and their representatives against coercive forces that would cast our very thoughts in a mold of conformity, mechanization, and violence. In spirit, however, the oath is one of several instruments by which we are being "persuaded" that totalitarian regimentation must be met by totalitarianism, one hundred per cent Americanism. In a day when the impulse to conform, to acquiesce, to go along is the instrument used in subjecting men to dictatorial rule throughout the world, nonconformity—with a religious motivation—becomes a means of preserving the dignity of mankind.

F. A. Marcks, superintendent of Nazareth schools, commented:

This man is certainly no Communist or subversive. He may be over-sensitive. The law itself may be futile, but we have no choice in the matter. He must take the oath or leave his post. We are going through what might be called an epidemic of loyalty oaths, and in time we may recover a little more of our perspective. A Communist might well be expected to take such an oath without qualm. Mr. Goulding has indicated that he cannot conscientiously take the oath. His attitude is one of protest against what he calls regimentation by influences working together to deprive us of our freedom. His protest recalls the fable of the oak and the reed. The oak refused to bend before the prevailing wind and was broken. The reed bent and stayed. Of course, the attitude of bowing to the prevailing wind can be carried too far.

Marcks admits we have lost our perspective and thinks we may recover it in time. Mr. Goulding, having followed the trend toward regimentation in the public schools, doubts our chance of recovering it. At what point Marcks believes we might bow too far to the prevailing wind he does not say. Mr. Goulding makes his position clear by the very act of resigning.

The reactions of Nazareth residents to Mr. Goulding's refusal to take the oath showed a virtually unanimous belief in his sincerity of purpose and his courage; members of organizations instrumental in securing the loyalty legislation even revealed something approaching a sense of guilt. For them it was one thing

to go on record as indorsing the Americanism represented by the statute; it was another thing when a quiet, respected school teacher suddenly terminated his relationship with the community because his conscience would not let him acquiesce in what they looked upon as a simple oath of loyalty.

The president of the Lions Club said Mr. Goulding had great courage, and he felt certain that "state and nation were behind him." Several people thought that if he "did it on account of his religion, it was all right." Surprisingly, the V. F. W. post commander said Mr. Goulding "had every right to refuse to sign the oath," and added that he "agreed in part" with the attitude of teachers toward the oath.

As a result of the pressure exerted by certain groups which have made themselves the custodians of American democracy, Paul W. Goulding must leave Nazareth. Once again, in a blind attempt to destroy something which it fears because it does not understand it, an American community has lost the services of a man of talent, sterling honesty, and great courage.

RICHARD STROTHER COOLEY

[Mr. Cooley
Bethlehem
Times.]

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 14

The Shape of Things

SOMEWHERE ON THIS EARTH THERE IS A congenial home for the follower of every political philosophy save the anti-Nazi. He alone has become a kind of international outlaw, a pariah as unwelcome now on the other side of the Elbe as he has long been on this. So much emerges unmistakably from the Soviet proposal that "all former members of the German army, including officers and generals, and all former Nazis" should have the right to participate in the building of a united "democratic peace-loving Germany." The Russians propose further that Germany, having achieved democracy and a state of peace-lovingness with the aid of former S. S. *Brigadenführers* and general staff officers, be permitted to have its own "army, navy, and air forces." The moral obtuseness of these proposals are unfortunately paralleled in the West's answer. True, we did not bother to promise jobs to ex-Nazis, but that was because we have been giving them jobs for years—for example, see Mr. del Vayo's story on page 318. But we share with Russia a fervid desire to rearm the Germans, except naturally we want them to fight on our side. So we offer the Germans, instead of their old gray-green uniforms of unhappy memory, the more colorful garb of the European army—British cloth, perhaps, with a French cut to the jacket and more than a touch of American in the pockets. Both sides offer all-German elections, but only under conditions—again naturally—which would assure predetermined results. The exchange of notes are further moves in the courtship of a *Fraülein* whose "yes," *The Nation* is convinced, will make the successful suitor an even unhappier man than the rejected one.

★

BY FILING AN ACTION FOR LIBEL, SENATOR McCarthy has upset our prediction of last week that he would not accept the challenge to test in court the truth of Senator Benton's charges against him. But Joe's latest move is probably not so much an act of brashness as one of desperation. In an election year he simply could not afford to ignore Benton's charges indefinitely. By filing the suit he obviously hopes to stall the investigation of the charges by the Senate subcommittee on elections and to create the impression that he is "fighting back."

But the point to note is that McCarthy remains on the defensive. By forcing him to act Senator Benton has kept his charges current. He has insisted on an early trial and has driven McCarthy to say that he too wants an early trial. Thus it is clear that McCarthy has not only failed to regain the offensive but has been driven into a corner from which he is now trying to escape. He has simply underscored the weakness of his case by saying that Benton's charges would never have been made had it not been for his, McCarthy's, attacks on "Communists in government." If he has no better defense than this, he might as well drop the libel action now.

★

JOE MCCARTHY DISPLAYS A CURIOUS TALENT for getting hold of other people's mail. A University of Minnesota student wrote to Myles McMillan, political editor of the Madison *Capital Times*, asking him to suggest some questions to ask McCarthy when McCarthy spoke at the university on March 8. The speech was given, and at its conclusion, before any questions could be asked from the floor, McCarthy read aloud a garbled version of the student's letter. What's interesting is that McMillan *had never received the letter*, although the student swears that it was properly addressed, stamped, and posted. A week later McCarthy spoke before the Young Republicans of Dane County in Madison, Wisconsin; this time McMillan was in the audience. Again McCarthy, at the close of his speech, began to read the letter. Interrupting from the floor, McMillan explained that, although the letter was addressed to him, he had never received it; charged that McCarthy had read a garbled version of it the previous week; and demanded that the letter be shown to him as its legal owner. But McCarthy refused to yield the document; instead, turning to the audience, he said slyly that from time to time he "borrowed" material from *Time* and the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the implication being that he had "borrowed" McMillan's letter too. McMillan has entered a formal complaint with the postal authorities; "borrowing" other people's mail can be a criminal offense. Members of the Senate enjoy many privileges, including access to documents not normally available to the public. But when a Senator turns up in possession of a letter which the addressee swears he

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never received, some explanation is obviously in order. Perhaps the Senate subcommittee on elections will be able to induce McCarthy to explain this mystery when, if ever, it holds hearings on Senator Benton's resolution calling for his colleague's ouster. In the meantime, all critics of the gentleman from Wisconsin had better keep a sharp eye on their private mail.

✱

FRANCO'S INTENTION TO BLACKMAIL THE United States into giving him the maximum number of dollars for the minimum amount of military help was confirmed by the aloof and almost indifferent attitude of the authorities when the new American ambassador, Lincoln MacVeagh, presented his credentials in Madrid. While the humorous Madrilenos were saying "this is not the Lincoln who liberated the slaves," the official reception was much cooler and less lavish than on the arrival of Stanton Griffis. "The general impression," wrote the *New York Times* correspondent, "is that of subtle snubbing of the United States." The snubbing was made even sharper by the absence of Foreign Minister Artajo, who, instead of remaining in Madrid to welcome the new ambassador and open the long-awaited negotiations with him and the American military mission, had departed on a much-publicized tour of the Arab countries. Franco's idea is to create the impression that he has the entire Arab world in his pocket and thus still further improve his bargaining position. The arrogant attitude of Madrid might well lead President Truman and the State Department to reconsider their policy toward Spain, especially since Admiral Fechteler declared in a Congressional hearing on March 27 that Spanish bases were not essential to this country's defense plans.

✱

SERETSE KHAMA, SUSPENDED CHIEF OF THE Bamangwatos, largest tribe in the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, is to be permanently barred from power. This decision of Lord Salisbury, Tory Secretary of Commonwealth Affairs, compounds the error of his Labor predecessor, who banished Seretse from the Bamangwato reserve for five years. It will be regarded by native Africans from the Gold Coast to the Cape as unwarranted interference in tribal affairs inspired by a desire to appease South African champions of white supremacy. Seretse's offense is marriage to a white woman. This, Lord Salisbury maintains, is a violation of tribal law that disqualifies him from the chieftainship. But as his junior in the House of Commons was forced to admit, the Bamangwato have accepted the marriage and in several tribal meetings have asked for Seretse's return. The fact is that it is not tribal law or custom that has been outraged but white taboos. In the Union of South Africa the fear of miscegenation is such that not

only marriage but sexual relations between whites and Negroes are a crime for which both parties may be severely punished. Thus the British government is afraid to countenance the mixed marriage of a chief in territory bordering and economically dependent on South Africa, whose Nationalists have long claimed the right to rule Bechuanaland and two other native enclaves which remained subject to the British crown when South Africa became a dominion. Yet it ought to be clear by now that Britain cannot appease the Malan government of South Africa without alienating native opinion in other parts of the continent that are moving irresistibly toward self-government.

✱

HENRY W. GRUNEWALD, "MYSTERY" FIGURE in the investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, becomes a little less mysterious with each new phase of the investigation. When it was revealed that Grunewald had made contributions to the Democratic National Committee, the Senate's Republican leaders clucked pious disapproval. But it now appears that Grunewald was on equally good terms with the high command of the Republican Party. Senator Owen Brewster used him as "a kind of conduit" to funnel contributions of \$5,000 each to Senators Milton Young and Richard Nixon. He also admits having known Grunewald for "a good while"; in fact, Grunewald has called at his office as often as two or three times a month over a period of several years. The Republican leader of the Senate, Styles Bridges, also knew Grunewald well enough to intervene in a \$7,000,000 tax case at his request. It should now be fairly clear that the "mystery" never really existed. For example, there is no mystery about the large sums which Grunewald listed in his tax return as "brokerage fees and commission" but which he now says were really winnings from gambling, "primarily on horses." Grunewald seems to have been the kind of gambler who bet on both political horses, the Democratic and the Republican.

The Wilson Fiasco

THE responsibility for a steel strike, if one occurs, will rest directly upon the President's ill-chosen, incompetent ex-mobilization director, Charles E. Wilson. Although officially withdrawn, Wilson's petulant criticisms of the Wage Stabilization Board's recommendations in the steel-wage dispute obviously stimulated the industry to resist the proposals and in effect invited the steel operators to force a strike to force the government into a stiff price increase. For this disservice to the country, among others, Wilson's resignation over the weekend was accepted at the White House.

Two issues were involved: (1) whether the Wage Board's steel proposals were in fact equitable and ap-

propriate, and (2) whether Wilson, even if the proposals were faulty, had not shown himself, once too often, incapable of mastering the social and political overtones of economic mobilization in a democracy.

Nathan P. Feinsinger, chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, truthfully said that the steel-wage proposals were reasonable. When price controls are shot through with loopholes deliberately created by Congress, wage stabilization cannot mean a wage freeze. The most liberal interpretation of W. S. B. regulations on cost-of-living wage adjustments would have given the steel workers substantially more than the 15-cents-an-hour basic increase the board recommended. W. S. B. procedures have always provided for correction of inequities. It was an inequity for steel workers not to have been paid holidays when other industrial workers had them, and six paid holidays a year was the principal "fringe" benefit allowed by the wage board.

The broader question was Wilson's bias and malevolent ignorance whenever he was forced to deal with a question involving labor. If he believed the wage proposals seriously threatened our economy he should have used a little tact and discrimination. He could have called in Philip Murray, president of the United Steelworkers. He could have tried to argue his case with Roger L. Putman, stabilization director, with Ellis Arnall, price director, and with Feinsinger.

Instead, Wilson ran up to New York to discuss matters with the masters of the steel industry, went to Key West to talk to Truman, returned to Washington to issue public denunciations of the proposed settlement. Having provoked the fiery retort from Murray that the unions would not cooperate with the Wage Board if Wilson could arbitrarily dismiss its findings as false and wicked, Wilson belatedly tried to climb off his high horse. By that time he was confronted not only with labor's boycott threat but with the possible resignation of the public members of the W. S. B., and of Putman and Arnall as well, none of whom were willing to be exposed to snap-judgment repudiations when they were working in good faith to get a practical answer to wage and price questions.

Of course, Wilson said, the W. S. B. is a "duly constituted" body with authority to handle wage questions; its proposals should naturally be considered the "basis" for settling the steel-wage dispute. But he made these admissions only after he was driven to them by the explosive reaction of Murray and the board's public members, only after he had given aid and comfort to the steel industry if it chose to resist the board's proposals, only after encouraging the anti-labor majority of the House Rules Committee to clamor for an "investigation" designed to assist the companies.

The question of prices is and always has been the major issue in the steel dispute. But the companies want more than a price rise: they want undiminished profits

after taxes, and Wilson has encouraged them to demand just this kind of "relief" or to induce a strike by whitening down the wage-board proposals—after the union has four times voluntarily postponed its deadline to give the W. S. B. a chance to act.

The President's letter accepting Wilson's resignation gives the gist of the dispute in the following words: "As far as steel prices are concerned, it is true that I agreed to a 'possible necessity' of allowing some price increase. . . . Such a determination should obviously be made only after a thorough examination of the facts. For example, it seems to me to be quite material and important that the profits of the steel industry are continuing at extraordinarily high levels—that their profits amount to a good many times as much as any increased costs they would incur under the recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board."

Mr. Truman Steps Aside

THE timing and occasion of the President's announcement that he is not a candidate surprised nearly everyone, but his withdrawal itself is no surprise. Mr. Truman has not been acting like a candidate for months. The most significant aspect of the announcement was the flat statement: "I shall not accept renomination." Clearly the President's decision is irreversible. He will not be drafted; he will not reconsider; he cannot undo what he has done. This means, of course, that the race for the Democratic nomination is now wide open.

The tardiness of the President's statement confronts liberal elements in the Democratic Party with a major crisis. In the first place, Mr. Truman has now lost, if he ever possessed, the power to name the candidate. It has never been easy for an incumbent—even a popular incumbent—to handpick his successor. Mr. Truman is not a popular incumbent and he has permitted the control of the delegations to get completely out of his hand.

Consider, for example, the chaotic political scene in California. After months of painful negotiation a unity slate was finally assembled. It must be assumed that Mr. Truman was informed of every detail of these negotiations and that he approved the plan of uniting the Roosevelt and Pauley elements—the left and the right—in a pro-Truman delegation. Yet in the wake of the Minnesota and New Hampshire primaries he suddenly insisted (March 19) that the delegation must disband. Now, with the deadline rapidly approaching, a single delegation has been entered, one pledged to Senator Kefauver. A politician of Mr. Truman's experience does not present an upstart rival with the California delegation unless he has some compelling reason. Either Mr. Truman was afraid that he might suffer a humiliating defeat in the California primary or the size of the write-in vote for Eisenhower in Minnesota convinced him that

he should retire. Even before his announcement, therefore, he had lost the power to handpick his successor; now he probably could not even veto the nomination of a candidate of whom he disapproved. Thus those who think that it will be easy for Mr. Truman to hand the nomination to, say, Governor Stevenson, had better resurvey the situation.

Now that Mr. Truman has withdrawn, the pre-convention bargaining will really start. The outcome will be largely determined of course by the way in which each of the various groups making up the Democratic coalition appraises the relative strength of the other groups, alone and in combination. The Southern Bourbons are at the present time the best-organized; in fact, they hold the initiative. The Bourbons no longer have any reason to fear the Republican Party. Not one candidate for the Republican nomination even vaguely threatens "white supremacy." On the other hand, the power of the South in the Democratic Party has increased since 1948—witness the conciliatory attitude which Senators Douglas and Humphrey have lately shown on civil rights. To be sure, the Negro vote in the key states is as important as it was in 1948 but the bargaining position of the Negro has deteriorated. No one knew in 1948 how many Negroes might vote for Henry Wallace if the Democrats failed to adopt a militant civil-rights program. But the Negro vote is not likely to swing to Taft, and it is difficult to imagine Warren or Stassen or Eisenhower becoming passionate advocates of civil rights overnight. The Bourbons know exactly what they want—a "compromise" nominee for the Presidency who is "reasonable" about civil rights, the Vice-Presidency, restoration of the two-thirds' rule, protection of seniority in Congress, and more power for the South in the councils of the party. In a wide-open convention, the Bourbons can make deals right and left; their compactness will give them great bargaining strength. Right now the Bourbons are odds-on favorites to win a strategic victory in Chicago. Only some countervailing power can offset their tactical advantage. What the liberals need, above all, is a left wing within the party. Without a left flank of some kind they can exhort and argue but they are captives; they have no alternative.

Furthermore, the liberal elements of the Democratic coalition have been weakened by the witch hunt which has driven men like Frank Graham and Claude Pepper from elective office and chased most of the liberals from Washington. Immobilized, demoralized, disunited, they have lost the initiative. For years these elements relied on the magic of Roosevelt's name and his political skill; since his death they have coasted along with Truman—for the ride. Collectively they possess great power, but they lack the habit of united action. Each individual organization knows what it wants and will have spokesmen at Chicago to suggest excellent planks for the Dem-

ocratic platform. But if the liberal elements of the old coalition cannot agree well in advance of the convention on a strong candidate, a platform, and a strategy, they are likely to be outmaneuvered by the Bourbons and their allies. The danger is not that the Bourbons will bolt but that they will win most of their objectives by astute bargaining.

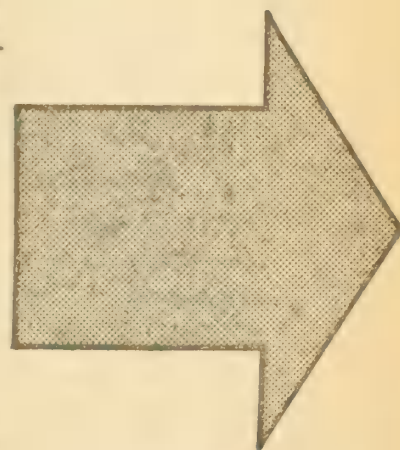
The crisis faced by the liberal elements is enhanced by reason of the fact that General Eisenhower is precisely the kind of candidate who, if nominated by the Republicans, will draw votes from every element making up the old Roosevelt coalition. It will be relatively easy for Republican therapists to induce large sections of an anxious public to transfer their affection and loyalty for the Roosevelt father-image to the symbol of the friendly, frank, warm-hearted General. Unless prompt action is taken, moreover, there will be a strong tendency for certain elements of the old coalition, specifically in the labor movement, to climb aboard the Eisenhower bandwagon and to make deals while they can be made. If Eisenhower is nominated, he will not be defeated by a Democrat whose principal virtue is his general "acceptability" to all elements of the party. Only a candidate who offers a real alternative to the General's point of view and program is likely to defeat him.

In the wide-open fight that has now developed, the Democratic convention can easily be deadlocked. Kefauver, Russell, and Kerr will control important delegations, and much of the remaining strength will be parceled out to tenacious favorite-son candidates. With many explosive issues certain to arise—civil rights is one—the convention may have to look around for a dark horse candidate. While there are not many dark horses in the

Democratic pasture these days, there are some that offer attractive possibilities from the point of view of the Bourbons and their allies—for example, a Paul Douglas-Richard Russell ticket.

Faced with this emergency, what should the liberal in the Democratic coalition do? Organized groups should, first of all, take polls to find out, if possible, the kind of candidate their members really want (see page 314 of this issue). Secondly, the leaders of these organizations should immediately get together for the purpose of working out a strategy and platform and agreeing, if possible, upon a candidate. If they do this, the liberal elements can have a decisive influence in the convention even if they control no delegations; for no Democratic nominee can hope to win without the support of such groups as the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the Farmers' Union, the United Mine Workers, and the Railroad Brotherhoods. If the Democratic Party is not to fall apart at the seams, or to be taken over completely by a fusion of conservative Northerners and Southerners, the liberal wing must regain the initiative. The objective cannot be the selection of a "harmony" slate that will "hold the party together"; already this theme is being ballyhooed far and wide as the major task of the convention. The Bourbons are much too strong today, in alliance with other conservative elements in the party, to be held in line by a few minor concessions. Concessions and compromises will not hold the Democratic Party together; only a candidate and program that will capture the imagination of the people can serve the purpose. For this is 1952, and the world moves. The Democrats must not compromise with those "dinosaurs" of whom the President spoke; they must find a road to the future.

VOTE NOW FOR YOUR CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT



(Turn This Page)

Vote Your Choice for President

IN THE last few weeks *The Nation's* readers have been firing questions at us: What kind of President does the country need in this year of decision? Will the candidates chosen in the Chicago conventions truly reflect the people's wishes? Will liberals have any say in the matter? Can they even make known their preferences? How can we assure the selection of candidates who will offer the people a real choice?

To these readers—to *all* our readers—we say: who is *your* candidate? And to enable you to answer that question simply and directly, we have prepared the ballot printed below.

This is your opportunity to make your choice known. The American electoral process puts up many barriers between you and the chance to vote for the man you want: a tangle of conflicting state laws governing the selection of convention delegates; the power of political machines and pressure groups; the ability of the mass communications media to mold opinion.

The only way you can register your preference is through the informal poll. The remaining primaries, like many which have already taken place, offer but a limited range of choice. *Many states have no primaries at all.* We don't pretend that informal polls will be a decisive factor at the nominating conventions. But they can influence the platforms adopted and the candidates considered.

In any case, the people's preferences should be recorded. Fill out *and return immediately* the ballot below. Urge other readers to mail their ballots. You need not sign your name. Space is provided for a "write-in candidate in case your own preference is not on our list.

Nation readers form an important country-wide audience. If enough of you mark and return these ballots to give a good sampling, the results can have weight. The larger the return, the more interest and influence the poll will have. This is your chance to tell not merely us but the politicians and the country at large who you think should be the next President of the United States.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. All ballots must be mailed not later than April 25 and should be addressed to: POLL EDITOR, *THE NATION*, 20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK.
2. You may vote for your first *and* second choice irrespective of the column in which the names appear, but *only two choices* may be indicated. Use the figures 1 and 2 to indicate your first and second choice.
3. Knowing that every copy of *The Nation* is read by more than one reader, we have printed extra ballots, *one* of which we will send to any individual who requests it in writing before April 19.

YOUR BALLOT



The Nation's PREFERENTIAL BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

to be mailed not later than April 25 to POLL EDITOR,
THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Vote for any two, indicating first and second choices:

DEMOCRATIC

William O. Douglas	☐
Estes Kefauver	☐
Robert S. Kerr	☐
Richard B. Russell	☐
Adlai B. Stevenson	☐
Alben W. Barkley	☐

REPUBLICAN

Dwight D. Eisenhower	☐
Douglas MacArthur	☐
Harold E. Stassen	☐
Robert A. Taft	☐
Earl Warren	☐

Write-ins _____

My state is _____

I am a Republican ☐

Democrat ☐

_____ (any other)

(Please Check)

Joe McCarthy in Wisconsin

BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE

Madison, Wisconsin

WISCONSIN is taking seriously the accounting it must make to the nation this year for electing Joseph R. McCarthy to the United States Senate in 1946 and for giving the nation the ugly cult of McCarthyism.

Somewhat more than two years ago McCarthy began his rampage in a speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, in which he charged that he held in his hand the names of 205 Communists in the State Department who were working there with the knowledge of Secretary Acheson. Like the rest of the country, Wisconsin was stunned and puzzled by his reckless charges. Even the people who knew him best and had come to expect the worst were mystified. What was he up to now? they asked. They knew that he had been pretty thoroughly discredited in the state. A succession of revelations which broke after his election in 1946—including his failure to report \$42,000 of his 1943 income to state tax authorities, a disbarment recommendation brought by the state Board of Bar Commissioners, and the finding of the Supreme Court that he had violated the Constitution, the laws, the legal code of ethics, and his oath as a judge and lawyer—added up to a record which seriously weakened his position at home.

In late 1949 and early 1950 Republican politicians casting about for a possible weak spot in the organization which they could take advantage of to satisfy their own ambitions looked hopefully toward 1952, when McCarthy would have to face reelection. They looked beyond 1950, when the state's senior Senator, Alexander Wiley, would be up for reelection. The situation was summed up by one prominent Republican with Senatorial ambitions in a remark to newsmen: "I think I could take Wiley, but I'll wait for the easy one in 1952."

In February, 1950, McCarthy opened his anti-Communist campaign. It caught the Republican leaders in Wisconsin by surprise, and for some time they maintained a discreet silence. Soon, however, it became obvious that McCarthy's gamble to rehabilitate his political prestige was working. In the atmosphere of suspicion and fear hanging over the country his campaign caught on and spread. Anti-communism was not a new issue to Wisconsin Republicans; they had been using it for years against the La Follettes and Roosevelt. But McCarthy had added a dash of reckless irresponsibility which made it look like a new formula for political dynamite.

WILLIAM T. EVJUE is the editor of the *Madison Capital Times*.

The inferiority complex of the national Democratic Administration helped to make the concoction even more formidable. There was obviously no disposition in either the executive branch or the Senate to clear the decks and take on this demagogue who was using his privileged position in the Senate to destroy reputations and damage national prestige abroad. I was in Washington in the summer of 1950 and was astounded at the terror a poolroom politician from my home state could instil in men holding responsible positions in the government. The President tried to ignore him. The State Department could do no more than act injured. Senators sat mute as he brought the tactics of the gutter brawler into the chamber and made a shambles of the Senate's dignity. He had only to speak, and the newspapers opened up their front pages and radio its air lanes.

The hate groups and the malcontents rallied to him without waiting to see whether he could get away with it. As soon as it became obvious that he could, the big and wise money went on his nose. When McCarthy returned to Wisconsin in the early summer of 1950 to address the state Republican convention the word had gone down: "This is our boy." In consequence he got a roaring welcome and an indorsement of his campaign without dissent.

As McCarthyism grew and spread throughout Wisconsin, I could recall only one thing similar to it in the history of the state. It had all the characteristics of the campaign of persecution carried on against citizens suspected of "pro-Germanism" when the hysteria of the First World War was at its height. In those days it was as dangerous to be suspected of "pro-Germanism" as it is today to be suspected of communism. I recall them vividly, having lived through them as a supporter of the elder Senator La Follette and having felt the sting of the advertising and circulation boycotts organized against the fledgling *Capital Times* in Madison by the souped-up patriots of that period. It is significant, incidentally, that McCarthy and his latter-day patriots have urged a boycott against the *Capital Times* because of its opposition to McCarthyism, the first publication in the country to be so distinguished.

In the days of "pro-Germanism" hysteria it was only necessary to start a rumor questioning the loyalty of a citizen and he would find his house or barn daubed with yellow paint. La Follette was the target of the same charges of disloyalty as are hurled at Acheson, Jes-sup, and Marshall today. But that hysteria spent itself against the fundamental good sense of the people. In

1922 La Follette, the symbol which it had attacked, was reelected to the Senate by an unprecedented majority.

The difference between the two situations is of course great. La Follette used his position in the Senate to fight against the hysteria. McCarthy is using his to fan it into new fury and to exploit for his political advantage. There are signs, however, that McCarthyism is spending itself. For one thing, Washington shows a greater disposition to carry the fight to him. Senator Benton's resolution questioning his fitness to serve in the Senate could be a valuable offensive weapon against him if the rest of the Senate had the courage Benton displayed in introducing it. [See page 309 of this issue for editorial comment on McCarthy's libel suit against Benton.]

This advantage will probably be lost through the timidity of Senator Gillette, chairman of the Rules Committee, and the refusal of progressives like Douglas, Humphrey, O'Mahoney, Fulbright, and others to depart from the ridiculous patterns of conduct called "Senatorial courtesy." The President, who in the summer of 1950 seemed afraid even to recognize McCarthy's existence, has spoken out with more courage than most of the Senate liberals. But the Democratic National Committee, which has done nothing to justify its existence since McCarthyism became a part of the national vocabulary, is still in the storm cellar.

THERE are signs that the people here are catching up with McCarthy. He is running into the beginning of the "big doubt," which he exploited so shrewdly to defeat Tydings in Maryland. It is not a "big doubt" yet, but it is growing. It showed itself in the last session of the legislature when a young Republican Assemblyman introduced a resolution for an amendment to the legislative-immunity clause of the state constitution. The amendment was debated on a pro- and anti-McCarthy basis and was defeated by the Republicans, but it pulled six Republican votes in the Assembly and all the Democratic votes except one which has since turned Republican.

Unlike the 1950 Republican convention, the 1951 convention saw some determined delegates take the floor to speak against a resolution indorsing McCarthy. When they were booed down by the McCarthyites, Governor Walter Kohler denounced the un-American conduct of the McCarthy supporters. Kohler seemed to be preparing himself to lead the opposition to McCarthy. On his return from a European tour last fall he announced that he was contemplating running for the Senate. His statement gave great impetus to the efforts to retire McCarthy, particularly after subsequent polls indicated that he would win in a primary contest. Since then, however, Kohler, who is not a political leader of strong convictions, has collapsed under pressure from party bosses and announced that he will seek reelection as governor.

No formidable primary opponent against McCarthy is in sight, though speculation mentions the names of former Governor Oscar Rennebohm; Leonard Schmitt, a young Republican attorney who has been leading the fight against the present bosses of the party; and Delbert Kenny, a prominent Republican once indorsed by the party for governor but later double-crossed. The candidacy of state Senator Chester Dempsey, which was announced some time ago, is taken seriously by no one but Dempsey. One Democratic candidate, Henry Reuss of Milwaukee, has announced. He is conducting a vigorous campaign, but the party is not agreed that he is the strongest possible candidate, and there is still a chance that others may enter.

One thing that makes it difficult to gauge the sentiment about McCarthy is the prevailing atmosphere of hysteria and intimidation, which is not conducive to the free expression of opinion against him. The pro-McCarthy forces, on the other hand, with the Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, and knife-and-fork-club crowd offering ready-made forums, are very articulate. The anti-McCarthy people were recently given a demonstration of what they can expect when a group of Republicans, independents, and Democrats at Wisconsin Rapids sponsored a newspaper advertisement criticizing the Senator. A few days later McCarthy dived into his fox-hole of immunity in the Senate and charged that Philleo Nash, a Presidential aide and the brother of Jean Nash, one of the sponsors of the advertisement was a Communist. The Nash family are well-to-do, highly respectable cranberry farmers at Wisconsin Rapids.

The hysteria responsible for McCarthyism is clearly on the wane in Wisconsin. Whether it is diminishing rapidly enough for Wisconsin to right the wrong it did the nation in 1946 is a question that cannot now be answered.

McCarthy at Princeton

BY KARL E. MEYER

Princeton, New Jersey

NOTHING red is in evidence at Princeton University but the picturesque brick floor of two-hundred-year-old Nassau Hall. One pundit has described Princeton as "the farthest north of all Southern schools." In a Presidential straw vote taken among the undergraduates in 1948, Harry Truman ran a lame third, trailing behind the Dixiecrats as well as Dewey. These things make the current reaction of Princeton undergraduates to the Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph Raymond McCarthy, worthy of notice. When the evil smells of "McCarthy-

KARL E. MEYER, a Wisconsin voter, is a graduate student at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton.



ism" penetrated the ivied Eden of Princeton, an old and stable conservatism was confronted with the *Realpolitik* of Know-Nothing Republicanism.

It all began last February, when five Princeton sophomores, with commendable curiosity, decided to attend a meeting of the Essex County Republicans in nearby Milburn which Senator McCarthy was to address. They went, they listened, and they were called Communists—a traumatic experience for a Princeton sophomore and newsworthy enough to be featured on the front page of the *Daily Princetonian*. The headline read: "Five Princeton Sophomores Attend McCarthy Talk; Senator's Fans Term Them 'Intellectually Twisted.'" The story revealed that the Princeton Five showed a lack of reverence at the meeting by asking, among other things, if Senator McCarthy would repeat his pro-Communist charges against Ambassador Philip Jessup from the immunity-free podium of Milburn High School and were told by two "dowager types" that they were "intellectually twisted."

Before the evening was done the young scholars were in for further, if less horrifying, surprises. In an informal question period after the address, the *Princetonian* reported, one of them made a skeptical remark about the virtues of Joe McCarthy. "Some neighboring listeners," it continued, "hearing the remark, demanded that the two Princetonians be ejected from the meeting. Others proclaimed, 'Let the Commies talk, let the Commies talk.' At this stage a 'little man in a blue suit' appeared and declared that he heartily wished that the Princetonians be sent to Korea and be brought back in a basket." "This suggestion," concluded the paper, "met with no objection from nearby spectators."

Instead of enlisting in the marines, however, the five sophomores drafted a long letter to the student paper, which, under the circumstances, was a model of restraint. The letter began:

Until last Friday night we had only read about, never experienced, a demagogue. But then in Milburn, New Jersey, we saw Senator Joseph McCarthy in action. This was one of the most eye-opening experiences of our lives, for this representative of the American public transformed a crowd of supposedly intelligent citizens into a mob of . . . haters. To say that these people's minds were putty in the hands of this oratorical artist is too trite and feeble a statement.

The conclusion of the letter warned:

We feel that McCarthy's appeal to the existing insecurities and fears of the people, his appeal to emotion and not reason, serves to label as subversive any criticism of the status quo. The inference is that *any* position to the left of McCarthy *must* be disloyal.

This might have been the end of the story, but even at Princeton there are some freshmen foolish enough to believe what they read in the papers, if they read beyond the sport and—at Princeton—financial pages. One such freshman wrote a letter immediately to the *Princetonian* complaining that he was "sick and tired of hearing one of our most courageous and honest living Americans slandered by such terms as 'bigot,' 'character assassin,' 'neurotic,' and 'pathological.'" The victimized citizen was Senator McCarthy.

Many students were profoundly disturbed by the fact that even a freshman should have such an idea. In an editorial entitled McCarthyism a Threat to Individual Dignity, the *Princetonian* scolded the erring freshman and warned, "In our opinion, McCarthyism and its effects are as dangerous a threat to the security of this country as any move by the Soviet Union or its satellites."

There were several more letters correcting the freshman. The most interesting was one jointly drafted by five fellow-freshmen who desired to restore the honor of the

class of 1955. McCarthy, the five students observed, was called "courageous" and "honest."

But is it honest to exaggerate, to distort? [they asked]. Is it honest to maliciously assail a person without giving any real proof, as he did with Mr. Jessup? Is the Senator courageous to hide behind Congressional immunity or, when bluffed out of this protection, to make threats so vague and hazy they can hardly be defined?

The demands of honor, however, are still more stringent than a mere rebuke at Princeton. The final touch was supplied by the Carlsen Club, an organization recently set up to honor the exploits of the skipper of the Flying Enterprise. The club president, a sophomore, announced that the offending pro-McCarthy freshman was being dropped from its membership. He explained:

While the club maintains that everyone has the right to freedom of expression, we also feel that the interests of integrity and loyalty in public service—the principles for which we stand—are hindered by the existence within our midst of such libelous views. . . .

This was a unique and in some ways an unfortunate twist: a Princeton freshman being dropped from organizational membership for supporting a Republican Senator.

There may be repercussions. Princeton has been called as politically pure as a Vermont Senator. If Senator McCarthy learns of recent developments, Princeton's reputation may change. After all, one of Princeton's famous alumni is Norman Thomas, and as McCarthy will tell you, a Socialist is only a Communist marching at half-time.

Rebirth of the Nazi International

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE other day the Bavarian Radio revealed that "85 per cent of the leading officials in the West German Foreign Office are former Nazis," a proportion even greater than when the ministry was headed by Joachim von Ribbentrop. The broadcast included an interesting statistical picture of the current personnel, by departments, as follows:

Political Department. The entire executive staff of ten, including the department head and all desk chiefs, are former Nazis who served under von Ribbentrop.

Länder Department (Department of the Federated States). Seven of the eight top officials are veterans both of the Nazi Party and of the Nazi foreign service.

Commerce Department. All five top officials were once party members and also employees of Hitler's Foreign Office.

Cultural Department. Three of the four executives are party veterans.

Personnel Department. Eighteen of the nineteen top officials worked for Hitler's Foreign Office; fourteen were Nazi Party members. (The Personnel Department has primary responsibility for choosing the Foreign Office staff.)

Protocol Department. Two of the three top executives were party members.

The qualitative break-down of this list is as impressive as the quantitative. Among the men now serving in the Bonn Foreign Office are Legation Counselor von Keller, first assistant to Woermann, a Hitler Secretary of State who was sentenced to death as a war

criminal at Nürnberg; Legation Counselor Melchers, a Middle East expert who conducted the Führer's negotiations with the Grand Mufti, Jew-baiter and war criminal; Herr von Trützschler, who helped prepare Ribbentrop's famous White Books; Heribert von Stempel, secretary of Hitler's embassy in Washington and one of the organizers of the Nazi fifth column in the United States, who is now in a position to resume his contacts in this country. This is only a small sampling of what the Hitler regime has bequeathed to Herr Adenauer's Foreign Ministry. Other ministries are only a little less contaminated. Last fall, at a meeting of experts called to Paris to discuss the question of a European army, French officers expressed resentment that their German opposites were accompanied by advisers who had formerly been notorious Nazis.

The situation in Germany has become more dangerous because of the number of disgruntled ex-servicemen who have been drawn into soldiers' leagues by ex-General Friessner. They constitute a political army of a distinctly fascist stripe. Friessner himself has been so outspoken in his Nazi sympathies—he characterized the abortive 1944 revolt against Hitler as a "cowardly attempt to murder the Supreme Commander behind the front line"—that Bonn felt compelled to replace him. But his successor, on assuming office, declared: "I had to obey the orders of my Führer. I could not stab the Supreme Commander in the back as the Social Democrats did in World War I." It would not seem as though the change were calculated to modify the nationalist fervor of the war

veterans' organizations or their loyalty to former Nazi leaders.

The fascist revival is also in full swing on the other side of the Brenner Pass, especially in southern Italy. There the neo-Fascists expect great victories in the municipal elections to be held at the end of next month. Foreign observers in Rome were shocked by the recent demonstrations for the return of Trieste instigated by neo-Fascists. But these evidences of fascist arrogance in Italy are less important than the underground effort to reorganize the Fascist militia, or the fact that important henchmen of Hitler are still in hiding and presumably playing active roles in the Fascist underground. One may doubt the report recently published in the Berlin Socialist daily *Telegraf* that Martin Bormann, the Führer's deputy, is hiding in a Rome monastery under the name of Brother Martin. It is a fact, however, that many Nazis have found refuge in Italian monasteries.

They also continue to find refuge in Switzerland. Recently a reporter for the weekly *Die Nation* of Berne discovered that a resident of Lugano was receiving a great deal of mail, especially from South America, and was making frequent rush trips to Italy and Austria. The Lugano man also made a trip to Egypt, where a group of ex-Gestapo members has been active for a year, operating within the framework of the amusing but dangerous friendship which has sprung up between Franco and certain Arab feudal chiefs. The Berne reporter finally penetrated the alias of this seemingly inoffensive resident of Lugano. He turned out to be former S. S. leader Eugen Dollman, once a close associate of Heinrich Himmler and intermediary between Marshal Kesselring, commander of German forces in Italy, and the Gestapo, which was then trying to liberate Mussolini. As a result of *Die Nation's* exposé, Dollman has been deported; Swiss authorities, who like authorities elsewhere had come to believe that fascism was an outmoded affair of interest only to historians, are now carrying on a thorough investigation of Nazi activities in their country.

A few days after *Die Nation's* story appeared, John J. McCloy, American High Commissioner for Germany, denied knowledge of the existence of an important group of Nazi conspirators in Cairo. It is apparent that Mr. McCloy does not read the German press with sufficient care. For the *Echo der Woche* of Munich had already carried a long article, entitled Nazi Conspiracy in Cairo, Madrid, and Rome, which presented detailed information on what the paper called "the new Fascist International" and its operations in the Middle East at a time when that area was becoming increasingly a focus of East-West conflict.

The title of the Munich article was not a literary caprice. An international fascist conference held secretly in Sweden some time ago—a recent issue of

U. S. Policy on Nazis

OFFICIAL publisher of the daily *Neue Zeitung* of Munich, which carries on its masthead the legend, "An American Newspaper in Germany," is the United States High Commissioner for Germany. Recently the newspaper in an editorial sharply warned Chancellor Adenauer that his foreign policy could never win back the confidence of the world so long as his Foreign Office employed men who had served the Nazi regime and were accessories to Hitler's crimes.

A few days later, at the specific request of the High Commissioner's office, the *Neue Zeitung* ran the following retraction: "A speaker for the American High Commissioner made this statement on Monday: 'In view of the fact that the political past of certain members of the Foreign Office is being investigated upon the initiative of the Foreign Office itself, the editorial of the *Neue Zeitung* was out of place. The *Neue Zeitung* had no intention of influencing the authorities charged with the investigation.'"

Tactfully ignoring the hint of internecine squabbling at high American levels implicit in the incident, the Social Democratic News Service, an organ of the German Social Democratic Party, made the following general comment: "For the price of a German defense contribution, the United States High Commission is apparently willing to accept even gravely incriminated members of the Foreign Office, regardless of the fact that these people have dishonored the German name."

Time magazine makes reference to it—adopted as its slogan: "Fascists of the World, Unite." The few intelligence agents in Europe who are paying any attention to the problem are convinced that an executive committee is reorganizing fascist forces throughout the world from underground headquarters in Madrid. These agents are also convinced that the fascists have a great deal of money at their disposal. It will be recalled that during the war official investigations revealed that considerable sums had been transferred to several Latin American countries, notably Argentina, from Germany via Madrid.

In the war's closing months, when Hitler knew that the struggle was irremediably lost, fund transfers from Germany to Spain increased. Other Nazi assets were either hidden in a physical sense or deposited in various countries under aliases. A sensational discovery in a Tyrolean village in 1950 disclosed that S. S. forces, before they withdrew from the area in April, 1945, buried forty to fifty million dollars' worth of loot. Surely there must still exist many caches of gold and foreign currency which

the Gestapo took from Jews and other Nazi victims, not only in Germany but in the occupied countries.

As for the United States, one can assume that the thousands of Nazis who were in this country before Pearl Harbor, and about whom the FBI made several interesting reports at the time, have not simply disap-

peared into thin air; nor have they been converted to democracy. Most of them are still here and form a link between the Nazis in Europe and those who operate in Latin America protected by totalitarian regimes like Perón's. America has become a kind of refueling point for the busy and wide-ranging fascist conspirators.

Impressions of New China

BY V. K. R. V. RAO

[V. K. R. V. RAO is one of India's most distinguished citizens, a scholar and economist of international repute. He has represented the government of India at the United Nations and at many important international conferences and is now head of the Delhi School of Economics and of the Department of Economics at Delhi University. This article is the first of two based on his experience as a member of a group of Indian intellectuals who made an official good-will tour of China last fall. We think Mr. Rao's reports of special significance as reflecting an important segment of non-Communist Indian opinion on Communist China.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Delhi, India

AT THE outset I wish to state that my observations on the new China have a very limited basis. They are derived largely from a stay in China of hardly more than five weeks, during which I visited Canton, Peking Mukden, Tientsin, Nanking, and Shanghai. I was able to inspect a number of factories, villages, shops, universities, and exhibitions, as well as visit places of cultural and historical interest. In addition, our group held discussions, either together or singly, with important personages in the political and economic field, including the Prime Minister of China, the Governor of the People's Bank of China, the Mayor of Peking, the Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Labor, and several university professors. In a number of cases the conversation was in English and carried on tête-à-tête, while in others interpreters had to be utilized. A trained observer is also adept at using his eyes and ears in a foreign country, and though ignorance of the local language may put the ears out of action, the eyes discover many interesting things on a long rail journey.

Let me begin with some remarks about the new government of China. It is a multi-party government in the sense that it contains representatives of political parties other than the Communist Party and prominent individuals with no special party affiliations, but leadership is unquestionably in the hands of the Communist Party, and the three most important posts—Chairman, Premier, and Commander-in-Chief—are held by Communists. It

is based on what is called the "people's democratic united front," which includes not only the working class and the peasantry but also the petty bourgeoisie, or trading classes, and the national bourgeoisie, or patriotic capitalists. Admittedly the government functions as a dictatorship, but the only groups conscious of repression are those with vested feudal interests and persons who, having lost their special positions of privilege or power, would like to bring back the old regime. I cannot help feeling that part of the emphasis one finds in China on the suppression of these classes is due to the fact that Chiang Kai-shek's rule in Formosa constitutes a standing threat to the Peking government, especially since it is supported by the United States.

For the rest of the population, and this means the vast majority, the constitution provides for people's congresses at all levels; these are elected by universal franchise and in turn elect the central, regional, state, municipal, county, and village governments. A few cities and counties have already elected people's congresses; in others local power is wielded by representative conferences constituted on the multi-party lines of the Central Chinese People's Consultative Conference. The system has brought the people into close contact with the government and given them the opportunity to ventilate their needs and express their criticisms.

Moreover, the people are being organized according to locality, occupation, sex, and so on, and these organizations function actively, directing their attention not so much to ideological issues as to the concrete problems of daily life. The people discuss their own faults and ways of helping themselves as well as the faults of government officials and ways of obtaining more effective government aid. Of course their meetings are also used by the government to expound its program, explain its actions, and seek popular support for its policies. The government is constantly explaining and educating; the people are constantly discussing. China has become one large talking shop or rather a multitude of little discussion clubs; and there is an undeniable feeling in the air that the people are participating in the government.

Whether this is democracy or dictatorship I do not know. I do know that the political liveliness, the widespread knowledge of and interest in details of government activity, and the government's sensitiveness to the need for educating public opinion and enlisting public support make an overwhelming impression even on a comparatively hard-boiled and much-traveled visitor. Curiously enough, the only other country I know where there is the same mass interest in governmental activity and the same governmental sensitiveness to it is the United States. Perhaps the new China, in spite of its denunciation of "American imperialism," is being unconsciously influenced by the democratic processes characteristic of the nation with which the old China had more friendly associations for a century and a half than it enjoyed with any other country.

There is no doubt that the new government is an effective government; its writ runs the length and breadth of continental China. It is true that most of the bridges are still guarded by armed sentries, and that officials, both civil and military, have an alertness which suggests they are conscious of hostile forces across the seas and of the possible presence of saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries at home. But soldiers were little in evidence in the cities and villages we visited, and the police of the cities generally carried no arms. One could sense in the people walking on the street, hurrying to their work, crowding into department stores, or returning from movie houses that intangible something which betokens confidence in the maintenance of law and order. Women moved about as freely as men. There were no black-outs, and neon lights livened up the streets at night.

THE strongest impression I received from the tour was of normality with perhaps a little more mass activity and enthusiasm than one would find under a longer-established regime. Obviously the new government has come to stay; all varieties and shades of opinion in China appeared convinced of this. At last the country has one government, one flag, one national anthem, one currency, and one system of law. I could feel the consciousness of strength this evoked in the most ordinary people I met. It was a great change from the old regime, people told me. Unless everyone was lying and my own eyes were deceived, the effectiveness, stability, and popularity of the new government of China are beyond all doubt. The magnificent, five-hour-long parade I saw on the national day in Peking confirmed this impression. It was like nothing I had ever seen before in India or outside.

Naturally, I was curious to know how the new government had become so popular. It was partly, of course, because of the contrast between the austerity, devotion to work, and honesty of the new Communist-led officialdom and the demoralization and corruption of the previous

regime. And it was partly because of the contrast between the Communist armies and all the armies the people had known before. A non-Communist, American-educated university professor said to me: "These people upset all our old notions about the army. They never entered our houses without permission; they refused gifts and would take nothing which they did not pay for; they treated our women with respect, helped our old men across streets, and showed themselves willing to do odd jobs for us, especially those which needed heavy labor. They talked of serving the people, and soon we found they meant what they said. They certainly deserved their title, People's Liberation Army; and they were the best ambassadors of the new regime. We would do anything for them."

Another reason for the government's popularity is the sense of national dignity and pride it has promoted among the people. A good example of its methods is its insistence that the Chinese language be used everywhere; even the soaps and cigarettes manufactured by foreign concerns in China, like the

Imperial Tobacco Company and Lever Brothers, now bear Chinese names and trademarks instead of English. Women are finding opportunities for work and self-expression they never had before. Young people are taken more seriously and allowed to play a more important role in national reconstruction than they had ever thought would be open to them.

One thing is absolutely clear to my mind. It is not mere propaganda or skill in psychological approach that has won the new government of China the support of all classes; nor is it solely its high code of personal conduct, or its evocation of national strength and pride. In addition to these factors there is a hard material base for the loyalty of the people. And that is the concrete improvement in their material condition which all classes see is the result of action taken by the government, though less than three years have elapsed since it was established.

This cannot be better illustrated than by reference to the attitude of the largest class in China, the peasantry. The new government has broken the grip of the landlords and thereby secured the support of the vast majority of those who work on the land.



V. K. R. V. Rao

Experiment in Industrial Democracy

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

TODAY Yugoslavia is still a one-party state: at election time the voters receive a single list of candidates. The press represents the view of the government, and there is no freedom of assembly for enemies of the regime. In spite of this, the assumption that the Yugoslav dictatorship is as absolute as that of Russia is contradicted by several recent political and economic developments. The stated goal of present-day Yugoslav policy, in sharp contrast to post-war Soviet tendencies, is to curb the government's powers in various directions. If this change continues, it will have significant consequences far beyond Yugoslavia's borders, for it will be the first instance in modern history of a dictatorial government relinquishing part of its control.

The trend, of course, is comparatively new. The Yugoslavs embarked on their political and social reforms only when they became convinced that the break with the Soviet Union was irrevocable. One of the first changes instituted was in the direction of decentralization—of what in this country would be called "states' rights." Yugoslavia, which is made up of a number of republics representing widely different stages of economic development, had at first sought to govern these republics—whose own powers were nominal—through a kind of bureaucratic centralism. Today the autonomy of the republics is being strengthened, and only the most urgent matters are being regulated by the central government.

A similar process is going on in Yugoslavia's economic life. As late as 1950, in line with its Five-Year Plan, Yugoslavia's economy was strictly controlled by the central authority. In recent months this principle has been partly abandoned. The government still directs over-all planning, but industrial, business, and agricultural enterprises are being given greater freedom.

In practice the system works like this: The government's over-all plan merely lays down the minimum production quota in vital industries; it further establishes minimum wages for skilled and unskilled workers and for technicians. It fixes the approximate quota for new investments and decides at the same time in what industries and plants new investments are to be made. In addition, it controls almost all foreign trade. In this way the government assures the armaments industry the imports it needs and also decides how much certain

branches of industry must export in order to pay for essential imports.

Within these limits individual industrial, business, and agricultural enterprises are allowed a fairly wide margin of control. For example, plants are given a free hand to produce more than the minimum government quota, and in the same way once a factory has passed its minimum production quota, both total and individual wages may rise above the government minimums in proportion to the increased output. Similarly the state determines minimum investments; however, beyond this, the workers themselves may decide whether, and how much, they want to invest in their own plant.

This system is no longer abstract theory; it is being turned into practice. I visited a tractor plant near Belgrade. In the previous few months this plant had produced about 50 tractors a month—an annual output of 600 tractors. If it could be better supplied with raw materials, or, to put it differently, if arms production did not swallow up so much iron ore, then the annual output could be raised to nearly 1,000 tractors. Considering that Yugoslavia has altogether some 6,000 agricultural collectives, this tractor plant is obviously vital to the economy. It employs about 1,600 people. By American and Western European standards its equipment is not first-rate, but compared to most Balkan countries it is quite modern. Recently houses for the workers have been built near the plant; half the workers already live there, while the other half live in neighboring communities. They work eight hours a day, forty-eight hours a week; the plant has a good restaurant, which the majority of the workers patronize, and good sanitary facilities.

The plant manager—and he alone—was chosen by the central planning bureau; together with him a workers' council elected by the workers themselves makes all the major decisions. The central over-all plan provides that the minimum output is to be fifty tractors a month; it further provides for the necessary raw materials, sets the minimum wages—which are paid even if the minimum quota is not reached and unemployment or part-time work results for reasons beyond the management's control, for example, in case of difficulties in raw-material deliveries. Apart from these basic regulations, however, the workers' council is given considerable leeway. Whenever production and productivity go up, it can raise the minimum quota and pay higher wages. By examining the wage scales in the various work categories I discovered that wages paid to the workers are considerably higher than the prescribed minimums, often more than one-

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third higher. This naturally strengthens the bond between the workers and their jobs, enhances their interest in the plant's output, and makes them feel that it belongs to them—actually as well as legally.

The change taking place in this particular tractor plant, like that going on throughout the country, is aimed at broadening social democracy in the labor process itself and also in the relationships between worker and production. It is part of an effort the success of which is by no means assured. But the cumulative effect of everything I saw in Yugoslavia justifies a moderate optimism. And this feeling is increased by the fact that young men are at the helm of the government. With the exception of Tito most of the ministers are between thirty and forty and most of the men who run industry are just as young. They are vigorous and hopeful, and ready to experiment with new ideas.

This attempt to substitute industrial democracy for centralized control, if it does succeed, can have far-reaching consequences. For it comes to grips with a world-wide problem. With an ever-increasing share of the world's industrial output being produced by large plants, a kind of dehumanization of labor has come to pass. Many Socialists have believed that this evil could be eliminated by the nationalization of vital industries.

But post-war experience has shown clearly that this change by itself is not enough.

In Great Britain the Labor government nationalized a number of key industries, but the position of the worker himself, his personal attitude to his work, remained basically the same. It was this experience, among others, which led many British Fabians to visit Yugoslavia during the past year, to gather concrete evidence as to how the problem was being tackled there, where the government has absolute power. Germany has also recognized the importance of this question. The Bonn Parliament has passed a law which gives the workers equal power with management in determining the policy of major industries; so far its effect has hardly been felt. But Germany too is beginning to realize, on the basis of Britain's experience, that a nationalized and planned economy in no way solves the problem of giving the worker a stake in the enterprise, in the growth of production and productivity. Responsible German labor men and Socialists intend to acquaint themselves with the concrete results of Yugoslavia's experiment. They realize, of course, that one country's findings cannot be schematically applied to another. But it would be of great value for the growth of social democracy everywhere if British, Yugoslav, and German experience could be shared.

The Crusade Against Bridges

BY FOWLER HARPER

HARRY BRIDGES, now seeking a reversal of his conviction of perjury in connection with his naturalization as an American, was born in Australia of middle-class stock. As a young man he was exposed to the moderate trade-union, socialist political philosophy which prevailed there during the early years of the century. At nineteen he came to the United States as a legal immigrant and after a few years in various maritime jobs settled down in San Francisco. For ten or twelve years this fellow earned his living, such as it was, in the same wretched way as the thousands of others who toiled, when they could get work, on the San Francisco waterfront. But when the depression and the New Deal got into full swing, Bridges became distinguishable from the other waterfront employees. In 1934 he was elected chairman of the longshoremen's strike committee.

From that time on Harry Bridges has been one of the most effective labor leaders in the United States. He has also been a marked man. In 1936 he became president of the West Coast Longshoremen's Union and has held the post ever since. By shrewd, imaginative, and often

militant leadership he has raised the average earnings of its members from a starving wage to more than \$5,000 a year, as compared to the \$1,700 average of Joe Ryan's boss-ridden East Coast unionists. It may or may not be significant that the government has shown almost complete indifference to Ryan's conduct of his union, which is notoriously a disgrace to the labor movement. Until the 1934 West Coast strike the government showed no interest in Bridges, or in his social, economic, or political views. Since then it has waged a campaign against this Australian immigrant that has no doubt been matched in some countries but hardly here.

Although Bridges has been in the United States since 1922, he was first investigated late in 1934 by the District Director of Immigration and the San Francisco police department. The District Director reported that his investigation failed to show that Bridges was "in any manner connected with the Communist Party or any radical organization." He also reported that the San Francisco police had "likewise been unable to obtain any evidence that the alien [Bridges] has ever been a member of the Communist Party or in any manner directly affiliated therewith or a member of any radical organization."

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In 1936, notwithstanding this clean bill of health for Bridges, the Commissioner of Immigration, under pressure from certain West Coast interests, appointed a three-man committee to start a new investigation of Bridges's alleged subversive behavior. The committee reported that "whenever any legal ground for the deportation of Bridges has been brought to the attention of the Department of Labor [which at that time had jurisdiction over the Immigration Service], it has been investigated, but invariably it has been found that he was in the clear, and that his status as an immigrant was entirely regular."

Bridges and his union no doubt thought that the end of the matter—three investigations and three clearances. But they did not reckon accurately the power of those who wanted to crush the union and get rid of its tough leader. These people represented large shipping companies, the American Legion, the Associated Farmers, and even so-called labor leaders like Ryan and Lundberg. The Secretary of Labor finally ordered a fourth investigation by the department's solicitor. He made it and came up with the same answer. Nevertheless, the pressures continued. A resolution was even introduced in Congress to impeach the Secretary of Labor. Whether as a result or not, the Secretary issued a warrant for Bridges's arrest with a view to deportation on the ground that he was a member of the Communist Party, and hearings were held before a specially appointed examiner, James M. Landis, former dean of the Harvard Law School. The government threw everything at Bridges, including 138 exhibits. The accused himself submitted 136. Sixty witnesses were examined. The stenographic transcript ran to 7,700 pages. Dean Landis made an exhaustive analysis of the record and concluded that on the evidence Bridges was neither a member of nor affiliated in any way with the Communist Party. The Secretary of Labor approved the report. Here was the fourth clearance.

The pressure to get Bridges out of the country increased. The House passed a special bill directing the Attorney General to deport him, "notwithstanding any other provision of law." The bill died in the Senate after Robert H. Jackson, then Attorney General, denounced it as unconstitutional. But Congress and the men behind some of its members were not content. The Immigration Act was promptly amended, admittedly to achieve the desired result by making past membership in the Communist Party ground for deportation. Indeed, the author of the bill said: "It is my joy to announce that this bill will do in a perfectly legal constitutional manner what the bill specifically aimed at the deportation of Harry Bridges seeks to accomplish. This bill changes the law so that the Department of Justice should now have little trouble in deporting Harry Bridges and all others of similar ilk."

The Department of Justice got right on the ball. A new warrant was issued for Bridges's arrest and deporta-

tion on the charge that he had once been a member of the party. Another hearing was held before Judge Charles B. Sears, who found against Bridges. The Board of Immigration Appeals reversed him. The Attorney General reversed the Board of Appeals and ordered Bridges deported. A writ of habeas corpus was denied in the Federal District Court. The decision was affirmed in the Circuit Court of Appeals by a divided court. The Supreme Court reversed it and found for Bridges in two blistering opinions. Justice Murphy said:

The record in this case will stand forever as a monument to man's intolerance to man. Seldom if ever in the history of this nation has there been such a concentrated and relentless crusade to deport an individual because he dared to exercise the freedom that belongs to him as a human being and that is guaranteed to him by the Constitution. . . . Industrial and farming organizations, veterans' groups, city police departments, and private undercover agents, all joined in an unrelenting effort to deport him. . . . Wire-tapping, searches and seizures without warrant, and other forms of invasion of the right of privacy have been widely employed in this deportation drive.

WHAT manner of man is this who for fifteen years has created a civil-liberties furor heard round the world—unfortunately even behind the Iron Curtain? One has to see Harry Bridges in action to catch his temper—see him in the hiring halls with his men, note their grim devotion to him, see him hard-bargaining with the Waterfront Employers' Association, hear him testifying to his faith in democratic processes and his simple belief in the rights of workers and their trade unions. Justice Douglas quoted a revealing passage from Landis's report:

Bridges's own statement of his political beliefs and disbeliefs is important. It was given not only without reserve but vigorously, as dogmas and faiths of which the man was proud and which represented in his mind the aims of his existence. It was a fighting apologia that refused to temper itself to the winds of caution.

It is obvious that Bridges made a deep impression on Landis as he has on many others. Bridges is contagious. People around him catch fire from his zeal. Ask the determined organizers who faced riot acts and hoodlums' violence to invade Hawaii and organize the sugar workers! But the array of money and power against him is more than any immigrant labor leader can overcome in the atmosphere that pervades the nation today.

Shortly after the Supreme Court decision was handed down, Bridges pressed his pending application for citizenship and thought he was naturalized by decree of a federal court. But in May, 1949, he was indicted for conspiracy to defraud the government—by lying when he testified that he had never been a member of the Communist Party. There is evidence that more than a year earlier

the then Attorney General had determined to oust Bridges from the leadership of his union in one way or another. The Attorney General also intimated, on the eve of the prosecution, that his conviction would have a quieting effect on economic disturbances in Hawaii.

Bridges was tried on a charge which in substance was perjury. The Department of Justice assigned a battery of six lawyers to the case. Bridges was convicted on the testimony of a parade of witnesses as dubious as those in the preceding trial, who had been characterized by Dean Landis in a way to leave little doubt that he thought they had all perjured themselves. Indeed, the government's evidence in the earlier trial, in the words of one of the Appeals Court judges, "would be condemned and proscribed without hesitation by any American court."

In July, 1950, while his case was pending on appeal, as it still is, on motion of the government, Bridges's bail was revoked, and he was thrown into jail because he spoke out for a cease-fire in Korea. Now, twenty months and a hundred thousand American casualties later, most people, including Senator Taft, also want a cease-fire. The trial court's revocation of bail was reversed by the Court of Appeals, and the most hated and most respected labor leader in the country is for the time being running his union as usual.

Aside from the question of who is lying about Bridges's relationship to the Communist Party, one of the principal issues in the case is the statute of limitations. This statute has always been considered important in the administration of justice; it is not a mere technicality. It is not fair to prosecute a man for something he is alleged to have done many years before. Witnesses die, their memories fail, records are lost. The general statute of limitations on criminal prosecutions sets a time limit of three years. The present prosecution was initiated more than three years after the alleged perjury. However, a war-time "Suspension Act" lifted the limitation where "fraud" was charged. The legislative history of this act shows that the fraud which Congress had in mind was in connection with contracts and other negotiations involving pecuniary loss to the government. The Supreme Court had held that a similar earlier statute was inapplicable to perjury in connection with an income-tax return. Cheating the government out of money is no part of the crime of perjury. But the trial judge in Bridges's pending case stretched the suspension act to knock out the statute of limitations.

HOW many times does a man have to defend himself against the same charge? What of the constitutional provision that a man may not be tried twice for the same offense? This is the third proceeding in which Bridges has had to face the accusation that at some time after his entry to the United States he joined or somehow became affiliated with the Communist Party. The government

was the moving party each time. The two administrative proceedings for deportation may technically not be criminal in nature, although banishment, as Justice Brandeis has said, "may result also in the loss of both property and life or all that makes life worth living." In the present case the charge was criminal in nature and the loss of citizenship incidental — just thrown in for the tax. Nevertheless, Bridges has been put in jeopardy of exile from the United States three times.

Repeatedly Bridges's attorney raised the point, and repeatedly the trial judge ruled against him. The attorney sought to introduce in evidence the decision of the Supreme Court. The trial judge charged the jury specifically that no force or effect whatever could be given to any of the prior decisions. Bridges was defending from scratch. The government, of course, introduced much evidence which had not been presented in the deportation proceedings. Practically all of it, however, was at least questionable as hearsay. There was no documentary evidence to substantiate any part of the charge.

On the main issue—had Bridges ever been a Communist since he came to the United States?—the principal witnesses against him were ten labor organizers, or officials, who were renegades from the party. Bridges had necessarily had considerable traffic with them during his long career on the waterfront. With some of them he had had strong differences in the rough and tumble union activities of the period. It is not easy to prove a negative proposition, and Bridges's witnesses would naturally be less convincing than the government's on this issue. How many persons could *anybody* get to testify that they *knew* he had never been a Communist? Under cross-examination it would invariably come down to a matter of belief. There is no escape from the fact that either Bridges himself or most of the government's principal witnesses lied. The record of the trial discloses a good bit of evidence that at least two and probably three of the government's witnesses perjured themselves. Two others look pretty bad, and one admitted ex-comrade had been on the government's pay roll to the tune of several thousand dollars.

In his charge to the jury on the credibility of the wit-



Harry Bridges

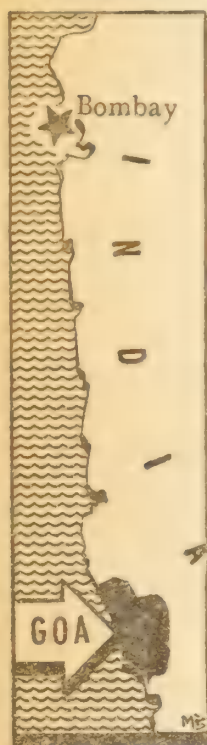
nesses the trial judge appears to have set up a less onerous standard for the trustworthiness of the government's witnesses than for that of the defense witnesses. In any event, now that the trial is over, there is not much doubt where his sympathies were while it was in progress. At the outset of his charge he said, poetically, "I trust you may be able to perceive the truth shimmering like gold in the crucible of this trial, in the searching light of legal principles applicable." After the verdict of guilt he told them triumphantly, "You have finally found the golden truth shimmering in the fiery crucible of this trial."

Yes, after sixteen years and six tries, the government finally found the "golden truth" about Bridges.

The Saga of Goa

BY MARIO ROSSI

AN INTERESTING little document was smuggled out of Portuguese India the other day. Goa, on the west coast of India, with a population of 600,000, is still a Portuguese colony, though it would like to join greater India. The people have offered passive resistance to



Portugal's repressive rule and have tried to inform the Western world that they are being denied the right to self-determination, but the Portuguese authorities have managed to keep the matter under cover. Now at last a well-documented memorandum prepared by one of the leaders of the Goa liberation committee, or National Congress, and setting forth the people's grievances has been received in this country.

Civil liberties, the memorandum demonstrates, do not exist in Goa. A strictly enforced censorship extends to every kind of printed matter, including advertisements, calendars, and wedding invitations. The police are all-powerful and are mostly troops imported from Africa. All contacts with India are forbidden to the people under threat of imprison-

ment or deportation; Goans may not even visit the Indian consulate.

The Congress charges that the colonial administration has no semblance of democracy. The Governor General, appointed by the Minister for Colonies in Lisbon, is the supreme authority. He is assisted by a Council of fourteen members, nine of whom are nominated by the adminis-

tration and five elected by the forty richest taxpayers.

After referring to the West's lack of interest in Goa's national aspirations, the memorandum says:

Since no practical steps were taken by the Indian government to implement its verbal statements [in favor of Goan independence], the government of Goa still enjoys the privileged position assured to the Portuguese in India by their former protector [Britain]. . . . This is largely due to the attitude of English-trained civil servants toward the Portuguese authorities. They act in direct opposition to the declared policy of Pandit Nehru, and still seem to consider Portugal the "oldest ally."

Challenging the contention that Goa is profiting economically from its ties with Portugal, the memorandum states that according to the latest available statistics imports are six times greater than exports, the deficit being made up by heavy taxation and remittances from Goans who have emigrated to India or Africa. The standard of living of the Goans is purposely kept low. Some 90 per cent of the population is illiterate, and no more than 5 per cent can speak Portuguese.

Those Goans who have been converted, usually under duress, to Catholicism favor union with India as strongly as the others, but the church opposes it. The church considers Goa one of its bastions in the Far East and maintains a patriarchate there. The Patriarch, D. José da Costa Nunes, has said: "In carrying out the church's program of work I can and I must inculcate love for Portugal in the people and condemn the imbecility of the country's incorporation into greater India." Of course, the preeminent position of the church would suffer from union with India, where Catholics are a tiny minority. Salazar has thus found the church a convenient instrument of the dictatorship's colonial policies.

Portugal first gained a foothold in India in the sixteenth century but acquired most of the Goan territory in the eighteenth. The Goan liberation movement began to be formidable in 1946, when campaigns of civil disobedience were instituted. An Indian government official told me that Prime Minister Nehru is in complete sympathy with the aspirations of the Goans and is trying to induce Portugal to hold a plebiscite. Mahatma Gandhi was a great friend of Goan independence and repeatedly condemned Portuguese rule. On August 2, 1946, he wrote to the Governor General of Portuguese India:

What I see and know of conditions in Goa is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa have been silent is proof not of the innocence or the beneficence of the Portuguese government but of its rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined to a few malcontents. Every account received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India confirms the contrary view.

MARIO ROSSI was formerly The Nation's correspondent in Rome.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IN THE March issue of *Harper's Magazine*, Joyce Cary attacks what he calls our favorite folly, the belief that one of the end-products of modern industrial democratic society is and must be the mass mind. He subscribed to this belief himself, he says, until he went to administer the affairs of a primitive tribe in Africa—and found that "the tribal mind was much more truly a mass mind than anything I had known in Europe." He takes, one by one, the arguments usually invoked to prove that individuality is vanishing from the Western world and shows that they are actually evidences of the opposite tendency.

One of these arguments is the "enormous increase of law and regulation"—it is sometimes referred to as regimentation. In a primitive society no such elaborate structure is necessary, says Mr. Cary, for the reason that no one questions the authority of the tribal chiefs or the sanctity of old customs. Men and their demands are really standardized—and severely limited. "But the modern state, simply because of the independence of its citizens, the complication of their demands, needs a huge machine of law and police. This is not a proof of the mass mind but the exact opposite—of a growing number of people who think and act for themselves and, rightly or wrongly, are ready to defy the old simple rules founded on custom."

To the argument that "mass education" is debasing the standards of thought and producing mob minds—an argument tirelessly repeated in sorrow or in anger by liberals as well as reactionaries—he replies that no kind of education, however narrow, "can produce the mass mind. The reason is that minds are creative, that thoughts wander by themselves and cannot be controlled by the cleverest police. . . . To teach people to think, if only to make them more useful as soldiers and mechanics, is to open all thoughts to them—a whole world of ideas."

IT IS A long-term answer. But in any assessment of the merits of the democratic idea—and that is the real issue in the argument Mr. Cary has joined—only the long view is applicable. Relatively speaking, the democratic idea has been in operation only a very short time. No one will deny that it has released the bodies and the minds and the creative faculties of millions who would otherwise have passed their lives in serfdom or slavery or the tribal uniformity that Mr. Cary describes. To expect that, in so brief a time, it should also have brought these millions to a high level of taste, of judgment and discrimination, not only in the arts but in every other field, is both unfair and, as Mr. Cary points out, profoundly defeatist. He is not dismayed by "the crowds at the cinemas and the bus loads on the sight-seeing tours. . . . They have already left the mass; they are individuals seeking ideas for themselves." At least, as he says, there is a great variety of taste—and while the continuous search for novelty may be a sign of dissatisfaction, dissatisfaction is not characteristic of the mass mind.

As for the quality of public taste, perhaps the wonder, on balance, should be not that it is as low as it is but that it is as high as it is, considering all the hazards. I am thinking of such hazards as the commercial exploitation of bad taste by cynical entrepreneurs who nevertheless feel called upon to exonerate themselves by taking refuge in the hoary claim that they are providing "what the people want"; and of such devices as the Motion Picture Code, which in the name of morality has forced the production of hundreds of "inoffensive" and "non-controversial" films which are so immoral and vulgar in the true sense of these words that your genuine moralist can't sit through them.

I do not mean to exaggerate the quality of the public taste. And I am quite prepared for the possibility that it may get worse before it gets better. But having made these generalizations, I hasten to assert that any generalization about so vast a development as the spread of democratic society is bound to

be at best no more than half true. Public taste is made up of millions of private individual tastes and uneven development is of its essence. In some sectors it will assuredly get worse before it gets better. In others it will never again be worse than it is and is getting better.

"If you want to write a best-seller," says Mr. Cary, "your best subject nowadays is probably cosmology." This fact offsets somewhat the fact that the market for good fiction and poetry is very limited. As it happens, fiction in general, the bad and mediocre as well as the good, has shown a large decline in sales these past years—ask any publisher. It could be that the lack of interest in good fiction, together with the growth of interest in cosmology, is not an indication of the increasing vulgarity and mediocrity of the democratic "mass" mind but, instead, a sign that at this stage the desire for knowledge is uppermost. It need not mean, either, that fiction and poetry are "finished"; it is at least possible that the desire for knowledge will be succeeded by a demand for the more rarefied nourishment of fiction and poetry. This is the usual sequence in individual development, and the individual is the unit and the mainspring of the democratic process.

THIS LAST FACT is too often overlooked or forgotten—and to me one of the great ironies of the past thirty years is that it has been so often overlooked and forgotten by the very people who consider themselves the champions of the democratic idea. It is they, for instance, who are most likely to use a term which I have used myself, which I shall never use again, and which I think should be banished from the democratic vocabulary—I mean that condescending, arrogant, and subtly self-glorifying term "the masses." It is a term that corrupts the user, for as soon as one reduces human beings, in one's mind, to a featureless, undifferentiated "mass," one is on the way to being ready to treat them not as human beings but as insentient *things*, to be categorized, manipulated, even destroyed—and all of

course for their own good. The totalitarians have shown us and are still showing us where this sort of dehumanized thinking leads. Another, related irony is that the defense of the individual has become the shibboleth of old-fashioned reactionaries who really regard the majority of people as "a great beast."

IN REPORTING last week on "Flight Into Egypt" I didn't get round to mentioning an element which other reviewers noted and which was very much in evidence. This was the piling up of afflictions—on the characters and on the audience as well—to the point where one had to become insensible or walk out. The situation presented was cruel enough—that of a cripple and his wife and child, almost penniless, waiting from moment to moment for a visa to the United States—though it was somehow alleviated by the information that they had their steamship tickets! But a gruesome and to my mind quite unnecessary twist was added. The cripple had a radio on his wheelchair and we were carefully told that when the pain was upon him he turned on the radio to drown his screams. It seems to me that sadism—in this case directed at the audience—could go no farther; and there are other details almost as harrowing. "Flight Into Egypt" may be intended as a serious play about a subject of pressing interest; it often gives the effect of being an attempt to exploit current emotions about refugees, war cripples, and mean American consuls.

Personal Chronicle

AFTER ALL. The Autobiography of Norman Angell. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$4.50.

NOT many elders of our time can have been more badgered than Sir Norman Angell to set about the writing of reminiscences, and there is one curious point in the persistent demand. The men and women who make up his immense circle of acquaintance have for the most part esteemed him only as author and international evangelist. They are unaware that his life has comprised an abundance of adventure; that this man of slight physique spent his early manhood in the fierce labor of a pioneer in the great West,

and that until the onset of old age he found his recreation in home-building and stiff sailing. To the large majority, therefore, of those readers who can claim some personal knowledge of the author, "After All" will come as the revelation of an original man of action.

Norman Angell is a native of eastern England, coming from a small Lincolnshire town not many miles from Old Boston. His parents were moderately well-to-do. They would gladly have sent him to Cambridge and backed him for a lucrative profession, but from the start he had other ideas. His schooling was mainly in France, at the *lycée* of St. Omer. At the age of sixteen he was editing a little paper in Geneva, and a year later, with £50 sterling from his father, he sailed for New York. An emigrant train carried him to southern California when Los Angeles was hardly a town. Being ready for anything he worked as farm hand, cowboy, and hauler. As an intending settler he built his own house. All the physical conditions were rough and enjoyable; it was the human obstacles that proved to be insuperable. A quite grotesque animosity was the lot of this friendly and hardworking young Englishman. Lying testimony in the court did him out of his quarter-section. At the end of seven years he gave up and had a brief spell of reporting in San Francisco.

The next stage made a startling contrast. His knowledge of French was an asset. He went to Paris and was soon writing editorials with energy and a wide range. His gifts were discovered by Harmsworth, the future Lord Northcliffe, then on his first ascent to power and needing an organizer for the Continental *Daily Mail*. Angell accepted the job and held it with notable success for ten years. No two men could have been farther apart in conviction and aim; yet the personal association was good to the last, and meanwhile the governing purpose of Norman Angell's life was taking shape.

The violent racial hates he had known in California made him reflect upon the roots of international conflict. In France the raging passions aroused by the Dreyfus affair drove home the lesson. The climate between Germany and England was rapidly changing for the worse. This student of affairs at the

center recognized all the forces that were making toward a European disaster, and in 1910 "The Great Illusion" was published, after a trial venture with a pamphlet. The famous book was a compact masterpiece of exposition, logic, and prophecy. It proclaimed that the powers were rushing to the abyss. Their fatal course might be stayed, but only if the governments and other makers of policy took heed in time, acknowledged the iron facts, and threw away the superstitions by which the nations were being destroyed. Should war be allowed to come again, the warning rang, victors and vanquished must suffer alike: the European system would be overturned, indemnities could not be collected: the writing on the wall was repudiation. "The Great Illusion" was translated into a score of languages, the sales ran into millions, a debate was opened that spanned the globe.

The author's name—an effective shortening of his patronymic—was soon universally known, but by an ironic perversity for which there is no parallel in the annals of political controversy, it was attached to a mythical soothsayer who was alleged to have announced that great wars had become impossible. During forty years of protest Norman Angell wrote hundreds of letters underlining the truth that what he had written was the precise opposite. All efforts were unavailing; the idiotic blunder is still being repeated, even by would-be serious writers. Hence Norman Angell is now disposed to quote Charles Darwin and say that he must have been a very poor explainer. That, of course, is not so; no man could be more lucid. All we can say is that the libel is unique and inexplicable.

Norman Angell is now within hail of fourscore. He can look back upon a half-century of public work inspired by devotion to a single cause: the salvation of mankind from a third global conflict which would bring the final overthrow of Europe as we know it and the end of Western civilization. His opponents assert that in demanding a policy of realistic cooperation between the "free" powers he has identified himself with a fundamental blunder. That is, he has assumed that peoples and governments are capable of being convinced by reason and experience or by arguments based upon vital interest. He replies that

no publicist of the age could have a sharper or more terrifying awareness than he has of the irrational forces now ruling the world and blackening the future. He knows that for himself there was no other course possible than the one to which his mind and energies are dedicated. Upon the essentials of organic peace he has written and spoken untiringly. His coworkers are found in every land. In England after the First War he became a valued counselor of the Labor Party, fought four elections, and endured rather than enjoyed two years in Parliament. He is given to wondering whether, for a complete internationalist, this turn to the left was right. He notes with a touch of good-humored irony that when, for a very simple reason, he accepted a knighthood from Ramsay MacDonald, he received many more congratulations than on the occasion of the Nobel peace award.

In these present hours of crisis, amid conditions more threatening to the world order than ever before, it is plainly impossible for anyone to estimate, in terms of positive result, the life-effort of a creative social and political thinker. Here for us, however, is the personal chronicle of a life and character that shine out in the murk of our distressful day. It is throughout candid and humane, written with sustained animation. And I do not doubt that the sensitive reader will feel that it reflects the thoughts and affections of a happy man, a spirit deeply fulfilled.

S. K. RATCLIFFE

Dr. Hayes on Spain

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.

By Carlton J. H. Hayes. Sheed and Ward. \$2.75.

THE latest contribution by Dr. Hayes to the Viva Franco school of history is an expanded version of lectures he delivered last year at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts. Despite the fact that it is a slender little book in more ways than one, it contains elements of truth which are sometimes overlooked. Spain, as the author points out, is a poor country and is fated to remain so, not because of the indolence of Spaniards—they are an industrious and sober people—but because of its deficiency in natural resources. Though there are vast treasures

in Spanish cathedrals and monasteries, the Catholic church in Spain is also poor. Spain's record as a colonizer is not so bad as it has been painted by such historians as Prescott; in some respects it was better than England's.

Even in dealing with matters of background Dr. Hayes's prejudices are apparent, but if he had confined himself to giving background information his book would have served a useful purpose. Far too many people holding strong convictions about Spain appear to have confined their reading to the period since 1936, or at most go back to the fall of the monarchy in 1931. Dr. Hayes's aim is to convince Americans that the Franco regime is not really fascist, that it helped us during the war, and that now it should be brought into the North Atlantic Pact whether the British and French like it or not. For the moment the Pentagon is more concerned with arming Germany, and until that issue is disposed of, Franco will apparently have to wait.

However, the absence of Franco from an alliance that is intended to save the Atlantic democracies from totalitarianism has not dismayed the Pentagon, and it is rushing its preparations to arm Franco in exchange for bases; if all goes according to Dr. Hayes's wishes the United States should soon be able to welcome Franco into the North Atlantic Pact and the United Nations as well. Thanks to Mr. Acheson's representatives, in fact, the General Assembly has already repealed the resolution that barred the Franco regime from organizations affiliated with the United Nations and asked member nations to withdraw their ambassadors from Madrid.

Most advocates of aid for Franco either profess to be mere generals or admirals, knowing nothing about foreign policy but much about the value of airfields in Castile, or like President Truman keep on saying they don't like Franco while doing what Franco wants. No person who values the good name of the United States will approve of such an attitude, though it is possible to understand it and even to respect those who hold it. Dr. Hayes, however, is a champion of Franco à outrance. To say that he is an apologist would be to understate the case. According to Dr. Hayes, Franco is a fine man, and the Spanish civil war was a struggle, not

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between communism and fascism, but between Communists and "anti-Communists," and was "a prelude not so much to the Second World War as to the subsequent 'cold war' and the struggle in Korea."

Two examples of Dr. Hayes's use of historical method, which he presumably passed on to his students at Columbia University, must suffice. The first concerns the composition of the forces supporting the Nationalists at the start of the civil war: after a fairly accurate account of the moderate Republicans, Requetes, and so on we come to the last of the list: "In addition, there was a new semi-fascist group, the Falange, headed by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the former general and dictator, and recruited chiefly from youthful ultra-patriots impatient alike with monarchy and with republic." This is the closest Dr. Hayes comes to admitting that there were any fascist elements among Franco's supporters, and he does not refer to Franco's decree of April 14, 1937, making the twenty-six points of the Falange the official program of his regime, still less to the fact that this decree has not been repealed. If Dr. Hayes wants to know whether this was just a "semi-fascist" group, perhaps he will accept evidence from me: on more than a dozen occasions between 1939 and 1941, I, an American newspaper correspondent, was forced by Franco's police to give the fascist salute.

The second example of Dr. Hayes's methods concerns the "sinister propaganda of Moscow and international communism," which "tirelessly repeated the most blatant lies about Spain's fueling of German U-boats. . . ." It so happens that the State Department White Paper on Spain reproduces a report from the Nazi embassy in Spain in which a Nazi official stated that he had been urging the Franco government to permit the refueling of Nazi destroyers, using as his main argument the fact that the Franco government was already permitting the refueling of submarines. What does Dr. Hayes say about that? Well, he does not mention this official report, but he dismisses all the documents in the collection as "a tendentious 'white paper,'" which was "basically dishonest."

Perhaps a special word should be said

about the use of quotation marks as part of the technique of innuendo which is constantly employed by Dr. Hayes and his school. It might seem that to call a collection of Nazi documents "tendentious" would be enough. Are the inverted commas intended to mean that it was not a White Paper, or even that it did not exist at all? To take another example, Dr. Hayes quotes from an article by Robert Bendiner and says it appeared in the "liberal" *Nation*. This means presumably that *The Nation*, while it professes to be a liberal publication, is not any such thing, and the implication is meant to be sinister.

Indeed, Dr. Hayes's use of innuendo deserves a special article. Space does not permit republication of a remarkable passage which manages to connect Alger Hiss, Mr. Acheson, and the Yalta conference with the adoption at the San Francisco conference of the resolution barring Spain from the United Nations as long as Franco remained in power. One sentence must suffice: "There was also a new, non-career Under Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, who was a close personal friend of Alger Hiss and had the reputation at the time of being especially conciliatory toward Russia and hostile to 'Franco Spain.'"

Dr. Hayes's "Select Bibliography"—the habit is catching—lists under the heading "Anti-Franco Criticism and Propaganda" the excellent book on Spain by Emmet J. Hughes, which is written from a Catholic point of view and which condemns the Franco regime with bell, book, and candle. Mr. Hughes was a protégé of Dr. Hayes and worked under him throughout their stay in Madrid; it is good to be reminded that "liberals" are not the only people who refuse to accept Dr. Hayes's prejudices and innuendoes.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

More Than One Way

FOUR THOUSAND MILLION MOUTHS. Scientific Humanism and the Shadow of World Hunger. Edited by F. Le Gros Clark and N. W. Pirie. Oxford University Press. \$3.

A CALM approach to problems of population and food resources is unusual in the literature turned out on these subjects. Axes have to be ground, points scored, facts forced to fit national

or religious prejudices or economic theories. Writers set out to deal objectively with "food and population" only to find themselves emotionally involved in "hunger and sex," and there are always politicians, priests, and defenders of the taxpayer's pocket only too ready to further the confusion. Even the disinterested rarely see that the problem can be tackled from both ends. One school puts all its faith in the synthesis of proteins, the transforming of plankton, the more equitable sharing of the planet's resources, and is sure that population limitation is impossible, foolish, and unnecessary. The other school, alarmed by the fact that the world's population is increasing by about twenty-eight million a year, warns that if we do not arrest it rapidly, even to the extent of withholding penicillin—from races other than our own—we are all headed for extinction by self-strangulation.

Into this murky emotionalism a group of British scientists have dropped a little book so honest and sensible, so full of solutions which mean hard work but are deduced from scientific facts, and so lacking in appeals to fear, greed, and prudery, that it is unlikely to be paid the slightest attention.

In the first chapter they present the problem: "Within the lifetime of some of our children the world's population may be expected to reach 4,000 millions. It stands at present at about 2,300 millions. . . . How shall we work the miracle of feeding the 4,000 millions?" Then follow chapters on soil conservation, the use of manure, genetics and food, improvement of pigs, milk supply and crops, the use of fish, the processing of food, and the circumvention of waste.

Each contributor is distinguished in his own field, and all show a familiarity with what is being done in their fields in the rest of the world. They also have a refreshing ability to write simply, though no amount of good writing can make such subjects easy going for the general reader.

In the last essay it is remarked that "the world's population problem has been largely created by the uneven application of science; the solution depends on whether the farmer and the biochemist can restore that uneasy balance between food and population which the engineer and the doctor have

upset." Noting that science has removed the greatest check on population growth—disease—the author concludes that "it falls to the biochemist not only to improve the food supply but also to improve contraceptive technique."

The kind of detachment which makes it possible for one contributor to write that "the development of contraception permits some dissociation of the birth rate from the moral code" will give a vested interest in the neglect of this book to those who would rather we all perished than permit any such dissociation. The rest of us should make efforts to see that it is read and studied.

BARBARA CADBURY

Epic in Technicolor

SPARTACUS. By Howard Fast. Published by the Author. \$3.

MR. FAST'S new novel was presumably rejected by a sufficient number of publishers to convince him that it would be necessary to publish it himself. This raises several interesting questions as to the responsibility of commercial publishers to bring out books by previously successful authors whose political opinions, as expressed beyond the confines of their books, are distasteful to most Americans; for Mr. Fast's latest novel contains no ideas that could not be wholeheartedly accepted by all men of good-will, and it exhibits no diminution of the special talents that have in the past won him substantial audiences and royalties. Apparently, therefore, the publishers who rejected "Spartacus" decided to forgo the substantial profits that might very well have been theirs in order not to have to defend the inclusion on their list of an author closely associated with the Communist Party.

As for the book itself, it tells of the slave revolt against the dying Roman republic led by the remarkable Spartacus, who has already been celebrated from a somewhat different angle by Arthur Koestler in his early novel "The Gladiators." Mr. Fast has chosen to recount the tale in a curious series of parenthetical reminiscences which zigzag backward and forward in time, perhaps because he hoped in this way to raise the curtain from the clouded past as Robert Graves has done, and to show us a fragment of revolutionary history as it was experienced not only by its

participants but by those members of the ruling class who were only peripherally affected by it.

The result, however, is that the impact of the story is diffused and scattered, and it is to be doubted that readers will carry away a coherent memory of the sequence of events that led to Spartacus and the slaves becoming masters for a time of all southern Italy. What they will remember with some vividness is Mr. Fast's description of crucified slaves along the Roman highways, of gladiatorial combat, of pitched battles against the Roman legions.

Mr. Fast's conception of history is not really much different from that of Cecil B. DeMille. His technicolor characters are determinedly banal, stubbornly refusing to speak in any other accents than those we have come to expect from the heroes and heroines of the movie epics. He has provided Spartacus with a lovely and loyal wife named Varinia, and as if to make sure that we will not miss the point, he has contrasted their splendid fidelity with the homosexual carryings on of the degenerate members of the master class. The prose style of "Spartacus" is congruous with the delineation of the characters.

There is an epilogue, in which Mr. Fast thanks the anonymous contributors who have made possible the publication of the book. The last sentence reads as follows: "He hopes that for some future edition, at a time when it would not subject them to danger and reprisal, to be able to name these people to extend personal thanks to each in turn."

One can only wonder what will be the reaction of readers in the Soviet Union, where Mr. Fast seems now to be regarded as America's greatest living writer, to the translation of this celebration of a great slave laborers' revolt.

HARVEY SWADOS

Books in Brief

THE LETTERS OF PRIVATE WHEELER. Edited by B. H. Liddell Hart. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.75. This is a real discovery: the letters of an extraordinarily articulate English soldier who fought under Wellington in Spain and at Waterloo. Particularly fascinating is Wheeler's description of the



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A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS. By E. E. Schattschneider, Victor Jones, and Stephen K. Bailey. William Sloane Associates. \$1.50. Three Wesleyan professors have produced the most useful handbook for the study of politics. Labor unions, League of Women Voters, and citizens anxious to understand the operation of government will find it indispensable. In ten brief chapters, annotated and illustrated by pages reproduced from innumerable references, the authors have provided techniques to enable any citizen to find out the facts about public affairs. With skilfully selected examples the reader is shown "how to" read a newspaper, a budget, a statute, a judicial decision, and how to study a pressure group, a federal government agency or department, the record of a Congressman, or the operation of a city government. Throughout, the authors demonstrate "that the task of knowing about public affairs is infinitely simpler than is generally made out."

THE VICTORIAN TEMPER. By Jerome Hamilton Buckley. Harvard. \$4.50. After an interesting beginning, in which some of the conflicting opinions about the period are reviewed and the numerous little-known English poems inspired by Goethe's "Faust" are surveyed, Professor Buckley's discussion of Victorian culture loses its sense of direction. It is full of names, dates, quotations, and allusions, but it suffers fatally from the lack of any apparent principle of organization. In his preface the author offers his work as a study of the "moral aesthetic," but it attempts to be too many other things besides. As a result, it boils down to a series of discussions set end to end for no clear purpose. It is impressive only in its scope. The author's intention seems to have been descriptive rather than definitive, and his production opens to serious question the value of literary "surveys" intended to give their readers a knowledge of literature while sparing them an experience of it. It could not have been Professor Buckley's intention to write a textbook, for he makes no attempt to proportion his discussion adequately. He could hardly have meant to give students a clear picture of Victorian culture by treating W. H. Mallock in greater detail than George Eliot, and devoting as much attention to Bailey as to Browning.

Films

MANNY
FARBER

A LONGSIDE "Boots Malone," a race-park drama executed in a relaxed and mobile fashion, most of the current films appear to be moving on club feet. The story in capsule form shows a track-struck rich kid being adopted by a jaded jockey's agent, put through an intensive training, and turned into an expert bug-boy. The necessary problems are provided along the way by a quiet, matter-of-fact, grim syndicate that muscles the agent, who is for a hero surprisingly timorous; also there is a snobbish mother who probably learned her acting trade at the rodeo—she practically throws her eyebrows off her face. It is fashionable these days to show corruption in the United States; so the story has all but one of the jockeys, trainers, and so on merrily fenagling with horses and mutuel prices. All this corruption is probably exaggerated but treated with remarkable plausibility: the techniques and documentation obviously derive from a thoroughgoing knowledge of the sport of kings and bookies. The only possible moral is that horse-racing is a fascinating sport but don't place too much confidence in your scratch sheet.

There has been so much blowing on what is stale in this movie and what is wonderful—paddock lingo and lore—that I won't swell its volume, except to suggest that kid athletes are not likely to learn their profession via the ABC instruction meted out by the agent to his apprentice rider. I suspect that if basketball coaches told the rookie players to dribble in zigzags, keep their eyes on the basket, or imparted any other kindergarten knowledge, there would be an outbreak of assassinations in American athletics. Ninety-nine per cent of American athletes learn their trade in their own way, and I see no reason why jockeys should depart from the norm. Such instruction ("Cock your knees, grab a handful of mane . . .") is there to please the critics who like educational movies and the chalk-sniffers who want to peep into the bowels of their favorite sport. As for the authentic racing talk ("fourteen-

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karat slow-bones," or "You don't make a claim on a one-horse owner"), quite a bit of it is sensitive, accurate, and illuminating. I remember with delight a race-track scrounger chortling with glee and using his winning mutuel tickets as blinkers, and the stark sentences: "All horses respect is force. They are mere brutes who have had all the intelligence bred out of them." And the entire handling of a fat, rich "win-crazy" owner is one of the most accurate examples of greed that I have seen this year. But a good deal of the fancy talk is contrived, and it hangs between people like tiny, misshapen dirigibles.

Milton Holmes, a movie specialist who writes only horse epics, is a born story-teller even if his stuff runs to pulp. His script treats the actuality of working for a living and does it without those short cuts that chop current movies into static fragments. The kid is shown learning how to ride on back-to-back chairs, a bale of hay, a chalk drawing, and finally race horses; this variety of mounts is obviously a gimmick for avoiding monotony, but it makes for a genuine movie atmosphere in which you see figures involved with racing and nothing else from dawn to midnight. This type of continuous and untightened narration gives actors room for small natural movements which never seem to get into a movie like "Detective Story," where close perspectives and absence of action force the actors into slightly hysterical business with eyes, lips, and hands. Holden, as the tarnished agent, is a dour sort who usually muffs the climactic scenes that demand big emotion (the pocket-picking in the beginning), but he is masterful in these realistic stretches—doing some relaxed coaching in the starting gate or galloping along with the boy telling him how to whip his mount (the best working shots I've seen in recent films). Holmes knows and likes the sights of a race track well enough to waste footage on the trip to the diner, motel life near the track, and the unrelated wanderings of a racing troupe stuck on the highway. This last scene, with its credible terrain and each shot connected into a line of actions that lead easily and logically from one thing to another, seems rather wonderful when compared to any of the vulgar settings and crazily viewed scenes of such over-touted masterpieces as

"Streetcar" and "A Place in the Sun." "Boots Malone" is no world-beater, but it does show professional men actually working; the surface of their lives is almost real; and thanks to Holden, the story tells you a good deal about the grace, recessiveness, and quiet discernments of a moderately gifted man going nowhere.

A word or two further about the acting. However he does it, Holden seems in constant motion standing still; his posture, coloring, and disinterested technique are so perfectly adjusted to a natural setting that he appears to be a worn, moving part of the air currents in a scene. Basil Ruysdael's kindly trainer is so full of lofty spiritual feeling and the visual qualities of a daguerreotype that he could be a farmer who wandered off the set of "Tolable David" into this picture of corruption at the tracks. The rich kid, done in a controlled, over-trained Broadway style by Johnny Stewart, is just this side of revolting.

Also recommended: "Five Fingers," "The Captive City," "Los Olvidados."

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

RCA VICTOR'S second group of LP records with dubbings of recordings by famous singers of the past again includes one devoted entirely to Caruso's performances. Most of them offer nothing that was not already offered, in better music, by the performances on the first record; but two—the 1908 *Ab, si, ben mio* and 1906 *Di quella pira* from "Il Trovatore"—are interesting as fine examples of Caruso's singing in the early years when his voice was light in color (the high C's of *Di quella pira* come out as B's).

An entire record also is devoted to Ponselle, and rightly, since hers was one of the most extraordinarily beautiful voices ever heard at the Metropolitan. Its voluminously sumptuous beauty is reproduced perfectly by the 1926 electrical recordings of two arias from "La Vestale," but with alteration of its color by the dubbings from noisy-surfaced shellac pressings of the 1924 acoustic recordings of the Willow Song and *Ave Maria* from "Otello." I hear nothing in a 1924 "Home, Sweet Home" (with the

voice altered in color) and a 1936 Schubert "Ave Maria" (with an offensive violin obbligato) that compelled their inclusion in place of, say, the acoustically recorded performances of arias from "Ernani" and "La Forza del Destino," which are two of the best.

The record devoted to McCormack offers his 1910 performances of arias from "L'Elisir d'Amore" and "Lucia"—superb examples of the flawless taste with which he used his beautiful voice in Italian opera. But for the rest there are Wagner's "Träume" and *O König* from "Tristan," recorded in the thirties—the voice rough, the singing undistinguished; and instead of reissuing his

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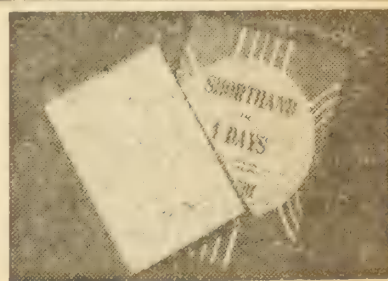
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performances of Schubert and Wolf,
Victor wastes space on the trashy songs
on which he wasted his talent.

Hempel, to whom an entire record
might have been devoted, doesn't, in
Victor's estimation, rate even a place on
the omnibus record Stars of the Golden
Age. And though Battistini, Melba, and
Destinn are included this time, Bat-
tistini's powers in quiet sustained mel-
ody are not employed in a duet from
"Ernani" and Melba is not impressive in
Voi che sapete from "Figaro." Also,
what Galli-Curci did to *Sempre libera*
from "La Traviata" in 1919 and her
slithering about in "Song of India" in
1930 should have been kept hidden;
Scotti's *L'Onore!* from "Falstaff" is un-
distinguished; Bori's voice had become
unpleasantly edged by 1928 when she
recorded *Un bel di* from "Madama
Butterfly"; and Tetrizzini is not at her
most impressive in Veracini's simple
"Pastoral." On the other hand the rec-
ord offers an outstanding Caruso per-
formance, his 1906 *M'appari* from
"Marta," with Destinn's *Suicidio!* from
"La Gioconda," Homer's *Mon coeur*
from "Samson et Dalila," and Ruffo's
1920 *Pari siamo* from "Rigoletto."

On the record Famous Duets are sev-
eral beautiful performances. Alma
Gluck's lovely voice is heard with Ca-
ruso's in *Libiamo* from Act 1 of "La
Traviata"; Bori and McCormack are
heard in a 1914 *Parigi, o cara* from
Act 3; the style and taste of Schipa en-
able one to endure Galli-Curci in a duet
from "La Sonnambula"; Gigli sings
with beautiful quiet lyricism in the sec-
ond part of a duet from "Lucia" with
Pinza, after sobbing through the first
part; Martinelli is impressive in a 1917
duet from "William Tell" with Journet;
Farrar's voice is lovely in the Barcarolle
from "The Tales of Hoffmann" with
Scotti (but I would have preferred their
Là ci darem la mano from "Don Gio-
vanni"). Space also is given to the
Farrar-Caruso duet from "Madama But-
terfly" that would better have been
given to, say, the Hempel-Amato duet
from "La Traviata" or the Gadski-
Amato duet from "Il Trovatore."

Except for Gigli's *Celeste Aida* the
record *Aida Yesterday* offers excellent
performances: Rethberg's *Ritorna vin-
citor* (cut), the Temple scene with
Pinza and Martinelli (his voice tight
and enveloped in buzzing distortion),

Ponselle's 1923 *O patria mia* (her voice
altered in color by the dubbing from a
shellac record which reproduces the per-
formance a half-tone sharp), the Gad-
ski-Amato *Su, dunque!*, the 1924 Pon-
selle-Martinelli *Pur ti riveggo* (her
voice altered in color, the performance
reproduced a half-tone sharp), the
Homer-Caruso *Già i sacerdoti*.

Decca's second group of Lotte Leh-
mann's Parlophone recordings offers
Porgi amor (in German) from "Fig-
aro," which begins well but gets breath-
less and comes off the record a little
dim; *Wie nahe mir der Schlummer*
from "Der Freischütz," beautifully
sung, but with some constricted and
shrill high notes; an aria from Strauss's
"Arabella," also beautifully sung; *So sei
er gut* from "Der Rosenkavalier," which
is a pale copy of the performance in the
great Victor set; and three passages from
"Die Fledermaus"—*Mein Herr, was
dächten Sie*, which is enchanting, the
Czardas, in which there are again con-
stricted and shrill high notes, and the
Finale of Act 2 with Tauber, Branzell,
and others. The loud passages of "Die
Fledermaus" suffer from buzzing dis-
tortion.

To turn now to songs, and specifically
to the celebrated HMV recording of
Aksel Schiotz's performance of Schu-
bert's "Die schöne Müllerin," which has
at last been issued here dubbed onto an
LP record in Victor's Treasury series:
Schiotz's singing turns out to be agree-
able to the ear, his phrasing musically
flawless; and wondering why neverthe-
less the performances of the songs leave
me unmoved and disappointed, I think
I find the reason to be their lack of
vitality and intensity even in the degree
demanded by these songs. I find this
deficiency also in Gerald Moore's dis-
creet playing of the piano parts; and it
is made worse by the lack of brightness
and power in the recorded sound.

CONTRIBUTORS

S. K. RATCLIFFE is a distinguished
British journalist and lecturer.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON, author of
"Appeasement's Child: The Franco
Regime in Spain," is the United Nations
correspondent of the New York Times.

BARBARA CADBURY has made a
special study of problems of population
and birth control.

Letters to the Editors

Endocrinological Error?

Dear Sirs: I enjoyed reading The Malthusian Scarecrow in the February 16 issue of your excellent magazine. However, there is one statement in the article which merits clarification from the endocrinological point of view. I refer to the following: "Fecundation in women is closely related to the amount of estrogen produced in the system. Now since the liver controls the amount of estrogen which is put into the blood stream, anything that impairs the natural functioning of the liver would affect fertility. Protein deficiencies lead to cirrhosis and fatty degeneration of the liver, which in turn cause the release of more estrogen and an increase in reproductive capacity. Sexual appetite, a determinant of fertility, also depends on the amount of estrogen in the system."

Most endocrinologists agree that the amount of estrogen in the body plays only a minor role in stimulating the libido and that too much estrogen suppresses ovulation through the pituitary gland, and therefore would increase the percentage of sterile females, an opinion which is just the opposite of Mr. de Castro's.

Los Angeles

MONTE SALVIN

Exchange Scholarships

Dear Sirs: Never before in history have countries had so many facilities for getting to know and understand each other as today; and yet one half of the world does not know or has only superficial ideas as to how the other half lives and what it thinks. It may be possible to find reasons for this condition in the case of countries which differ in language or culture or tradition, but it is difficult to explain it in respect to America and Britain.

Apart from ordinary travel—which may be enjoyable though not profoundly instructive—Anglo-American exchanges have been practiced for many years, although they have been confined mainly to the academic, scientific, and industrial fields. Since the war the valuable interchange of teachers has been initiated, as well as the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt plans. All these measures are to be greatly applauded, but none of them appear to recognize sufficiently the social revolution which the world is undergoing, or the resulting emer-

gence of the common man. The common man has been somewhat ignored or treated in Cinderella-fashion in the Anglo-American exchanges.

I founded, therefore, in 1947 Transatlantic Foundation for the purpose of arranging Anglo-American exchanges of young people in spheres which were not covered by governmental or other agencies and which were to include the common man. In this connection it seemed well to remember that those of academic or similar status need not necessarily have, while people in other occupations may possibly have, wide liberal interests, social enthusiasm, and the urge and ability to spread the gospel of Anglo-American understanding.

At the suggestion of the then general secretary of the Workers' Education Association, Mr. Ernest Green, I approached Ruskin College, which occupies probably a unique position in the two countries as a workers' college. Founded by the American historian Charles Beard, it serves, *par excellence*, adult education in its broadest sense, with the added advantage of being located at Oxford. Fortunately, it had a few vacant places which enabled me to fix up five scholarships, based on one year's free board and study which I decided to donate for the benefit of American trade-unionists. I took this decision to fill a blank in the exchange field, although I have no connection with labor. An American committee was constituted by Mr. Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, which included representatives from the Institute of International Education, American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, American Labor and Workers' Educational Services, and industrial employers. Simultaneously, Transatlantic Foundation set up on the British side an advisory council comprising a political economist, the editor of the *Economist*, the rector of Lincoln College, and representatives of the British Trades Union Congress, Workers' Education Association, Ruskin College, and Poinby Hall.

Working through trade-union machinery, the American committee chose, among two hundred applicants, five suitable persons. Thus a start was made to put the idea of Transatlantic Foundation into action. The five first American scholars found their experience enormously stimulating and valuable, while

the British college profited, in turn, from the presence of Americans in its midst. The success of this beginning was undoubted, and we felt justified in trying to broaden the basis of the plan. We therefore approached the Trades Union Congress Educational Trust and also a fund of which the late Ernest Bevin was a trustee. Both organizations agreed to fall into line and to assume the responsibility for four scholarships, which they carried for some years. The T. U. C. is still carrying two and the writer one at present. In addition to Ruskin College, scholarships have now also been made available to young Americans at Harlech and Fircroft Colleges, which are likewise prominent in the field of adult education. Since the beginning, the American scholars have been drawn from all parts of the Union and from such varying occupations as business agent, telephone operator, union organizer, farmer, linotype operator, worker's counselor, automobile worker, educator, journalist, research worker, truck driver, seaman, librarian. Over twenty have returned to their own country, much enriched by the knowledge which they gained during their stay in Britain and immensely broadened in their outlook.

Since Transatlantic Foundation aims at exchanges, the reader may desire to know the American side of the plan. Unfortunately, this has not developed to any measurable extent. At the present moment there are only four young people from Britain who are enjoying scholarships granted to them at Antioch, Sarah Lawrence, and two Midwestern girls' colleges. So it is evident that something has to be done to make the plan truly reciprocal. It is not for us in Britain to say whether the initiative should come from independent individuals, from organizations such as the C. I. O. and A. F. of L., or from local unions. The outlook on exchanges of some American labor leaders is so well known that it would be indeed surprising if there were further delay. Not only all associated on both sides of the Atlantic with Transatlantic Foundation but also many young people in Britain are eagerly awaiting offers of scholarships and the chance of visiting the United States.

It will, I hope, be realized that the kind of education which Transatlantic Foundation envisages is not vocational

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or technical in any narrow sense. We seek to deal with people who, having reached a measure of maturity in the field, factory, workshop, or elsewhere, crave for further education, particularly those Americans who are keen to learn about conditions in Britain—and vice versa. . . . In the United States emphasis in workers' education is perhaps laid on "provide the tools for the job"; that is, preparing the student for growing into an effective trade-union leader and instructing him in labor legislation and collective-bargaining techniques. These things are not ignored in Britain, although the main aim may be to provide a liberal education in the humanities and to equip the student for accepting social responsibility within the community. An attempt is made to teach him not what, but rather how, to think.

In these grave disturbed times each country depends largely on its leaders, not merely in the political but also in the labor field, on men not only of character, personality, and moral stature, but also of trained intellect and wide experience. Transatlantic Foundation hopes that it may be allowed to play its own small part and, at the same time, to contribute toward Anglo-American friendship.

SIR ROBERT MAYER

London, England

[Any inquiries concerning Transatlantic Foundation should be addressed either to Transatlantic Foundation, 3, Lombard Street, E. C. 3, London, England, or to Harold Taylor, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York.

—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Wittfogel vs. . . .

Dear Sirs: By restricting my answer to Lattimore to 300 words you force me to reduce to a few sentences the discussion of a problem that is politically immeasurably more important than the Lysenko-Mendel issue. I shall therefore not comment on Lattimore's lapse of memory regarding my political past. A man who cannot remember his visit to the President of the United States can hardly be expected to recall his talks with me.

This much, however, for the record:

1. In September, 1935, Lattimore wrote Frederick V. Field: ". . . I have just been traveling with Wittfogel, who, as you probably know and I dimly suspect, is a bit of a heretic from either the Stalinist or the Trotskyist point of view, when it comes to the bourgeois feudal controversy over the nature of Chinese society." Clearly Lattimore knew my scientific and my political position then.

2. Lattimore's attempt to laugh off the political significance of words like "feudal" and "feudal survivals" in describing Asiatic societies comes oddly from one who himself emphasized the role they play in official Soviet ideology. In March, 1944, in *Pacific Affairs* Lattimore lists Stalin's concept of "feudal survivals" as among the "paramount Communist theses" that "a Communist writer has . . . to maintain" when dealing with China; and he notes that "the social data are somewhat obscured by loosely used terms like 'semi-feudal' and 'feudal survivals'." In the late 1940's and without explanation Lattimore shifted from his view of the "bureaucratic" nature of Chinese society to the "feudal" position required of scientists of the U. S. S. R.

At times the "feudal" terminology is used in good faith but naively for civilizations ruled by a managerial bureaucracy. For Japan it is generally accepted as correct. Lattimore, who despite his pro-Soviet leanings once upheld the "bureaucratic" theory, which seemed only slightly heretical and which was scientifically so productive, can hardly plead ignorance on these points now.

KARL A. WITTFOGEL,

Professor of Chinese History, University of Washington; Director, Chinese History Project, University of Washington and Columbia University
New York

. . . Lattimore

Dear Sirs: I thank the editors of *The Nation* for giving me the opportunity to comment on Dr. Wittfogel's letter. I have no comment to make other than to point out that this kind of tortured polemic by Wittfogel was accepted by the McCarran committee as "evidence" in a supposedly serious investigation.

OWEN LATTIMORE,

Director Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore

Forgotten Actor?

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation's* review of "Golden Boy" the actor who played the part of the "ham" prizefighter was praised, but his name—Arthur O'Connell—was omitted. This often happens to actors in minor roles, and they take it hard since their bread and butter depend on good notices.

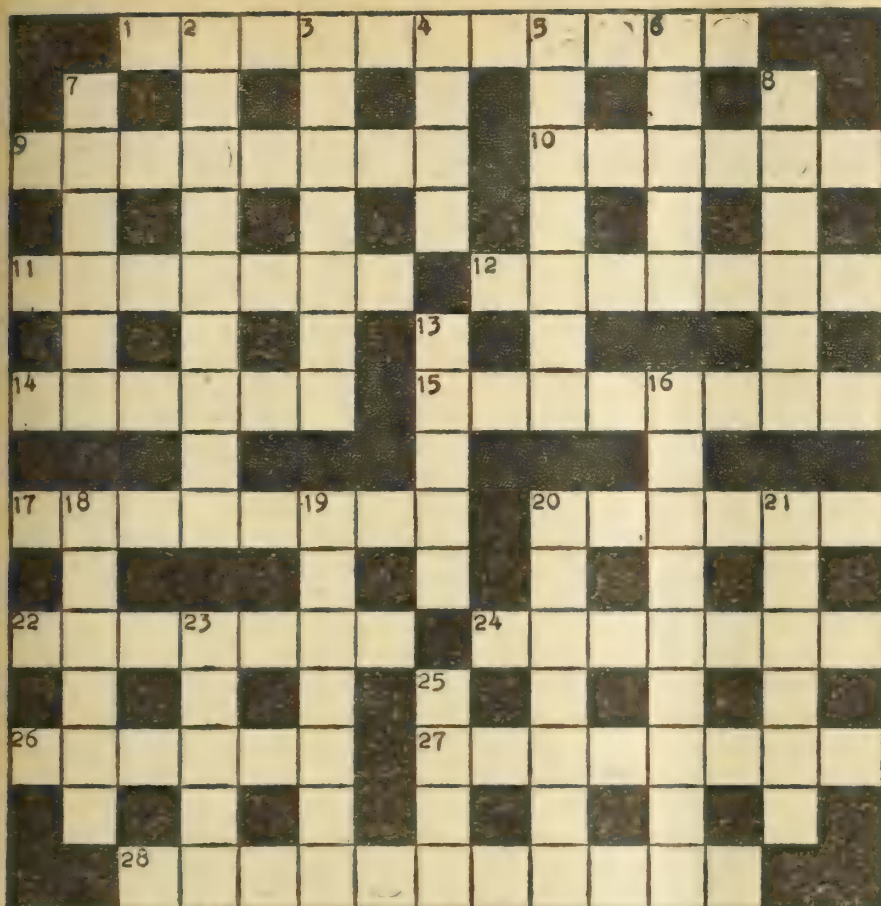
New York

PAUL ALLEN

The NATION

Crossword Puzzle No. 459

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Might it fly over a U-boat, and still be less than perfect? (11)
- 9 It makes mother hesitate . . . (8)
- 10 . . . while little brother, understand, might be 23. (6)
- 11 See 27. .
- 12 A gloomy fellow doesn't rise in his shirt, perhaps. (7)
- 14 Look at the present form before the past goes up and down. (6)
- 15 Hid in the wrong piano, like St. Patrick's foes. (8)
- 17 Such a creature is not all it's cracked up to be. (8)
- 20 Stations that a tyrant might organize. (6)
- 22 It certainly isn't the outlook that makes discernment. (7)
- 24 Spare me this, and more power to you! (7)
- 26 A habit the rich have of getting things built with it. (6)
- 27 and 11. Sandburg, perhaps, isn't well and caves in finally. (8, 7)
- 28 Bit by an adder? (Certainly not an original idea!) (11)

DOWN

- 2 and 13. Catholic hang-out? The movement is permitted by it. (9, 5)
- 8 The place isn't exactly found again between two points. (7)
- 4 Father William wouldn't let his son have them as a gift! (4)

- 5 The gal who comes out wears a painful expression in coming out. (7)
- 6 These birds must stand next to horses first. (5)
- 7 String along with father if you want a stately mansion. (6)
- 13 The bar maid? (6)
- 13 See 2.
- 16 See 18.
- 18 and 16. Comes in handy in an oral examination. (6, 9)
- 19 If you can read this you're probably not so cruel. (7)
- 20 A bad girl and I get caught between little members of both parties. (7)
- 21 Skull drill of old, but boring in any case. (6)
- 23 I won't change it to follow 10 frequently. (2, 3)
- 25 On the surface, it seems worse than rash! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 458

ACROSS:—1 A FOOL THERE WAS; 10 STARTLE; 11 AVERRED; 12 TERMAGANT; 13 TENON; 14 AT LAST; 16 ENROLLER; 19 SORORITY; 20 HYMNAL; 22 ACHES; 23 ASSUAGING; 25 CUTWORM; 26 AGITATO; 27 DOTS AND DASHES.

DOWN:—2 FLAIR; 4, 3 and 21 THE WAY OF TRANSGRESSORS IS HARD; 5 EXACTING; 8 ELECTRODYNAMICS; 7 ADRENALIN; 8 ASHTRAYS; 9 ODIN; 15 LARGHETTO; 17 RELIGION; 18 STRAW MAN; 22 ARCH; 24 IRATE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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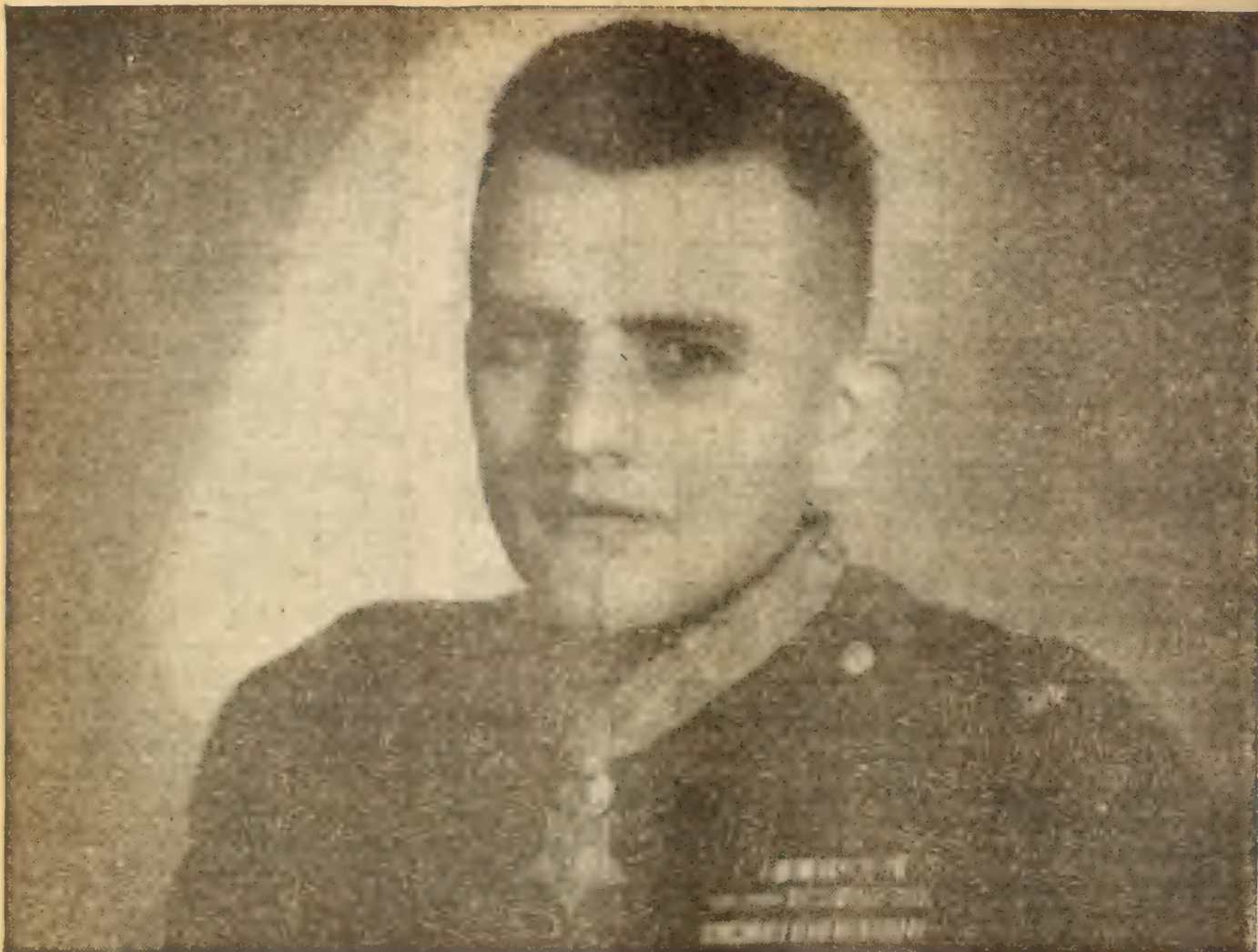
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Stalin and Germany—*J. Alvarez del Vayo*

THE *Nation*

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South African
Madness

An On-the-Spot Report

BY E. S. SACHS

✱

Stevenson of Illinois

BY ALAN WHITNEY

✱

Morris, McGrath—and Hoover

AN EDITORIAL

✱

A New Art Column by *S. Lane Faison, Jr.*

"this desperate fight ..."

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THE LATE HAROLD L. ICKES SAID:

"...this trial may well prove to be one of the most important constitutional lawsuits of our time."

Standing in the dock before Judge and Jury in Foley Square Federal Court are 16 New Yorkers ... your fellow Americans ... on trial—charged with violating the Smith Act.

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In an historic letter expressing regret that he was not physically strong enough to join the legal staff of the 16 defendants, Harold L. Ickes wrote:

"I dearly wish that I might engage in this desperate fight to protect our liberties from further whittling ..."

Thinking of his own two children, Ickes emphasized the grave danger in the Smith Act in these words:

"I also owe them whatever I am reasonably capable of doing ... to preserve for them and their children the liberties that you and I have been able to enjoy, and felt assurance of, until the unfortunate majority opinion was handed down by the Supreme Court in the earlier Communist (Smith Act) Case."

▶ The Smith Act nullifies the Constitutional right of free speech and free press.

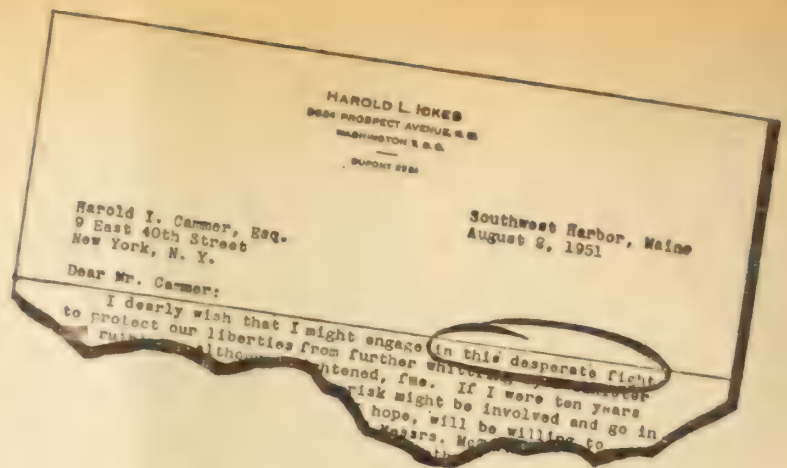
▶ None of these 16 defendants has been charged with criminal acts.

▶ They have been charged only with such acts as mailing letters, attending meetings, writing articles, etc.

▶ If convicted, they face long prison terms.

▶ If convicted, all our Constitutional rights and liberties will be in jeopardy!

The swift repeal of the Smith Act is a sheer necessity for the maintenance of the Bill of Rights.



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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 174

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NUMBER 15

The Shape of Things

FRENCH COLONIALISM HAS LEARNED LITTLE from the loss of Syria and Lebanon, little even from the bloody stalemate in Indo-China. When the French authorities in Tunisia arrested the Premier and several ministers, declared martial law, and forced the aged Bey to accept a pro-French Premier, they appeared to believe that their *coup de main* had settled things. Acting briskly, Jean de Hauteclocque, the Resident General, had himself appointed Foreign Minister, while the new Premier, M. Baccouche, searched for men willing to join a Cabinet set up to do French bidding. At the same time, and in the same tradition, de Hauteclocque came up with a program of domestic reform, offering an approach toward internal autonomy by very slow stages, while retaining for France many special powers including a veto over the decisions of Tunisian ministers. By completing these moves with brutal speed, France checkmated the Asian and African countries sponsoring a complaint to the Security Council that French rule in Tunisia represented a threat to international peace and security. Their request for a debate was lost without a vote when the United States delegation received orders from Washington not to support it. But the issue is far from closed. There will be more trouble in Tunisia and more protests in the U. N. As the Chairman of the Council, Dr. Ahmed Bokhari of Pakistan, said in a bitter, indignant speech from the floor: "To whom else can the Tunisians come if not the United Nations? . . . What is the United Nations for?" Once more the dictates of Atlantic diplomacy have aligned the United States with the colonial powers; Russia, Nationalist China, Chile, Brazil, and Pakistan were prepared to support the Tunisian complaint. Washington's role will not be admired in those countries it hopes to save from "neutrality" and the blandishments of Moscow.

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THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES IN NEBRASKA and Wisconsin seem to have pleased everyone: Taft is elated; the Eisenhower leaders are "optimistic"; Warren is satisfied, Stassen cheerful. The results were not surprising. Both states are part of Taft's ideological terrain. Taft also enjoyed the benefit of powerful organized support, and his investment in time, energy, and funds was enormous. Neither state has a significantly large independent

or "shifting" vote; there was little crossing of party lines. Under the circumstances Taft's vote was sufficiently large to keep him in the running but not large enough to offset the advantage Eisenhower currently enjoys. The ludicrously opportunistic Mr. Stassen—the Republican vote-splitter—was naturally pleased to make any showing at all, even if his intervention in Wisconsin gave twenty-four delegates to Taft. The candidate who has the most reason to be pleased with the Wisconsin primary is Governor Earl Warren, who kept expenditures to a minimum in the campaign. He was a late starter; his campaign was hastily improvised; he had to commute from Sacramento; and his delegates were a hybrid lot. Yet he picked up six delegates, made no enemies, and with the aid of those experienced campaigners, his two daughters, left a pleasant impression. Warren is certain to be a powerful figure in the Republican convention; indeed his influence could be decisive. Senator Kefauver also has good reason to be gratified: in Wisconsin he picked up an important delegation for a minimum investment and in Nebraska he not only defeated Senator Kerr by an impressive margin but knocked the Oklahoman out of the race. As a candidate Kefauver warrants much more serious consideration than he has received to date; he knows when to box and when to punch. His two-fisted attack on Kerr in Nebraska was perfectly timed and left little to be desired on the score of frankness.

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LANCASHIRE'S COTTON INDUSTRY FOUND the boom it had been riding shot from under it at the end of last year and now seems headed for an alarming bust. According to Anthony Greenwood, Lancashire Labor M. P., who called the attention of the House of Commons to the situation recently, 70,000 workers, between one-fifth and one-fourth of the industry's labor force, are now unemployed or working part-time. Many mills have shut down, and others are working for stock and will have to close soon unless buying revives. But apart from some accelerated government orders, it is difficult to see where new business will come from. Depression in the textile industries—wool is as hard hit as cotton, and even synthetics are feeling the pinch—is now world-wide. Unemployment in New England is at least as severe as in Lancashire, and similar tales of woe are being heard in Belgium, Canada, Japan, and Australia. The immediate trouble in textiles appears to

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be the aftermath of the unprecedented boom which followed the outbreak of the Korean war. Manufacturers then rushed to obtain raw materials, egged on by ill-timed Washington announcements of large-scale government stockpiling; wholesalers and retailers built up inventories frantically; consumers bought with both fists, remembering the textile famine during the last war. When the scare subsided, linen closets, wardrobes, and bureau drawers were well filled, and even big price concessions failed to move goods. This is the short-term position, which presumably will be gradually alleviated if other sections of the economy remain prosperous. However, the textile industries also face serious long-term problems involving such factors as the tendency of manufacturing to shift, nationally and internationally, to cheaper labor markets and the effect of the development of synthetics on natural fibers. In the near future we plan to publish two articles by Keith Hutchison discussing both the immediate situation in textiles with emphasis on the American scene, and the outlook for the future.

Morris, McGrath, & Hoover

PUBLIC discussion of the Morris-McGrath fiasco has not yet penetrated to the basic issue nor has the key figure been publicly identified. The issue may be simply stated. Investigation has shown corruption to be fairly widespread in certain federal agencies and in the legislative branch. But aside from the abortive Morris affair, the investigations have been under the exclusive control of Congressional committees whose members, regardless of party affiliation, have upheld a dual standard of ethics: one for government officials, another for Representatives and Senators. When Grunewald's relations with Charles Oliphant were under scrutiny, the questions came thick and fast, but when his relations with Senators Brewster and Bridges were accidentally brought to light, the discussion became polite and meaningless.

If it was unrealistic to expect McGrath to authorize a real investigation of the Department of Justice, it is equally unrealistic to expect Congress to investigate itself. And just as it would be dangerous to permit roving Congressional committees to harass the Administration by endless investigations, so it would be dangerous to permit the Executive to keep members of Congress under a surveillance which could be used for political purposes. Nor should a permanent law-enforcement agency like the FBI be assigned the job of investigating corruption in either branch of the government. The FBI must seek appropriations from Congress; moreover, it is conceivable that some corruption might be found in the Bureau itself, not to mention the department to which it belongs.

Presumably it was with these thoughts in mind that Truman approved the appointment of Morris as an in-

dependent investigator. But the President had not reckoned with J. Edgar Hoover. It is now clear that from the first Hoover wanted his FBI to *participate* in any investigation and at the same time to be itself *immune* from investigation.

Hoover began to show signs of uneasiness the moment Newbold Morris was appointed. His uneasiness became more apparent after March 10, when it was revealed that Mr. Morris did not intend to rely upon FBI investigators and that he had failed to appoint alumni of the FBI to his staff. Hoover's uneasiness seems to have been immediately communicated to certain Senators and Representatives, who would probably have shared his feeling, however, without any prompting. One might have expected anti-Administration elements in Congress to support an independent investigation of corruption in the executive branch of government conducted by an able Republican lawyer, the more so since there was good reason to believe that Mr. Morris meant business. To be sure, Mr. Morris had said that *all* public officials, including Congressmen, who earned more than \$10,000 should fill out a pesky questionnaire about net financial worth, but the Congressional opposition has another explanation.

In a broadcast on March 16 Walter Winchell suggested that Max Lowenthal, author of a book on the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover's pet hate, had recommended Newbold Morris for the job of chief investigator. A few days later Representative George A. Dondero repeated the statement. These were the individuals who had previously raised the hue and cry that Lowenthal was attempting to engineer the removal of McGrath (see, *The White House Under Surveillance*, *The Nation*, February 16, 1952). Both men are cronies of Mr. Hoover's. Their new theme was immediately picked up by David Sentner of the Hearst press. Then, on March 18, Representative Patrick H. Hillings complained that Mr. Morris had not been cleared by the FBI. A few days later Senator Pat McCarran demanded an investigation to determine who had recommended Morris, and finally Representative Francis E. Walter proposed that the entire corruption inquiry be turned over to the FBI.

It did not take Mr. Morris long to realize the source of his difficulties. On March 19 he told the press that the one unit of the Department of Justice he did *not* intend to investigate was the FBI, and he went out of his way to say that questionnaires were not being sent to FBI personnel. He never explained just why J. Edgar Hoover should not fill out the same questionnaire he had asked the Attorney General to answer. In the same interview Mr. Morris carefully denied that Lowenthal had prepared the famous questionnaire. Even these elaborate assurances, however, failed to quiet Mr. Hoover's strange fears. When McGrath read his curt dismissal of Morris to the reporters, he was conspicuously flanked by the top G-man.

Although J. Edgar's support was not sufficient to keep Mr. McGrath from being fired, he was able to block an independent investigation. The newly appointed Attorney General, James Patrick McGranery, in his first statement to the press, announced that he would rely upon the FBI to investigate corruption in government and that there would be no "outside" aid. Nor will any use now be made of the Morris questionnaire. Nor will an investigation be made of the FBI or of the need to place its entire personnel under civil service. Thanks to McCarthy, McCarran, and Nixon, aided by J. Edgar Hoover, the investigation has not merely been set back to where it was two months ago—it has been blocked.

The "resignation" of McGrath is the one net gain of the investigation to date. *The Nation* was one of the first publications to suggest that his removal would be definitely in the public interest. "I have done my duty," he now says, "I have stood up for what I believe to be great principles of personal liberty and the fundamental rights of employees of the federal government." It is a measure of McGrath's candor and intelligence that he should ask the public to believe that the filling out of a simple questionnaire on net worth would jeopardize personal liberty and the fundamental rights of federal employees. Presumably it is perfectly proper to cross-examine citizens on their political beliefs, to force federal employees who are *not* Cabinet officers to take test oaths,

Vote Your Choice for President in *The Nation's* Poll

EARLY RETURNS indicate widespread interest in the preferential ballot for President printed in last week's issue of *The Nation*. Have you mailed your ballot yet? If not—and you cannot obtain another copy of last week's *Nation*—write us a postcard immediately asking for a ballot. We can send only one ballot to each reader. All ballots postmarked not later than April 25 will be counted; so you still have time. Address Poll Editor, *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York. And watch next week's issue for first returns.

and to turn Congressional inquiries into savage witch-hunting forays. No Attorney General since A. Mitchell Palmer has had a worse record on the score of protecting personal liberties and the fundamental rights of government employees than McGrath. But it was in his remarks on March 16 to the Sons and Daughters of Eire, when he implied that he was being investigated because of his "faith and race," that McGrath revealed his true colors. This crude attempt to use religion as protective political coloration was of a piece with the suggestion that a request for financial information from public officers might undermine the Bill of Rights.

As for Mr. McGrath's successor, it should be noted for the record that Philadelphia's District Attorney Richardson Dilworth, a Democrat, has protested his appointment in these words: "The appointment of McGranery as Attorney General of the United States is so bad as to be almost unbelievable. For the regime of McGranery will be marked by incompetence, bias, favoritism, and ward politics at its worst."

Only an independent inquiry by a commission appointed for the special purpose, with authority to select its own staff and under orders to disband upon completion of its work, can cope with the issue of corruption as it has arisen in this instance. Instead of facing the problem and drawing the obvious conclusion, the President has surrendered to his enemies in Congress, aided and abetted by Mr. Hoover, and has thereby forfeited the chance to turn the corruption issue to his own and his country's advantage.

Stalin and Germany

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

STALIN'S message to the American editors, his farewell statement to the Indian Ambassador, the announcement at the Moscow economic conference of Russia's readiness to expand foreign trade with capitalist countries, all indicate that the Kremlin is prepared to apply the formula of "total diplomacy," once advocated by Secretary Acheson, at every point where the possibility of negotiation still survives. But this series of moves did not alter the fact that Moscow's note of March 10 marked the start of a new Russian policy on Germany.

The Soviet note has had an electric effect on those who consider the rearmament of Germany, whether undertaken by the Russians or the Americans, to be the most threatening development of the cold war. But it is not enough merely to record one's disapproval; it is also necessary to recall the circumstances under which the shift in Russia's policy took place. Otherwise the gravity of this most important event will be missed.

From the beginning Germany has been the focus of East-West conflict—the place where a truce could be

achieved or the two sides must confront each other in dangerous proximity on terms excluding any agreement. But matters took a turn for the worse only last fall, when it became clear that the rearmament of West Germany had become the central item of American strategy. On the opening of the Sixth United Nations Assembly in Paris last November, I wrote that Moscow would revise its policy should it become convinced that the United States was determined to reject all negotiation on Germany out of fear that any kind of talk with the Russians would endanger the American military program. The Russian note of March 10 was the product of just such a revision of policy, as will be all Russia's moves in the coming months. The note reflected no transitory state of mind; it was neither improvisation nor fleeting maneuver; it was a major action resulting from long and earnest deliberation.

Moscow's conviction that the United States had turned its back upon negotiations as a means of settling the German problem was buttressed by a long series of events: the conference at Lisbon, the breakdown of French resistance to the rearmament of Germany, the mounting probability that General Eisenhower—the man of NATO—would be the next President of the United States, the State Department's aggressive disapproval of American participation in the Moscow Economic Conference, which had been called precisely for the purpose of attracting business men from the United States.

After analysis of the international situation in January and February had convinced the Soviet leaders that there was no likelihood of a change in the American attitude, they concentrated on handling the German problem in a way that would completely disrupt Washington's German policy. That they must have expected their proposals of March 10 to be rejected was indicated by the comments of the Soviet press and radio before the reply was received. But they could reasonably expect that the European members of the Atlantic coalition, beginning with Mr. Churchill, would insist—as in fact Mr. Churchill did—on an answer preserving at least the appearance of a desire for a settlement. In other words, the Russians could count on a communication which would justify the dispatch of a second note—and a third and a fourth if that served their purposes.

It has been rightly said that the Russians are running a great risk in sponsoring a united, independent, and rearmed Germany. They have as much reason as the rest of the world to fear the revival of German power. It is now known that the other Cominform members were stunned by the change in Soviet policy. But the Russians may be hoping to reduce the threat if their proposal becomes a reality. They have confidentially assured their Cominform colleagues that the Germany of tomorrow would have an army only large enough to protect its neutrality, certainly a smaller army than West

Germany expects to have under NATO. In any case, in the eyes of Moscow the danger offered by such a Germany would be less immediate and less formidable than that which Russia would face if the military capacity of West Germany were added to that of the Atlantic coalition backed by the mobilized industrial capacity of the United States.

For a long time many of the leading European experts on Russian policy have maintained that the one thing which might decide the Soviet Union to go to war would be the rearmament of West Germany. Under these circumstances it is not so extraordinary that the Soviet leaders are willing to take the risk implied in their note of March 10.

The difficult position in which Moscow has placed all the movements and parties that have made prevention of German rearmament their main purpose was reflected in the long deliberations in Paris of the "Partisans of Peace," called together to take a stand in regard to the new Russian policy. Finally they came out with a statement that left no doubt about their feelings; M. Yves Farge, leader of the French "Partisans," delivered an important speech reaffirming his hostility to "any form of German rearmament." But nobody at the

meeting harbored any illusion that the Moscow decision was of a temporary character.

That the United States will now be confronted by a series of actions expressing Moscow's new German strategy has been recognized by the conservative and well-informed *Wall Street Journal* in an article on March 31 by Joseph E. Evans. "Now, if for any reasons of their own," Mr. Evans wrote, "the Soviets should really want a united Germany, the United States is in the odd position where it must either oppose it—thereby earning German hatred—or give in slowly, grudgingly, and at the expense of the present policy which has cost it much in time and money. That is the trap which the United States created for itself, ready for the Soviets to spring at any time."

Moscow will not have an easy victory. The United States is going to fight now more determinedly than ever to make West Germany the hard core of its rearmament program. Should this prove successful, even though anti-Adenauer feeling is mounting throughout Germany, then the whole issue will return to its point of origin, and the Russians will have to make up their minds whether to accept defeat on this central issue or to take more drastic action.

Stevenson of Illinois

BY ALAN WHITNEY

Chicago
WHEN the politically unknown Adlai E. Stevenson was elected Governor of Illinois in 1948 by a record-breaking plurality of 572,000 votes, many local political observers contended that the magnitude of his victory should be attributed less to his own strength than to his opponent's weakness. They may have been partly right. But today few persons would bet against Stevenson's ability to repeat the accomplishment, regardless of who his rival might be.

A poll taken in Chicago several months ago by a professional agency at the behest of Republican ward leaders indicated that Stevenson would get 10 per cent of the votes cast by registered Republicans if he ran for reelection. That his stock as a Presidential candidate has been boosted by Truman's withdrawal is small comfort to the Grand Old Party in Illinois and offers no cause for rejoicing to Republicans nationally. For here is one Democratic office-holder who seems almost immune to the ills that now rack his party at various levels throughout the country. This political amateur who looks and

talks like a kindly professor of English has aroused amazement, apprehension, and grudging admiration among the professionals since he first stepped before a hostile legislature early in 1949.

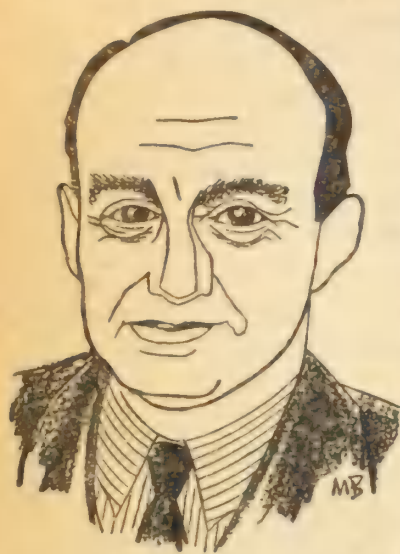
Although his name meant nothing to most Illinois voters in 1948, Stevenson had had experience in important but unglamorous federal offices, and his ancestors had been prominent in politics, both state and national, for generations. His grandfather, for whom he was named, was Vice-President during Grover Cleveland's second term in the White House, and his father, Lewis Stevenson, was Secretary of State of Illinois from 1914 to 1916. A great-grandfather on the maternal side, Jesse W. Fell, was a close associate of Abraham Lincoln.

Born fifty-two years ago in Los Angeles, where his father was then a newspaper executive, Stevenson was brought to Bloomington, Illinois, at the age of six. He grew up in that college and farm-market town of 40,000 inhabitants, where his mother's family owned the *Daily Pantagraph*, still one of central Illinois's leading newspapers. At Princeton he was managing editor of the campus newspaper and seemed to be headed for a career in journalism after his graduation in 1922. He worked for a short time in the editorial department of the

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April 12, 1952

Pantagraph, and then, yielding to his father's wishes, entered Northwestern University's law school. He got his degree in 1926 and began the practice of law in Chicago. While a young attorney, Stevenson met and married Ellen Borden, whose family owns the dairy-



Governor Stevenson

products firm. Public life never appealed to Mrs. Stevenson, and the divorce she demanded soon after he became Governor is probably his greatest political liability.

Stevenson entered government service in the early days of the New Deal. George N. Peek, an Illinoisan who had been associated with Stevenson's father in pressing for better farm legislation, was appointed admin-

istrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and he took the youthful lawyer to Washington as his special counsel in 1933. Stevenson had early become interested in international affairs, and gave up the presidency of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations to go with Peek. Back in Chicago in 1935, he was elected to that office for two more terms. After France fell in 1940, he became active on the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and through promoting rallies for this group came into close contact with the foreign staff of the *Chicago Daily News* and with its publisher, Colonel Frank Knox. As soon as Knox was named Secretary of the Navy, he pressed Stevenson to become his special assistant and personal counsel. Stevenson joined him late in 1941 and remained with the Secretary until his death in 1944. He served as special assistant to Secretaries of State Stettinius and Byrnes in 1945 and was a member of the United States delegation to the San Francisco Conference on International Organization. At the first U. N. General Assembly he was senior adviser to the United States delegation; he attended the General Assemblies of 1946 and 1947 in New York as a delegate.

WHEN Stevenson returned to Illinois late in 1947, local Democratic leaders, without much hope of victory, faced the task of picking a team to run for Governor and United States Senator the following year. Liberals were urging that Paul H. Douglas, a University of Chicago professor and a marine combat veteran, be chosen as the candidate for Governor. Douglas had served in the officially non-partisan Chicago City Council and had bucked the Democratic organization in primaries

without success. Soon Stevenson, with his experience in the federal government, was being boomed for the Senate. At the last minute, for reasons not made clear, the party leaders switched their choices, putting Douglas on the ballot for Senator and Stevenson for Governor. There has been considerable speculation about the reasons for the change. The deciding factor was probably a desire to match the well-known Douglas, a supposedly stronger Democrat, against the tougher Republican candidate, and to pit Stevenson against the weaker member of the G. O. P. team. In any event, the campaign was hardly under way before it became clear that the candidate for Governor was going to pull his own weight.

Stevenson has been compared to both Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt as an orator. He has some of the Emancipator's ability to frame literary documents on scratch paper while on his way to a meeting hall. His inaugural address as Governor is said to have been composed on the train taking him to the state capital for the occasion. Another short-order offering was his recent invitation to the Republicans to nominate their best possible man to oppose him for the governorship. "It is of little importance," he said, "whether the next Governor of Illinois is named Adlai Stevenson, but it is of the highest importance that he finish what we have started. No matter then who loses, the people will win." Like Roosevelt, Stevenson has the ability to convince his audiences that he is an uncommon man with the interests of the common man at heart.

When the ballots were counted in 1948, Stevenson carried the state by 572,000 votes, Douglas by 407,000, and Truman by 33,000.

That a Democrat could be elected Governor by more than half a million votes and find a Republican majority in the state Senate and only an eight-member Democratic margin in the lower house testifies to the peculiar system by which legislators are chosen in Illinois. That was the situation Stevenson faced when he took office in 1949. It became worse in 1950, when both houses went Republican in the off-year election. This obviously unrepresentative government in Illinois stems primarily from the Assembly's long refusal to reapportion its election districts every ten years, as required by the state constitution. Stevenson's record of accomplishment in the face of legislative hostility is due chiefly to his continuous appeal to the electorate. On television monthly, on the radio more frequently, and in hundreds of personal appearances throughout the state he has kept the people constantly aware of the issues.

His administration has been chiefly engaged with streamlining the state government, cutting out waste, applying the money thus saved where the need is greatest, and holding the line against legislative pork-barreling. During his first few months in office the Governor ordered 1,300 jobs cut from the state pay roll. Fifty of

these sinecures had been held by newspaper editors friendly to the former regime. To undertake the long-range task of introducing efficiency into executive operations, Stevenson appointed Walter V. Schaefer, a New Deal lawyer then teaching at Northwestern University.

Bent on giving Illinois better law enforcement, the Governor knew that reform of the state police was a necessary preliminary step. Appointments to the force had hitherto been purely political. Stevenson introduced the merit system and made professional training compulsory for every member. This reform has visibly improved law enforcement in Illinois.

In the early days of his administration Stevenson was determined to call a convention to modernize the state's outmoded constitution. When the plan was blocked by the legislature, he spearheaded a drive for the next best thing, the Gateway amendment to facilitate amendments to the constitution. This was passed in 1950.

Under the Stevenson administration truck license fees have been increased to finance the first major program of road construction in twenty years. State aid to the public schools has been doubled. Appropriations for welfare services in general have been increased, and the state's facilities for the mentally ill have been improved to a point where they now rank among the best in the nation.

ON THE civil-rights front Stevenson has worked, so far without success, for state F. E. P. C. legislation. To the same end he has instituted new procedures in the state employment service. Questions regarding race, religion, and nationality have been dropped from job applications, and employers can no longer specify racial requirements in applying to the state for workers.

The Governor's record-breaking 141 vetoes have been almost as important as his positive performance. He prevented passage of the Broyles bill, a state counterpart of the McCarran act which was in some ways a worse menace to civil rights. Another veto killed the Larson bill, a measure which would have reduced the principle of local option to an absurdity. Public housing in Chicago would have been virtually killed by its provision that all sites for such construction must be approved by the voters of the surrounding area. Most of the Governor's other vetoes served to keep the legislature from spending non-existent funds on pet projects of their constituents.

Unlike some amateurs in public office, Stevenson has not hesitated to use his reputation with the electorate in political maneuvering for the cause of good government. Late in 1950 death created a vacancy on the Illinois Supreme Court. The term was about to expire, and party leaders began looking for a deserving Democrat to sponsor in the June, 1951, election. The next thing they knew, Stevenson had appointed Walter Schaefer, his executive-department streamliner, to fill the vacancy, and the politicians had no choice but to slate him for election.

The numerous scandals that have rocked Chicago and Illinois in the past few months have not left the Stevenson administration entirely untouched. While the general quality of the Governor's appointments has been high, some dishonest politicians have been placed in state jobs through connections with the Democratic organization. But Stevenson's reaction to charges involving his subordinates has contrasted sharply with that of other Democratic office-holders. The culprits have been called on the carpet immediately and offered the opportunity to establish reasonable doubt of their guilt. Failure to do so has meant immediate dismissal.

When Republicans in Illinois look for a chink in Stevenson's political armor, they usually settle on his character deposition for Alger Hiss during the latter's perjury trial. In reply, Stevenson asks them if they would have lied about their impression of Hiss in order to be on the popular side. G. O. P. candidates have also tried to hold Stevenson responsible for the West Frankfort coal-mine disaster. The truth is that he had urged passage of a better mine-safety code at the last session of the legislature and his proposal had been buried through the efforts of downstate members of the Assembly, most of them Republicans.

Stevenson's brand of liberalism is as free from dogma as his Unitarian religious persuasion. His fundamental attitude toward government is that it must be clean, efficient, and close to the people; that the people can then be relied upon to shape it in such a way as to fulfil the promise of democracy.

A supporter of the principles of the Truman Administration's foreign policy, Stevenson has summed up his view of the world situation as follows:

The preservation of the free world hangs upon our ability to win the allegiance of those millions and millions of people throughout the world who have not yet made their choice between our democratic system on the one hand and the promises which communism offers on the other. That choice will be mainly shaped by our own performance. It will turn upon such things as our ability to avoid the disruptions of depression, to guarantee equality of opportunity, to narrow the gulf separating economic status, to preserve freedom of thought and action, to make democracy accord in practice with its promises and professions of faith.

Speaking at the battlefield of Gettysburg last November, the Governor of Lincoln's state made this declaration about one of our chief domestic problems:

Proud of the past, patient with what Washington called "the impostures of pretended patriotism," it is for us, the living, to rekindle the hot, indignant fires of faith in the free man, free in body, free in mind, free in spirit, free to hold any opinion, free to search and find the truth for himself; the old faith that is ever new—that burned so brightly here at Gettysburg long ago.

South African Madness

BY E. S. SACHS

Johannesburg, South Africa

THE lamps of liberty, which have never shone very brightly in South Africa, have now become painfully dim. The non-Europeans who constitute the overwhelming majority of its people have always lacked even elementary citizens' rights. Since the Nationalist government of Dr. Daniel François Malan assumed power in May, 1948, the bulk of the European population is also in danger of losing its say in government.

Dr. Malan's fundamental policy is *apartheid*, which literally translated means "separation." But its meaning is more accurately summed up in the brutal Nationalist slogan *Kaffer op sy plek en Koelie uit de land*—"The Kaffir in his place and the coolie out of the country." To the ten million native, colored, and Indian people of South Africa, *apartheid* means violence, terror, wholesale imprisonment, and slavery; it means landlessness, poverty, and the denial of education, vocational training, and elementary democratic rights. To the Nationalists, *apartheid* is a philosophy based on the conception that people who do not possess white skins are inferiors destined by Providence to remain servants of the whites.

Campaigning on this policy, the Nationalists in 1948 obtained a majority of 7 in the 153-member House of Assembly; in the Senate their majority for some time consisted only of the casting vote of the chairman. They and their ally, the Afrikaner Party, polled between them only 442,338 votes as against 623,716 in opposition.

From the moment they assumed power, the Nationalists—drawing their inspiration from the Nazis—embarked upon a policy of intimidating and terrorizing this majority opposition. Hooligans broke up anti-Nationalist meetings; the trade-union movement has been subjected to a campaign of vilification and violence; a Suppression of Communists Act was passed which gave the Nationalist Minister of Justice power to declare any person a Communist, to suppress publications, and to banish people from certain areas without trial or hearing.

On the legislative front the Nationalists resorted to flagrant juggling of the franchise in order to strengthen their frail parliamentary majority. In 1948 they disfranchised the 300,000 Indians in the country who had formerly been represented by three delegates in the House and two in the Senate—who by law had to be

Europeans, incidentally. In 1949 they passed a law which gave the Europeans of South-West Africa—fewer than 20,000 voters in all, many of them Germans and Nazis—the right to elect six members of the House and four Senators. (In South Africa's urban areas a member represents an average of 12,000 voters; hence the vote of a German in South-West Africa is worth three or four times that of a citizen of Johannesburg or Capetown.)

The Union of South Africa has no constitution, but the South Africa Act, the legal basis of the union, has always been regarded as taking the place of a constitution. Section 35 of the act provides that no person may be disqualified as a voter by reason of his race or color except by the vote of two-thirds of the total members of both houses of Parliament sitting in joint session.

Today there are about 1,000,000 colored people—non-Europeans of mixed origin as distinct from Bantus or Indians—in South Africa. The overwhelming majority live in the Cape, southernmost province of the Union, where they have always enjoyed franchise rights equal—at least technically—to those of Europeans. Because of stringent property and educational qualifications fewer than 50,000 succeeded in becoming registered voters for the last election. Nevertheless, this colored vote was of great importance in about ten constituencies.

In the face of nation-wide protest the Nationalist government last year passed the Separate Representation of Voters Act, which placed colored voters on a separate roll and limited their representation to four Europeans in the House and one in the Senate. The act was passed by a bare majority in separate sittings and not by a two-thirds' majority in a joint session as provided by the South Africa Act. Four colored voters challenged the law before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, and last March 20, in a dramatic moment, the Honorable A. van de S. Centlivres, Chief Justice of the Union, declared it was the unanimous decision of the five-man tribunal that the law was null and void.

The opinion was, in effect, a reversal of an earlier one by the same court—then differently constituted—which had upheld a 1936 act placing *native* voters, as distinct from *colored* voters, on a separate roll. Chief Justice van de S. Centlivres, in the current case, specifically said that he and his colleagues believed the earlier decision to have been wrong.

The court's action elated the masses of non-Europeans as well as all liberty-loving whites in the country. But on the afternoon of the same day Dr. Malan grimly challenged not only the decision but the court:

E. S. SACHS, general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union of Johannesburg, is author of "The Choice Before South Africa," to be published next month in South Africa.

Neither Parliament nor the people of South Africa will be prepared to acquiesce in a position where the legislative sovereignty of the lawfully and democratically elected representatives of the people is denied. . . .

There are now two conflicting judgments of the Appeal Court in regard to a constitutional issue which is of the very highest importance. . . . It is imperative that the legislative sovereignty of Parliament should be placed beyond any doubt, in order to insure order and certainty. The government will take the necessary steps to do its duty and will, at the appropriate time, announce such steps after reasons for the judgment have been studied and considered.

Many anti-Nationalists saw in Dr. Malan's reference to the "democratically elected representatives of the people" only a bitter jest, in view of the general state of the franchise. They felt that if he had really wanted to test the sentiment of the country, he should have resigned and held an election. But most of all, they saw in his challenge to the judiciary a dire threat to the whole people and to the few liberties left to them. The people of South Africa have always been proud of the integrity and independence of their high courts; moreover, as in the case of the American Supreme Court and of the

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Britain, the right to reverse decisions of predecessors has always been accepted as a prerogative of the Appellate Division.

The following day Dr. Malan announced that legislation would soon be introduced which would deprive the courts retroactively of all rights to pass on acts of Parliament. The question arises: Would such an act be itself legal? Suppose it were approved by Parliament; suppose, in preparation for the general election scheduled for next year, Dr. Malan proceeded to put the colored voters on a separate list; suppose his act were again challenged and the Appeals Court again decided against him. Suppose, further, that on the basis of the March 20 opinion, voters again challenged, this time successfully, the 1936 law which had put *natives* on separate lists? What then would be the situation?

In effect, the people of South Africa would have to decide between the law as enunciated by an independent judiciary and by the independent Dr. Malan. There are some who believe that, in such a crisis, the Nationalists might decide to carry through a national revolution and proclaim a Nazi-style republic. Others believe that the position of the courts, if maintained, would force Malan in the end to dissolve Parliament and call for new elec-



"YOU TOO!"

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tions on a "white-supremacy" and "sovereign-Parliament" platform.

Meanwhile mass demonstrations are being held throughout the country, organized chiefly by the War Veterans' Torch Commando, now a year old. With a membership of 150,000, its sole purpose is to seek the removal of the Nationalist Party from power by lawful means; it emphasizes that South Africans, thousands of whom gave their lives to help rid the world of Nazism and fascism, want no part of either in their own country.

The alternative to *apartheid* is a truly democratic South Africa, with all racial groups enjoying full democracy and equal opportunities for advancement. Unfortunately the Nationalists' major opposition, the United Party, which was led for thirty years by the late General Smuts, is in opposition only in the play for power, not in basic tenets. There is little difference between Malan's *apartheid* and the United Party's "Christian trusteeship." Both aim at maintaining a reservoir of cheap native labor for the mines and the farms—the cornerstone of national policy in South Africa for a half-century.

The Nationalists can always count on the vote of the rural Europeans, to whom the preservation of a cheap labor market and of high wool and maize prices would appear to be the only function of government. The urban middle class is overwhelmingly United Party, but much of urban labor was captured at the last election by the Nationalists. The explanation is simple: most of these city workers are Afrikaners only recently come from the hinterland and have not yet developed a labor tradition.

But tens of thousands of Afrikaner workers who voted Nationalist in 1948 are today bitterly disappointed be-

cause the government has done nothing to save them from the results of catastrophic rises in living costs. They are ripe for political plucking—but not by the United Party, which they consider the party of "capitalists" and "imperialists." What is urgently needed is a strong and influential Labor Party which could recruit the Afrikaner workers away from the Nationalists. Such a drive could destroy Malan's party forever as a political threat.

The defeat of the Nationalists would not of itself bring about any immediate fundamental changes in South Africa. It would, however, open the door to the possibility of a clear political division between those who want to see South Africa evolve into a "Third Reich" and those who want to see it evolve into a great democratic state leading the rest of Africa in progress and civilization. Moreover, the defeat of Dr. Malan will not be achieved on constitutional issues which interest only the middle class. Workers are more interested in living standards. South Africa can only be wrested from Malan by a strong and militant Labor Party in combination with a rejuvenated United Party and the solid backing of the trade unions. These must unite on a short-term constructive economic policy—a "New Deal" for the workers of South Africa—involving the destruction once and for all of the semi-slave, cheap native-labor system.

Unless the democratic forces of the country unite and challenge reaction, South Africa for a long time to come will continue to travel backward toward the dark ages. The process may even continue until one day the 150,000,000 black people of Africa say forcefully, "We shall no longer be Kaffirs," just as millions of Asians recently declared that they would no longer be "coolies."

Gagging Our Foreign Students

BY SALLY LIBERMAN

THE foreign students now studying in American colleges and universities are among the less well-known victims of the post-war witch hunt. Being "foreign," they are of course suspect, and since they are here as a matter of grace and not of right, they are particularly vulnerable. To many of them the price tag on a university degree is strict conformity to the prevailing orthodoxy. Those who express dissenting views are likely to suffer a chain of penalties—close surveillance, investigation, loss of their student visas, and in some cases arrest and deportation.

SALLY LIBERMAN is the author of "A Child's Guide to a Parent's Mind." Last year she wrote a series of articles for the New York Post on the World Assembly of Youth.

Most of the foreign students—there are about 31,000 in all—live on tight budgets and cannot afford legal counsel. By and large they are not familiar with immigration procedures, nor are they always aware of their rights. Immigration officials, moreover, seldom consult the college authorities before taking action against a student. If they refuse to renew a visa, they make no charge; the district office simply announces that the Immigration Service is "not satisfied clearly and beyond a doubt that the merits of the case are such that the applicant is entitled to remain longer in the United States in pursuance of the purpose for which he originally entered." Officials of organizations working with foreign students are noncommittal. "Above all," they say, "we must maintain the best relations with the Immigration Service."

The Chinese students face a particularly difficult situation. A student's rejection of the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek does not necessarily make him a supporter of Mao, but that fact is often overlooked. The Chinese Student Christian Association is on the Attorney General's "list." Sixteen students at the University of Illinois were ordered returned to China primarily because of membership in this organization. None had committed any overt act of subversion, but according to Arthur Hamilton, an adviser to foreign students at the university, the Department of Justice took the position that it was unable to determine which were Communists and which were not and therefore decided to send them all back "where they came from."

Even Canadians fare no better. William Willmott, a Canadian citizen born in Chengtu, China—his parents were missionaries—enrolled in Oberlin College in 1949. He was active in a number of organizations—the Methodist Federation for Social Action, the Y. M. C. A., the Young Progressives, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the Student UNESCO Committee. In September of his sophomore year Willmott filed a routine application for extension of his student visa. A month later, in a letter to the *Oberlin Review*, he questioned the reliability of information in the American press about the Korean war and developments in China, declared that South Korea might have invaded North Korea, and supported the Quaker peace proposals ("Steps to Peace").

Soon afterward he was summoned to the Cleveland office of the Immigration Service and informed that "a well-meaning patriotic student" had forwarded a copy of his letter to the FBI. He was then asked about membership in certain organizations and whether he subscribed to the *Compass* or the *Daily Worker*. Other questions dealt with literature he had received from China, particularly a magazine called *The People's China*, and his views on Nationalist versus Communist China.

THE interview took place on December 15, 1950. On January 10 of the next year Willmott was informed by the Buffalo regional office of the Immigration Service that he should make arrangements to leave the United States before February 10. President Stevenson of Oberlin wrote the district director that Willmott was a good student, that he was neither a Communist nor a fascist, and that his presence in Oberlin would not be detrimental to the security of the United States. In reply the district director wrote: "The situation involves a young man who doubtless is as good as you say he is but who nevertheless could be a deleterious force in the lives of certain others, and it is for this reason that the denial action was taken." The basic reason, however, appears to have been Willmott's interest in the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, whose publication he had read but of which he was not a member. The district

director also wrote: "I note you say that Mr. Willmott has allied himself with certain organizations here 'not unlike a great many other young people here in America.' Those other young people, however, are doubtless citizens of the United States, which he is not." Apparently the Immigration Service is not familiar with a statement by former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath in a four-page pamphlet entitled "To All Alien Students Entering the United States." The statement reads: "During your stay here you are given the rights to the freedom and privileges enjoyed by citizens of the United States and aliens residing here permanently."

At President Stevenson's suggestion an attorney arranged a hearing for Willmott. The respite thus obtained enabled him to finish the academic year at Oberlin, but in March he chose to leave the United States voluntarily.

To the Immigration Service a foreign student whose studies keep him in this country more than six years is a "potential" immigrant, regardless of overwhelming evidence that he intends to return to his own country. In 1945 a young man from Sierra Leone, Africa—the first man in his village to learn to read and write—came to the United States to study. He had a burning ambition to become a doctor, rarely missed a class, and supported himself with odd jobs. He had taken a full course in medicine and was within six months of receiving a doctorate in public health at New York University when he was ordered, last October, to leave the United States before November 23.

An Iranian student who has been here since 1945 studying for a Ph.D. in city planning has been refused an extension of his student visa and told to leave. He believes that the chief reason is his potential-immigrant status but that his public stand in support of the oil-nationalization program in Iran may be another factor. Last summer he spoke at Lafayette College in favor of the program and later published an open letter to Premier Mossadegh congratulating him on the nationalization campaign. Copies of the letter, which was signed by members of the Iranian Student Group of New York, were sent to newspapers in Iran, to the New York papers, and to the press associations. The *Daily Worker* devoted considerable space to the letter, to the consternation of Iranian students in New York, who charged that its meaning had been distorted.

The immigration officials are under great strain—ill-paid and poorly prepared to enforce the increasingly complex laws and regulations demanded by Congressional inquisitors. Young foreigners are handy scapegoats and too often are treated in a way that is inconsistent with the American tradition of hospitality to visiting students. They have to prove their innocence of any disloyalty to our government instead of being presumed innocent until proved guilty, as the American system of justice prescribes.

Impressions of New China, II

BY V. K. R. V. RAO

Delhi, India

THE basis of agrarian reform in China is quite simple. The tiller must own the land he tills; a landlord who rents out his land is a non-producer and has no right to his income. He has no right to land on which he does not work or to own more houses or agricultural implements or cattle than are required for cultivating an average holding in his village. All land or equipment that a landlord owns in excess of the village average is considered surplus and may be confiscated by the state and made available to the land-poor and landless peasants in the village. The distribution is per capita: larger families get larger holdings, women and children being taken into account as full persons for this purpose. Surplus equipment, cattle, and houses are similarly distributed. No compensation is paid to the landlord, and those to whom this property is awarded get it as a free gift from the state. The new owners must pay the land tax, which amounts to about 18 per cent of the produce, but as against this they previously paid rent to the landlords of between 50 and 60 per cent of the produce. We were told that the relief thus granted to the actual tillers amounts to twenty million tons of food grains.

The so-called rich peasants, those whose holdings exceed the village average but who work on their land and are usually the best farmers of the village, are not disturbed in their property—they are, in fact, actually protected, as are the so-called middle peasants, whose holdings roughly equal the village average. Exceptions to the rule of no tilling, no ownership are made in the case of soldiers, teachers, civil servants, writers, and other workers residing in towns, provided that their income from land constitutes only a small portion of their total income and that their holdings do not exceed the village average.

Land reform in each area was preceded by education and intensive propaganda. The actual redistribution of land was effected through peasant committees aided by college professors and students. The redistribution was almost invariably made the occasion for the stimulation of class consciousness in rural areas; landlords alleged to have committed acts of oppression, usury, or inhumanity against their tenants were publicly accused and tried.

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Whether one approves of this procedure or not, there is no denying that it has linked the vast majority of the peasants to the new government by almost indissoluble ties.

The industrial workers, the petty bourgeoisie, and the private capitalists have one thing in common: they live in towns and have to purchase their food and other consumers' goods. The price level has therefore a direct bearing on their welfare. When the Communists came to power, China was in the throes of a severe inflation. By July, 1950, inflation had been checked and prices had been stabilized. It is true that there has since been some rise in the prices of industrial goods, especially of cloth, owing primarily to increased rural purchasing power; but prices of essential commodities as a whole have not risen very much.

While the government has obtained the support of the general urban population through this successful implementation of its anti-inflation program, it has taken special steps to win the favor of the different classes. The industrial workers enjoy many more benefits and amenities than they had under the previous regime. Social insurance on modern lines has been introduced, including workmen's compensation and maternity, sickness, and old-age benefits. A beginning has been made in the provision of rest houses, dormitories, sanitariums, and so on. Workers who distinguish themselves in increasing production are given the title of labor heroes or model workers and held up to the admiration of their comrades and of the entire country.

While government corporations have taken over foreign trade and a large sector of domestic wholesale trade, a certain portion of wholesale trade and the entire retail trade have been left in private hands. Storekeepers seem to be quite happy as the result of the increase in rural purchasing power and also of the new emphasis placed by government on the flow of commodities between towns and villages. An additional source of satisfaction is the rationalization of taxation and, with it, the abolition of petty and multiple taxes.

As for the capitalist class, Article 30 of the Common Program declares that "the People's Government shall encourage the active operation of all private economic enterprises beneficial to the national welfare and to the people's livelihood and shall assist in their development." The private capitalist has therefore a definite place in the new Chinese economy. Taxation of profits does not exceed 30 per cent. Dividends are limited and there is a general ban on sending profits abroad, but all possible

facilities in the way of raw materials, transport, finance, and technical assistance are offered by the government to private industrial concerns carrying on approved productive activities; this is true not only for Chinese concerns but also for foreign concerns operating in China. At the same time the state has far more effective control over the private sector of industry than in either the United States or India. In effect, private industrial concerns in China either carry out processing activities for the government or produce finished goods on government order. There is no interference in operational or managerial matters, markets and reasonable profits are guaranteed, but there is effective integration of the private sector in the government's over-all economic program.

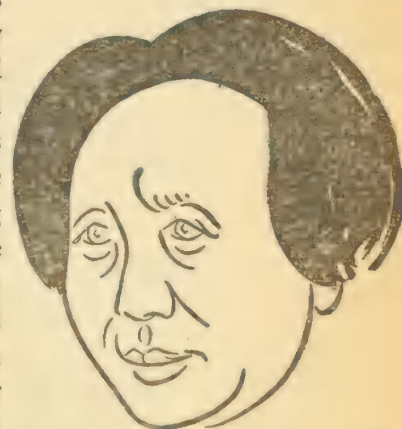
SO MUCH for the new government's hold on the Chinese people. What are its long-range plans? Politically, there is intense concentration on what is called "Aid Korea and Resist American Aggression." Simultaneously Sino-Russian friendship is being built up, with emphasis on the Sino-Russian treaty of alliance and the armed might of the Soviet Union. In the economic field the problem of industrialization—the need to meet the newly awakened demand of the peasantry for more consumer goods and thus stave off inflation—is certainly the subject of serious thought among the policy-makers. China needs both capital equipment and technical assistance to speed up industrialization, but because of the economic blockade recently imposed at the instance of the U. N. it is finding it difficult to get supplies from the Western world. As a natural corollary, a radical change is taking place in the direction of its foreign trade, and China is leaning heavily today for both technical assistance and supplies of capital goods on the Soviet Union and its associates in Eastern Europe.

The cultural ties between China and the Soviet Union are also being strengthened. The Russian language is now taught as a second language in many of the middle schools, and books and journals in Russian dominate the foreign-language bookshops that are found in the principal cities. The Chinese press contains little foreign news as compared, for example, with the Indian press, and the news agencies whose releases are published are mainly Hsinhua or Tass, not Reuter's or A. P. or U. P. Hostile observers see in all this the beginning of a new order in China in which contacts with the outside world will be mainly with and through the Soviet Union; some even fear that the new China will be a menace to the rest of Asia.

I myself feel certain the hostile observers are wrong in their reading of the Chinese puzzle. Undoubtedly Sino-Soviet friendship will be an enduring fact, but it is equally true that China is not and can never be a Soviet satellite. The Chinese leaders are essentially Chinese patriots; the program by which they are consolidating

their hold is essentially a domestic program designed to solve the many economic, social, and cultural problems that confront the Chinese people.

The most noteworthy characteristic of the present Chinese leadership is its strong sense of actuality and its aversion from a doctrinaire course. The major factor in Mao's rise to power has been his realism, his framing of policies closely connected with concrete conditions. Thus the basic facts of the Chinese situation, together with the quality of the leadership, argue against militaristic adventures on China's part. The intense anti-American feeling that now prevails has arisen largely because the United States has been linked with the two things the Chinese people hate most — Chiang Kai-shek and Japanese rearmament; and even this feeling is directed against the American government rather than the American people, for whom there seems still to exist considerable regard.



Mao Tse-tung

The Chinese are conscious that they are a great power and will not tolerate any threat to their territorial integrity. But given understanding and recognition of present realities by the Western world, which means adoption of a policy toward China not based on the thought that it is a Soviet satellite, I have no doubt that friendly relations between China and the West can be revived and peace restored and made enduring in Asia. We Indians have just cause to be proud that, thanks to the statesmanship of Mr. Nehru, India is the one country that has shown a correct understanding of the Chinese puzzle.

The Chinese leadership is so anxious to improve the condition of the people that it would hesitate to revive internal disorder in pursuit of a doctrinaire mirage. Not that the Chinese Communist Party denies its goal of a Communist society; it is simply prepared to wait till the people voluntarily effect the transformation. I visualize the definite possibility that during this transition period Chinese culture, tradition, and psychology will influence the nature of the final goal, and that given peace and absence of foreign intervention, a new society will eventually emerge in China which may embody at least some of the West's liberal values.

To my mind, however, the brightest hope for the future of new China vis-à-vis the rest of the world, both East and West, lies in India's friendship for China and China's for India. On the development of that friendship depends perhaps not only the maintenance of peace in Asia but also the future form of communism in China.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Off with Their Heads

LET IT COME DOWN. By Paul Bowles. Random House. \$3.50.

THE SWIFT CLOUD. By Sigrid de Lima. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

THERE WAS A MAN IN OUR TOWN. By Granville Hicks. The Viking Press. \$3.

PAUL BOWLES'S "Let It Come Down" has been praised by people who should know better; it has also become the best-seller it was intended to be. I have not read his first novel, "The Sheltering Sky," but I recollect a real if qualified delight in the short stories of "The Delicate Prey." Most of them are about the same subject: the destruction of effete Westerners by the arts, the skulduggery, and the implacable hostility of primitive peoples, usually Mexican or Arab. Like D. H. Lawrence, Mr. Bowles sees the natural, which he equates with the primitive, as bound, one way or another, to destroy artifice. Unlike Lawrence, who found—by fits and starts at least—our eventual salvation in such destruction, Mr. Bowles's natural forces embodied in primitive peoples are worse than the human trivia they destroy. This is a view of things which when applied to the writing of fiction can lead quickly to a dead end. After "The Delicate Prey" the question remained: Can anything more of importance be written on this matter?

The answer is that Mr. Bowles has popularized his radical preoccupation by diluting it and sentimentalizing it. "Let It Come Down" is the history of a few weeks in the life of an American bank clerk, in flight from neurosis, who takes a job in Tangier. There he slips easily into a maelstrom of intrigue and debauchery which swallows him up. But, we are assured, in sloughing off his New York bank-teller standards, Charles Dyar has somehow found himself at the moment of his complete undoing.

Compared to "The Delicate Prey" this novel is studiously muted, as if Mr. Bowles were addressing himself to a *Ladies' Home Journal* audience which must be simultaneously shocked and in-

formed—but never too much so—by an account of strange goings-on in far places. Long passages read like a rather dull travelogue. And where the writing in the short stories was wonderfully stripped of unnecessary detail and often deliberately flat so that no attention might be diverted from the subject, this writing seems flat merely out of carelessness or ennui. The process of cheapening has been drastic and thorough.

"The Swift Cloud" is a disappointment—the more so if one remembers Miss de Lima's first novel, "Captain's Beach," and the expectation it aroused of even better things to come. Its central theme, the importance of any kind of love, is developed through the close examination of one day in the life of a good man wrongfully accused of having murdered the idiot son whom he loved. During his brief stay in the jail of a small Southern California town, Clyde Cassen relives the problems which his son's idiocy and his own devotion created. Unhappily, in order to do this, Miss de Lima has constructed a special manner instead of writing quietly and in her own good fashion or, at least, in the fashion of "Captain's Beach." It is a manner which shuttles back and forth in time, often for no compelling reason, and which relies on repetition to create density and a sense of life going on. There is nothing wrong with these devices, but Miss de Lima uses them and others so excessively that they obscure what they were meant to clarify.

Yet "The Swift Cloud" has its excellences. The man, Clyde Cassen, and his family are re-created; Miss de Lima knows how to convey sights and sounds beautifully; she gets perfectly the feeling of September as it falls on one of those small Southern California towns which lie east of Los Angeles toward the desert. Nor does her unfortunate manner ever mask the acuteness of her moral sensibility.

Granville Hicks's new novel, "There Was a Man in Our Town," is the story of a retired college professor who sets out to break the Republican machine in an up-state New York town. He learns that "politics is people" the hard way.

Though he gets himself into some strange predicaments he acquires wisdom and is undefeated in spirit after various material defeats. The characters are all stereotypes conceived in great high spirits. The high spirits, indeed, are the most engaging thing about this novel, a *roman à thèse* on a theme so worn that Mr. Hicks should probably be congratulated on having managed to be amusing as often as he is.

ERNEST JONES

The Business of Government

HOW TO GET RICH IN WASHINGTON. By Blair Bolles. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.75.

IT IS difficult to decide whether Mr. Bolles in writing this book hypnotized himself into being earnestly scandalized by the sorry Washington chicanery he rehashes, deliberately produced a quickie designed to sell on the basis of a snappy subtitle ("Rich Man's Division of the Welfare State"), or does not really understand the truth about our kind of government. In any case he makes no serious contribution to an understanding of the truth. The book is largely a recapitulation of stuff paraded in Congressional hearings and newspapers, a college undergraduate's version of those celebrated novelties for the gee-whiz set—Washington, New York, Chicago "Confidential."

There are some slick generalizations. Taxes are so high that "there is not much left for the Morgans and those in private life who used to finance the spread of capitalism." "Washington itself has become J. P. Morgan." Yet "economic royalists" are regaining "paramountcy." Regulatory agencies tend to become prisoners of the interests they are supposed to regulate. What we have now is "military socialism."

If Bolles is aware that even half-way smart financiers avoid stiff upper-bracket income-tax rates by manipulating the purchase and sale of assets so as to benefit through lower taxes on capital gains, he does not indicate it. Nor does he seem to realize that some of the

RFC's most harshly criticized loans were at least vaguely justified under a Congressional injunction that "small business" should be helped. Nor does he acknowledge that the very existence of the RFC is a potential check on a return to the private monopoly of credit. Complaining that the independent agencies have too much power and that Congress "has less control over the real nature of government" than during "rubber-stamp" early New Deal days, he also writes, a little later: "Congressional laws and military policy in effect guaranteed a profit to the war contractors no matter how improvident or inept they might be."

If he would stick to that last statement he would be closer to the facts. Congress does not lack "control" of agency and department policies. The power of the sugar industry in the Department of Agriculture is a reflection of the power of the sugar industry in Congress. The important oil lobbyists are elected members of Congress. The important insurance lobbyists—the ones who helped decide the liability of fire-insurance firms under the anti-trust laws and the tax liabilities of life-insurance firms—are elected members of Congress. Even the collapse of the Federal Power Commission, a once vigilant regulatory agency, followed enactment of a bill by Congress to emasculate its work. Truman vetoed the bill, but the commissioners saw what happened to Leland E. Olds after he fought the utilities and oil companies: the Senate refused to confirm his reappointment. This reviewer doubts the validity of Bolles's insinuation that the FPC wrote itself out of the regulation of natural-gas companies because Senator Kerr, who opposed regulations, supported President Truman against General MacArthur. Passage of the Kerr bill and the stake-burning of Olds in the Senate were signs that any timid commissioner could read.

Business men have always got rich or poor depending on policies in Washington—not less in the 1880's and pre-Civil War days than now. High tariffs continued long beyond the period of "infancy" in industry were simply public plunder approved by the same kind of Congressmen who today insist that defense contractors make a profit no matter how improvident or inept they may be, the same kind of Congressmen

who insist that even under price controls the profits of manufacturers, middle men, and retailers be guaranteed. The business of government is always closely related to control of the economy, to the dispensing or withholding of favors, to the issue of who pays how much in taxes.

We shall not get rid of deep-freeze artists, mink-coat grabbers, and Presidential aides who free-load at luxury hotels by making a few wisecracks that obscure a basic problem. We had a better-balanced government in early New Deal years because the people had elected a Congress with some interest in the general welfare, and members of that Congress, such as Senators Norris and Black, had guts enough to force through legislation despite the howling opposition of holding-company pirates and the whole community of legalized plunderers. It is not necessarily true that regulatory bodies continually deteriorate; the Federal Trade Commission in recent years has been far more vital and vigorous than it was under Roosevelt. If the people elected a better Congress again, the effect would quickly become evident in many departments and independent agencies.

WILLARD SHELTON

The Art of Biography

NELL GWYN, ROYAL MISTRESS.

By John Harold Wilson. Pellegrini and Cudahy. \$4.

A BIOGRAPHY usually raises the query: is it entertaining or reliable? Mr. Wilson's is both. Its first advantage is its subject, a woman who rose from a player in Drury Lane to a royal mistress of Charles II; the whole concept of official mistresses is pleasantly shocking to our modern sense of public decorum. Then, too, she flourished during the Restoration, an era brilliant with lust, wit, intrigue, candle-light and brocade, with even a great plague and fire thrown in.

Yet even with these aids to entertainment, the biographer who wishes to write an honest, reliable book has his problems. Mr. Wilson tells us candidly at the beginning what sources he had available: reliable evidence, like deeds, wills, warrants, state papers, theatrical records; questionable kinds, like newspapers, letters, diaries, histories, and

anecdotes; and, finally, the least reliable, prose and verse lampoons or libels. These materials are the kind usually used in scholarly biographies, often with edifying but unpalatable results. They are also sometimes used by the popular biographer, who then projects himself into the mind of his heroine, and tells us what she thought and said. This method, for all its popularity, is a falsification of history.

Mr. Wilson exhibits here the best qualities of the scholar and the popularizer and none of the faults of either. A good sample of how he raises a sound and graceful structure on a foundation of documents is his ninth chap-

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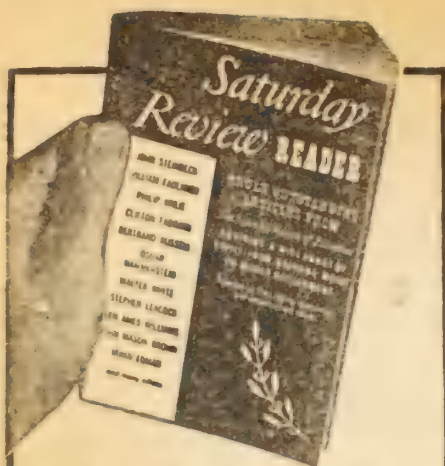
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ter, which describes Nell's manner of life on Pall Mall. He gives us the concrete facts about her house, taxes, servants, sedan chair, coach, food, drink, doctors' bills, cosmetics, gambling, shopping, clothes, bed (decorated with silver and costing about a thousand pounds); and then he ends the chapter with the concert she gave for the King in her new house. All this—as the brief chapter bibliography at the end of the book details—is based on reliable sources. The facts are specific without being diluted into pseudo-dramatic presentation. The reader, it is true, must work a little too, visualizing and integrating, but he ends with an authentic picture of Nell's home and not the painted prop of a stage set. The description here is rounded out by an anecdote. At the end of the concert the King, wishing to reward the players, fumbled in his pocket without finding any money and then asked the Duke of York, who had only a guinea or two. Whereupon Nell, turning to the other guests and borrowing the King's favorite oath, cried, "Od's fish! What company am I got into?"

But what if the biographer of the documented, critical method is faced with conflicting evidence? If he is "creative" he will choose the version which his intuition reveals as the true one. Mr. Wilson simply states the origin of the disputed fact, thus indicating its weight. If he has two versions, he gives them both—particularly if they are amusing and illuminating. Thus, there are two accounts of how Nell persuaded the King to give their son a peerage. According to one, she held the child out of an upper-story window and threatened to drop him unless—when the King cried, "God save the Earl of Burford." The other relates that once in the King's presence she called out to the boy, "Come hither, you little bastard," and when the King reproved her, replied that "she had no better name to call him by." Whether true or not these traditional stories point up what the indisputable facts show—that Nell exerted herself for her son and that the King procrastinated in granting honors he had awarded to his other illegitimate sons.

In sketching the background Mr. Wilson picks his way through vast complexities, yet manages to write always

with clarity and zest. It is a brief book, but he packs into it all the color and controversy of Nell's rivalry with the other principal mistresses, the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth, and her friendship with the court wits—Dorset, Rochester, Sedley, and Buckingham. Historically, the capering of the King's mistresses is only an entertaining surface ornamentation; beneath it a grim struggle was being fought to make England a constitutional monarchy and a pivotal European power. Still, to compare Charles II's mistresses with the dowdy ones of the first two Georges is to mark the evolution of the monarchy from the aristocratic insouciance of the Stuarts to the middle-class stolidity of the Hanoverians.

It is personal, not national, history that has kept Nell Gwyn in the popular imagination since her own day. Her success story has classic appeal: the daughter of a man so obscure that his first name is not recorded, she was the mother of the royal Duke of St. Albans. Remembered by Charles as he lay dying—when he apologized for being so long about it—she herself died rich, respected, and not especially repentant. The Victorians tried to explain away the profession by which she earned her honors. In his biography Mr. Wilson has removed the whitewash to restore her to what she looks like in the Lely portrait that serves as frontispiece—an impudent beauty. **ROBERT HALSBAND**

Books in Brief

THE NEGRO FREEDMAN. By Henderson H. Donald. Schuman. \$4. A detailed and dispassionate study of the effects of freedom on 4,000,000 former slaves in the years just after the Civil War—a perplexing and difficult period in which the Negroes, suddenly freed from bondage and preyed upon by carpetbaggers, were faced with the problems of earning a living in a ruined land and of adjusting themselves to a new way of life.

RAG, TAG AND BOBTAIL. By Lynn Montross. Harper. \$5. The author has attempted to give an "eyewitness account" of the American Revolution by extensive quotations from diaries and letters, tied together by his own rather

haphazard narrative. The result, while not particularly illuminating as history, is justified by the vividness with which some of the individual scenes are brought to life by the contemporary documents.

PLANTATION COUNTY. By Morton Rubin. University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50. This volume, the first of the Field Studies in the Modern Culture of the South, prepared under the direction of John Gillin, describes the present social strata and ways of life in a typical Black Belt county with a population of 5,000 whites and 20,000 Negroes. The author is a Jew, a Bostonian, and a cultural anthropologist, but in spite of what must locally have been considered three strikes against him, he seems to have been successful in winning the confidence of the people during the year that he spent among them. A useful addition to our knowledge of the economic and social patterns of American life.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE GRASS HARP (Martin Beck Theater) is about four sensitive misfits who run away from their crass families in a small Southern town and take refuge temporarily in a forest tree, where they live for a time on fried chicken and hard-boiled eggs brought along in a shoe box. Considered just as a plot, this is, I suppose, no sillier than the plot of "As You Like It"—which, as a matter of fact, it very remotely resembles: "Blow blow, thou winter wind, thou art not so unkind," etc. There are no banished dukes, no convenient lions to eat up a villain, and no holy hermits to produce a quick reform. But there are other personages and incidents equally surprising, including, for instance, a crooked promoter out to get possession of the formula for a secret dropsy cure owned by one of the refugees, a last-minute conversion, and a certain Miss Baby Doll Dallas who wanders into the forest peddling a line of cosmetics guaranteed to transform any hag into a Hollywood starlet.

I hasten to add that the purpose of

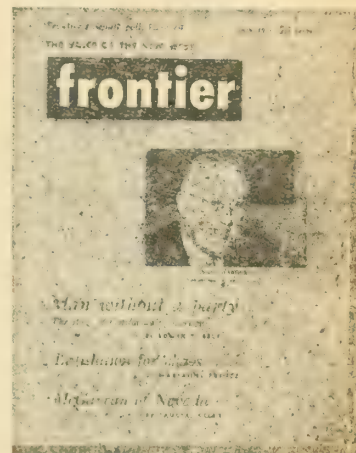
this comparison is not either to depreciate "As You Like It" or to exalt "The Grass Harp"; it is simply a way of confessing frankly that to tell the story of a fantasy may be to do it less than justice. Conceivably a story like that just recounted might be transformed by some magic of poetry, imagination, or humor into a delightful piece. But Truman Capote, who has made the play from his own recently published story, is no Shakespeare, and though at least one of the leading critics thought the performance thoroughly delightful I found myself hanging my head in embarrassment at what seemed to me the fatuous goings-on presented on the stage.

The moral of the play is plain enough and like the plot might conceivably have served a purpose. Temperamentally I am not unsympathetic to those who find the world too much for them. On the whole I think I also agree with the author that, regrettable though the fact may be, utter flight is no solution, and one must come down out of one's tree to make some sort of peace with the world. But these are familiar thoughts and hardly call for long exposition unless one has some effective method of presenting them.

For all I know, Mr. Capote's narrative may have generated a special atmosphere. The only parts of the play not clumsy are the two or three long speeches in which one of the characters simply explains to another what he thinks it is all about. But so far as anything is dramatized, it fails to come off. What was no doubt intended as poetical naivete comes out as mere clumsy childishness, and it is obvious that the performers—on the whole they are good ones—feel from time to time as though they had wandered into a high-school play. In short, though I hope I am not only responsive to imagination but in some degree capable of making the best of whimsy, I am compelled to say that "The Grass Harp" just won't go down.

Considerable pains have obviously been taken with the production. There is incidental music by Virgil Thomson and there are settings by Cecil Beaton, whose tree house is one of the best things in the show. Russell Collins is almost convincing as the retired judge who joins the runaways, and Mildred Natwick does her very good best as the heroine who knows how to make the dropsy cure out of wild herbs.

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Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

TOSCANINI'S broadcast of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony completed, as the N. B. C. announcer pointed out, his fifteenth season with the N. B. C. Symphony Orchestra. I would add that it was the fifteenth year in which the radio public has heard what have been in large measure falsifications and distortions of Toscanini's performances. The first thirteen of those years the sound of the performances was falsified at its source by the acoustic defects of Studio 8H, and the proportions and balance were distorted partly by these defects and partly by method of pickup (*i. e.*, microphone placement) and transmission; but the last two years pick-up and transmission alone have produced the continuing falsification and distortion of performances originating in Carnegie Hall, where their sound has been fabulously beautiful, and from where C. B. S. has transmitted excellent facsimiles of the New York Philharmonic's performances—facsimiles, that is, in which the orchestra appears to be heard from a sufficient distance for its components to reach the ear with the spaciousness, clarity, balance, and beauty they have in the hall. N. B. C. could have used the same set-up as C. B. S. and sent out equally good facsimiles of the N. B. C. Symphony performances; instead it has used a set-up which brings us close to the orchestra where the violins often get to be strident, or in the middle of it where its components are

tightly crowded together around us, where the woodwinds sometimes are louder than tutti, and where the gradations of dynamics and the balances so carefully and laboriously and precisely worked out by Toscanini are destroyed.

This makes it difficult to evaluate the performances—to know, for example, whether one is hearing excessive tension in the performance of the Ninth, or only the tightness and stridency of the transmitted sound.

Two new recordings have been issued of one of Bach's greatest works, the Cantata No. 4 "Christ lag in Todesbanden." The Bach Guild offers a straightforward performance by Viennese musicians under Prohaska; Decca a performance by German musicians under Fritz Lehmann, whose pacing, shaping, and sensitive inflection give it greater expressive power and create more life in the contrapuntal texture. The recorded sound of the Decca performance suffers from occasional distortion, especially near the end of the first side. The Bach Guild record offers also the Cantata No. 140 "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," one of the works with superb choral passages and less interesting music for the soloists.

Bach's Magnificat is another of the works in which the arias move me less than the choral passages. The Decca record offers a performance by German musicians under Ferdinand Leitner, whose slower tempos are more effective than Shaw's fast ones in the RCA Victor performance of a few years ago (though in one or two instances they are too slow); but the chorus is not good or is poorly reproduced. The soloists, however, are good.

Handel's Te Deum for the Peace of Utrecht and his Coronation Anthem are agreeable but not among his most impressive works. They are excellently performed on a Haydn Society record by Danish musicians under Mogens Wöldike.

Another work that I find unimpressive is Haydn's Missa Solemnis ("Harmoniemesse") in B flat, performed on a Period record by Viennese musicians under Alex Larsen. It is the less effective for the shrill and wobbly singing of the solo soprano, the not much better singing of the solo contralto, and the ear-lacerating recorded sound.

The concert arias of Haydn on a Haydn Society record are good examples of the genre, well sung by Gertraud Hopf, soprano, with the Vienna Symphony under Von Zallinger. The sharp recorded sound requires reduction of treble to minimum.

Schütz's "Musical Exequies" is a recitative-like setting of verses chosen for the purpose by the prince at whose funeral the work was sung. Its interest is entirely in its detail, some—but not all—of which I found impressive. It is well performed on an R. E. B. record, but poorly reproduced: when the volume is right for the soloists the chorus is ear-shattering; and the sharpness requires reduction of treble to minimum.

Mahler's "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen" are beautifully sung by Blanche Thebom with an orchestra under Boult and excellently reproduced by the RCA Victor LP, which offers also Thebom's previously issued performances of Wolf songs.

Mahler's "Das klagende Lied" is an early and immature work that I would recommend skipping. It is well performed by Viennese musicians under Fekete and reproduced with excessive sharpness by the Mercury record.

Art

S. LANE
FAISON, JR.

[Mr. Faison, who has contributed many reviews of books to these pages during the past few years, has now become The Nation's art critic. His column, dealing with current exhibits, will appear every four weeks.]

SUPPLEMENTING its fall show of paintings, the Whitney Museum of American Art offers its annual spring selection of sculpture, water colors, and drawings (through May 4). There are 72 items in the first classification, 80 in the second, and enough in the third to bring the total to 187, by as many artists. As in its previous shows of this sort, the Whitney is making a serious effort to discover new talent and to keep the work of interesting artists in the public's mind.

With an eye to the recent, and still current, controversy sparked by the protest of the National Sculpture Society to

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the Metropolitan Museum, the director of the Whitney has made it perfectly clear in his foreword to the catalogue on what basis the present exhibition was selected. It does indeed include conservative as well as the most advanced work—Ogden Pleissner's slick Sargent-in-the-rain water color of Avignon is, alphabetically, next to Jackson Pollock's No. 7, 1951. The management has made no attempt to represent all current manners in equal amounts; and if modern art predominates, "it is because it is unquestionably the leading movement in art today, and has exerted the greatest influence on younger artists to whom the Whitney Museum has always been hospitable."

Fair enough: the prevailing idiom is modern. But this is no guaranty against mediocrity, superficiality, and the forced effect. There are plenty of all three in this show, and the sculptors are the worst offenders. Aside from the terrific impact of Roszak's Skylark, a wild, scythe-like skeleton in three-four time, I saw little in the sculpture sections that made me want to linger, or else I had seen similar things represented long ago and elsewhere—Baizerman's powerful recumbent Unknown Soldier, of hammered copper, for instance. Minna Harkavy's Adagio seemed to me an inferior example. The staff of the Whitney selected the pieces shown; but I do not happen to know what there was to select from. In the case of David Smith I do: The Hero is not so large as its size, and it gives as pale an idea of what Smith can do as the Head in the Museum of Modern Art.

As a matter of principle, I prefer to single out for comment only those works which struck me as having something positive to offer, unless it be a lesser example of an artist who generally does. But Archipenko's Exaltation struck me as so little exalted that I cannot forbear comment; it is merely larger than some of the other paperweights in the show. There is something doubly depressing about bad sculpture: the time, the trouble, the expense, and, saddest of all, the permanence.

The water colors run a full gamut from the tender suggestion of Feininger's Houses in Hildesheim—in low-key orange and neutral—to the meaty impasto of James Brooks's No. 3, 1952, in layers, partially superimposed, of red,

straw, pale green, and neutral. That this is a "water color" for the spring show rather than a "painting" for the fall show is, it seems to me, chiefly a matter of chemistry. But anyone who has ever organized an art show will have discovered the ridiculous pitfalls of classifications.

I was strongly impressed by John Atherton's Rocky Farmyard, though it may turn out to be too much School of Shahn; while Shahn himself, in Homeric Struggle, seems to be struggling homerically to be different from Shahn. He is an artist I admire, and I honor the struggle without applauding this particular result. Fortunately, Marin's reputation does not have to depend on the Sea Piece here shown. Tchelitchev's Head, except for its queer color, can be found in Renaissance instruction books on perspective, and Gwathmey's Ancestor Worship essays a thin elegance in which he cannot compete with the combination of Charles Demuth and Henry James—whether or not such competition was intended.

Among names new to me, I remember with pleasure works by Hans Moller and Janet Marren.

One memorable wall upstairs features non-objective black-and-whites: Pollock, deKooning, Kline, and Reinhardt. They are separated in the catalogue because Kline, who uses ink on paper, and deKooning, who works in oil on paper, are in the drawing class, while the other two are listed among the water-colorists. But they are properly hung together. It is impressive how strongly four individualities have been projected by nothing but a few black marks on white. The attention the ancient Chinese paid to calligraphy as an element of poetry comes to mind. Of the four, on this occasion Reinhardt seemed to have the greatest staying power. I would seriously like to see his Number 25 beside a Piranesi Prison, because they both achieve something of the same grandeur, though I have no doubt about which is the more resonant.

Across the room there is a small Motherwell drawing, Toledo (presumably not Ohio). I have often admired Motherwell, but this time it's the turn of the little boy who pointed out that the king has no clothes on. Me for Saul Steinberg, whose Cowgirl has plenty of clothes on.

CONTRIBUTORS

ERNEST JONES regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation*.

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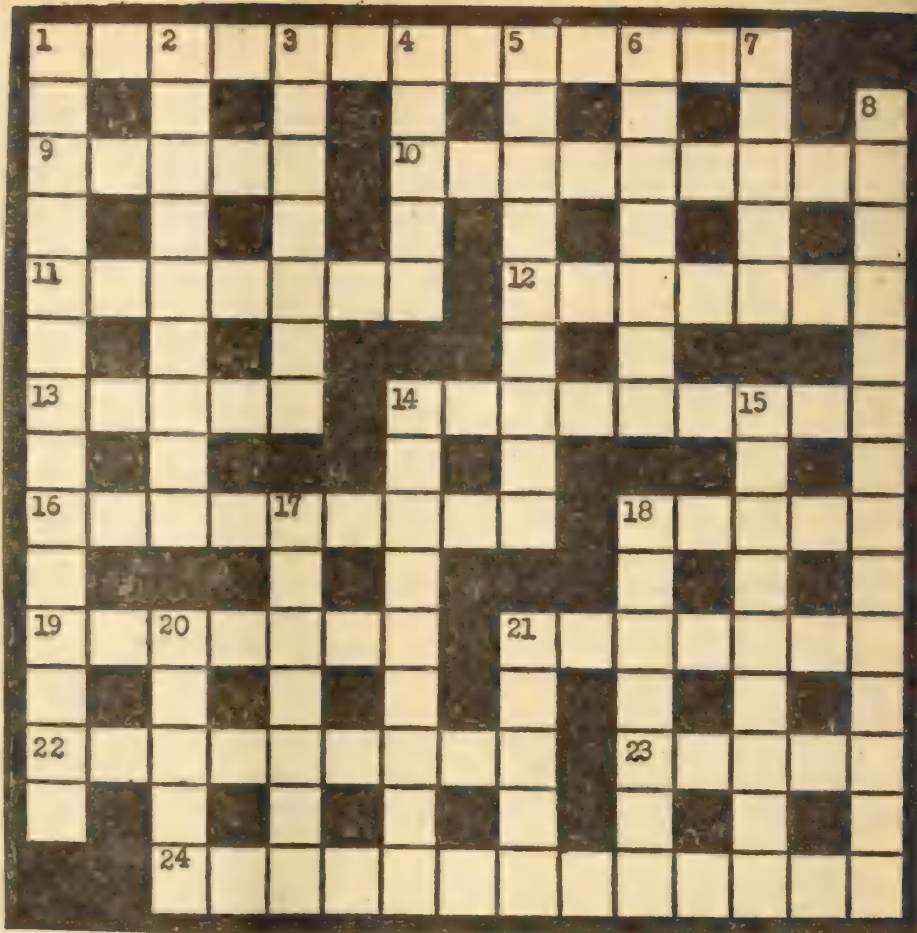
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Crossword Puzzle No. 460

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 See 1 down.
- 9 A loss? Not when repeated. (5)
- 10 and 23. An associated expression sounds like a good look with warning, but it's a sort of pit when I drop it. (5, 4, 5)
- 11 They hold breakfast food. (3, 4)
- 12 Circumspect. (7)
- 13 Not certain as death, but no more pleasing. (5)
- 14 Born 1932; died 1945. (9)
- 16 Cattlemen find their home with Cupid. (9)
- 18 The least sort of thing is wrong if you do it. (5)
- 19 The end pays off with difficult breathing. (7)
- 21 A drummer does with retreat, but so does everyone else. (5, 2)
- 22 He wasted a lot of time on reflection. (9)
- 23 See 10 across.
- 24 Where the students are used to cutting classes? (6, 7)

- 4 Spring is found in northern Arizona. (5)
- 5 Press items from the floor of 24? (9)
- 6 Acquaintances keep it, if you feel there's sense here. (2, 5)
- 7 Offensive with military men, but in good taste with Red Cross workers. (5)
- 8 and 14. Goodfellow's reflection implies all races are silly. (4, 5, 5, 7, 2)
- 14 See 8.
- 15 Watch or the toe-tapper does it. (5, 4)
- 17 The comparatively well-armed would necessarily be. (7)
- 18 24's clue might describe the place one learns to use it. (7)
- 20 Not used regularly to clean up. (5)
- 21 Thus, to a degree, it's fundamental. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 459

ACROSS:--1 SUBSTANDARD; 9 MALINGER; 10 BROKEN; 12 GUSSETS; 14 SEE-SAW; 15 OPHIDIAN; 17 STALLION; 20 DEPOTS; 22 INSIGHT; 24 AMPERES; 28 CUSTOM; 27 and 11 CARLSBAD CAVERNS; 28 COUNTERPART.

DOWN:--2 and 13 UNIVERSAL JOINT; 3 SAGINAW; 4 AIRS; 5 DEBOUCH; 6 ROOKS; 8 BERTHA; 18 and 16 TONGUE DEPRESSOR; 19 INHUMAN; 20 DEMIREP; 21 TREPAN; 23 IN TWO; 25 ACNE.

DOWN

- 1 and 1 across. Implying rotten results from saving measures? (5, 3, 3, 3, 5, 3, 5)
- 2 The way the nag outran another animal? (9)
- 3 An inlaid sort of gun, but not actively engaged. (7)

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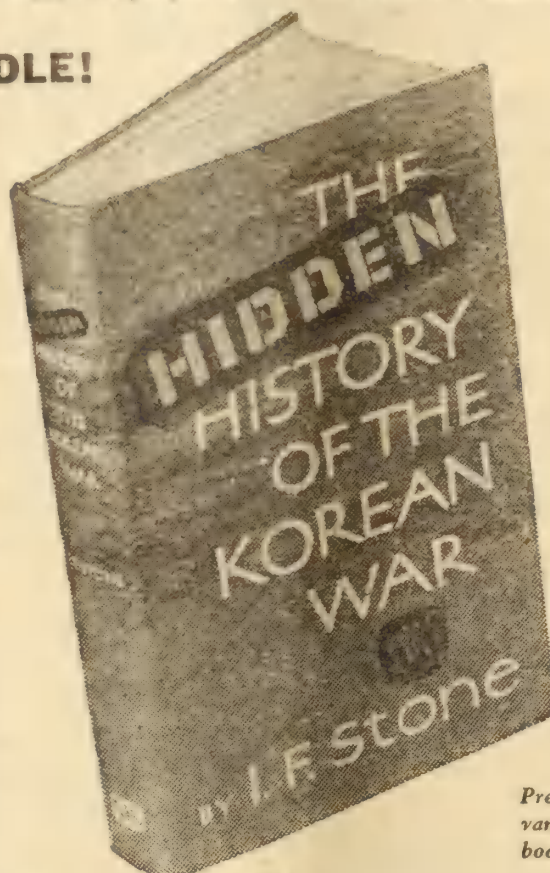
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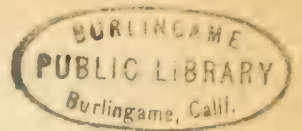
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Professor Albert Einstein, in his article "Why Socialism" in Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Monthly Review*, (May, 1949), said: "Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of greatest significance in our age of transition. Since, under the present circumstances, free and unhindered discussion of these problems has come under a powerful taboo, I consider the founding of this magazine to be an important public service."

AP 21 52
East-West Trade—*Eric Josephson*



THE *Nation*

April 19, 1952

SPRING BOOK NUMBER

Ickes: An American Legend

BY RUTH GRUBER

Edmund Wilson

a memoir of

Edna St. Vincent Millay

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

A Three-Point Program

Cleveland

SOME 2,500 delegates assembled in Cleveland, April 3-6, for the Fifth International Education Conference of the United Auto Workers. The theme of this year's conference—"Freedom, Abundance, Security"—was sounded in Walter Reuther's keynote address. "We have to find a way," he said, "to mobilize our great productive power, the tremendous material resources that we possess in America, and gear these things to the needs of the people; to translate our technical progress into human happiness, into human dignity. That is the unfinished work that lies ahead."

An array of distinguished speakers tackled the key issues of the conference. Leon Keyserling developed the thesis that peace and prosperity are dependent upon a constantly expanding production accompanied by a wider and more equitable distribution of income. The objective, he suggested, should be not to provide equality of wealth but equality of opportunity through the removal of the disparities which now exist. As for the defense effort, Keyserling contended that those who are now clamoring for curtailment of production because our economy is strong are the same groups which in the early thirties clamored for restriction of production because the economy was weak. Production, in his view, could be increased another 6 to 10 per cent, which would more than offset the defense budget, and this added productive capacity, converted to peacetime production, could be used to create an unprecedented prosperity.

Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. and Zechariah Chafee, Jr., spoke on "Civil Rights—Human Liberties." White received considerable applause when he charged Senator Robert A. Taft and Senator Richard Russell with responsibility for defeating civil-rights legislation in Congress and when he said that if the Democrats nominate either Russell or Senator Kerr, the party might just as well "kiss the Negro vote goodbye." In a strong speech, Chafee deplored the "gradual erosion of human rights," the glorification of spies and informers, and the "development of an

American Party, deviations from which are regarded as disloyalty." "I am not saying all this is illegal," he added. "Everything Charles I did was strictly legal but he lost his head. I say it is time to look back and see how many steps we have taken away from freedom and ask, 'Is it necessary to abandon so much freedom?'"

On the "morals and responsibilities" of Congress—a timely topic—the delegates heard from Senators Wayne Morse, Hubert Humphrey, and William Benton. Morse urged adoption of a national Presidential primary and discussed a bill which he has introduced requiring Senators to make public reports on the sources of their income. "Any man who wants to be a Senator," he said, "should expect to live in a fishbowl." Senator Humphrey had some unkind words for the Dixiecrats, "who use the cloak of white supremacy to conceal the dagger they would plunge into the back of progress." Senator Benton lashed out against "the disgraceful spectacle of unlimited and irrelevant debate" and urged enactment of the Lehman resolution (SR 205) under which, in case of grave emergency, two-thirds of the Senators present and voting might limit debate. All three Senators blasted McCarthyism. Benton was particularly effective in pointing out the impact of McCarthyism in Europe, where the people still retain vivid recollections of Mussolini and Hitler. Wherever he had traveled in Europe, he had been asked: Will McCarthy take over in America? "You can be certain," he said, "that McCarthy is much better known in Europe than Robert A. Taft."

Willard E. Goslin, who was forced to resign as Superintendent of Schools in Pasadena, and Arthur Schlesinger cautioned vigilance against those who attack the public schools on the familiar grounds that the schools are teaching "socialism" and substituting various "frills" for the old-fashioned "three R's." Both agreed that these attacks are not directed at specific evils but are part of a subtle assault on the public-school system.

This being an educational conference, no action was taken by delegates on political issues, but politics echoed in the corridors. There was considerable talk

for Justice William O. Douglas, Senator Estes Kefauver, and Governor Adlai Stevenson. Senator Kefauver, in Cleveland during the conference, visited the last session and lost little time introducing himself to delegates in the lobby. Later he joined Reuther on the platform. Leonard Woodcock, a member of the executive board, voiced the union's disapproval of a strictly labor party. Labor already has the means, he said, to exercise its political responsibilities within the framework of the existing parties. "We will get nowhere," he said, "chasing down the primrose path to some Utopian dream of a third party."

As I sat through the sessions of the conference, I kept thinking of a day in 1930. On that day I walked through Cleveland's Public Square and saw it packed with hundreds of unemployed workers milling about in hopeless frustration and despair, unorganized and leaderless. By contrast this conference showed careful organization and able leadership. The delegates impressed one as being the kind of people who demand good leadership. There was no demagoguery. No threats were voiced. There was no chest-thumping. Everything about the conference showed patient preparation, painstaking research, careful planning. The delegates had obviously come to Cleveland to learn something about the issues being discussed and their close attention to the proceedings reflected favorably on the care with which the conference had been planned.

On the subject of peace, Reuther said: "Either we find a way to mobilize the will and the power and the resources of the world and dedicate them to the human needs of people in peace-time or they will be geared to making the weapons of war and destruction. . . . In the kind of world in which we live, freedom and justice and peace cannot live side by side with great poverty. We found in World War I that peace is indivisible. We found in World War II that freedom is indivisible. If we are to avoid a third world war, we must understand that the question of economic well-being within the framework of basic human needs of people everywhere is also indivisible."

HERSCHEL G. HOLLAND

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 16

The Shape of Things

CHURCHILL'S GOVERNMENT IS IN SERIOUS trouble. Judging by Labor's striking gains in the County Council elections, the public is already regretting its verdict of last October with a degree of warmth that could melt the Tory majority in the event of new Parliamentary elections. Churchill is also having difficulties with the rank and file of his own party. One group feels that the government's proposals for advance army purchases will do little to ameliorate the textile slump and are pressing for drastic revision or abolition of the purchase tax on textiles. A still more powerful right-wing section, restive because the Cabinet has as yet taken no steps to implement its pledge to denationalize steel, has hardly been soothed by the Prime Minister's promise that a bill will be "initiated" this year. Finally, the government is under heavy fire from its moneyed supporters, backed by such powerful voices as the *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Economist*, which are furiously opposed to the new excess-profits levy. In these circumstances, Churchill may find some compensation in the ill-wind of the local elections which serve as a warning to dissident Tories to close ranks and postpone a general election as long as possible. The swing to Labor is too pronounced to be explained as a normal reaction. Labor reestablished its ascendancy in London with a thumping majority and polled astonishingly well in the suburbs where the Tories had made important gains in the last two general elections. It captured Lancashire, most conservative of the industrial areas, and won numerous victories in the politically backward rural areas. There can be no doubt that the voters were protesting broken Tory promises. That suggests to the *New Statesman and Nation* that the results also spell danger to Labor—a danger of return to office by "an angry electorate before it has ironed out its own divisions or decided on a program."

★

THE RECENT DECISION IN DELAWARE BY Judge Collins J. Seitz ordering the admission of Negro students to non-segregated elementary and high schools has been characterized by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as "the first real victory" in the campaign to abolish segregated public schools. After hearing

much expert testimony, Judge Seitz found that segregation often leads to lack of interest and extensive absenteeism on the part of Negro children, as well as "a mental health problem . . . with a resulting impediment to their educational progress." The decision, however, actually turned on a finding that the white schools had "such an obvious superiority" to the Negro schools "as to be depressing." Rejecting Delaware's promise to equalize facilities through a building program, Judge Seitz ordered the education authorities to admit Negro students immediately to non-segregated schools. The decision will make it extremely difficult for the Supreme Court to dodge the central issue of segregation when the court passes, for the second time, on the Clarendon County, South Carolina, case soon to be heard together with similar cases from Topeka, Kansas, and Prince Edward County, Virginia.

★

IF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC CONFERENCE WAS deliberately arranged to coincide with the spring peace offensive, it was a neat bit of timing. But even the master planners of the Kremlin could hardly have figured on the added coincidence of a world textile slump; this was sheer luck. It injected a note of urgency into deliberations that otherwise might have been more concerned with the broad issues of East-West trade than with concrete orders and agreements. As it was, the conference produced a total of some \$200,000,000 in contracts, according to Harrison E. Salisbury's report in the *New York Times*, with British business men alone departing with orders valued at \$48,000,000—or twice that on a two-way basis. But if the eagerness shown by Western visitors was stimulated by the emergency in textiles—a commodity in which Russia had previously shown little interest—it also reflected a widespread desire to break through the cold-war controls and embargoes that have strangled world trade and to reduce their economic dependence on the United States. The over-all effect of these barriers is discussed by Eric Josephson on page 366 of this issue. That Moscow has done its full share in using trade restrictions as cold-war weapons, did not diminish the effect of last week's performance. On the contrary, the businesslike procedure at Moscow suggested that the Russians might now be prepared to "substitute action for words," as Washington has so often advised, while the absence of American business men equally

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by Frank W. Lewis

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symbolized this country's intransigent attitude. The State Department could have avoided this role very simply. Since the Moscow conference purported to be a non-government affair, Mr. Acheson could have washed his hands of it, as other Western nations did, permitting Americans to attend in their private capacity if they pleased. By warning them off he made their absence an official gesture of repudiation, thus handing Moscow full credit for a concrete, popular step in the direction of easier East-West relations. This seems to us unfortunate from every point of view including, ironically, that of cold-war tactics.

✱

LAST SUMMER THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT circulated among the Big Four powers a bill for material claims against Germany arising out of the Nazi persecution of Jewry. Though not directly addressed, the Bonn government announced its readiness to negotiate the matter directly with representatives of Israel and of the Jewish people. To most Jews the idea of direct negotiations with Germans was repugnant; the crematories of Auschwitz and Dachau were still operating only a little more than seven years ago. Many doubted German sincerity, feeling that nothing would come of the talks except good-will propaganda for the Germans. But the Israeli government and leaders of Jewish communities outside Israel felt that the best tribute they could pay to the dead victims of Nazism was to achieve something for the living: any sum received from the Germans would be spent chiefly on housing and other necessities for newcomers to Israel. So negotiations started a few weeks ago at The Hague. It must be said that certain aspects of the German approach to the talks have justified the fears of those who have steadfastly opposed direct negotiation. The Bonn delegates announced from the first that any settlement with the Jews must be scaled down in accordance with whatever agreements are made at the Conference on German Debts in London, where other Bonn delegates are discussing commercial debts with international bankers. That the Germans should take such an attitude will surprise few. But it is to be hoped that by the time The Hague talks (now in recess) resume early in June, the Western capitals will remind the Germans that obligations due on a 3-per-cent bank loan are not to be equated with those arising out of the murder and plunder of a people.

✱

SENATOR MORSE'S PROPOSAL LAST SUMMER to investigate the China Lobby and the investigation of Senator Benton's charges against McCarthy—stalled these many months—moved a little nearer realization last week. The Senate's 60-to-0 vote of confidence in the subcommittee looking into Senator Benton's charges was not only a stunning rebuke to McCarthy but a clear directive to the subcommittee to proceed with its work. After

a phony last-minute attack on Senator Benton, McCarthy ran out on the debate, so he didn't hear the scathing denunciations of his conduct by Senators Smith, Hendrickson, Moody, McFarland, and Humphrey. Joe's bag of tricks is now almost empty and his colleagues, by acting jointly, have finally found the courage to say what they think about him. The proposal to investigate the China Lobby was edged several notches forward by Senator Morse's introduction into the *Congressional Record* of a series of messages sent from the Chinese Embassy to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. For nearly a year, now, a committee of the Senate has been examining Owen Lattimore's "influence" on State Department policy in the Far East. But the messages presented by Senator Morse indicate who has really been influencing the State Department. According to these messages, Representative Walter Judd and Senator William Knowland have acted as "unregistered" advisers to the Chinese Embassy on ways and means of influencing American policy. The new documents, read in the context of the *Reporter's* excellent articles on the China Lobby (April 15), fully justify Senator Morse's statement of the pressing need for a reappraisal of our Far Eastern policy. Should the Senate push both investigations, the prime condition for such a reappraisal will have been realized, namely, an exposé of the China Lobby and its tie-in with McCarthyism.

★

THE REFUSAL TO ACCEPT NON-CAUCASIANS as neighbors is usually justified by reference to the myth that the presence of such "invaders" necessarily depresses property values, regardless of other factors. Luigi Laurenti, of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of the University of California, has just completed a study which suggests that real-estate values in mixed neighborhoods fluctuate in response to general economic pressures and that property values bear little relation to the racial composition of the inhabitants. Of nine neighborhoods included in this study two were almost adjoining. Six Negro families have moved into one of these neighborhoods since February 1, 1950; the other remained all white. The presence of Negro families in the one neighborhood, however, has not depressed property values; on the contrary, values have increased in both neighborhoods. Even if these findings had been available they would probably not have been accepted by the irate property-owners who snubbed a young Chinese family in the Southwood area of South San Francisco in February, or by the residents of the Rollingwood tract in San Pablo who recently stoned a Negro family that had "invaded" the area. Nevertheless, the accumulation of such findings will weaken the coercive effect of the myth that the presence of non-Caucasian "invaders" depresses property values in residential neighborhoods.

April 19, 1952

REPRESENTATIVE RICHARD VAIL OF ILLINOIS has asked the House to investigate the fitness of Judge Leon Yankwich to retain his federal district judgeship in Los Angeles. Five years ago Judge Yankwich presided at the trial in which a jury returned a verdict in favor of Lester Cole, one of the Hollywood "ten," in a breach-of-contract suit against Loew-M-G-M, his former employer. The judgment was reversed on appeal, but the case was finally settled out of court. The basis for the attack on Judge Yankwich is that he chose to "interpret the law and evidence in diametric opposition to the national interest." The notion that a suit for breach of contract should be determined by the way in which a judge appraises the impact of a jury's verdict on "the national interest" is strikingly reminiscent of Adolf Hitler's peculiar views on the function and responsibilities of the judiciary. Under American law it is possible to reverse a judge if he commits an error, to disqualify him if he is prejudiced, or to impeach him if he is corrupt. But Representative Vail would like to add to these remedies by making it possible to investigate judges—and why not jurors?—who decide cases in a manner that the House Committee on Un-American Activities does not regard as furthering the national interest. Any attempt to conduct the investigation should be accompanied by a demand that Mr. Vail disclose just who it was that prompted him to make this attack on Judge Yankwich five years after the trial of the Cole case.

★

THE MONTH-LONG HEARINGS WHICH REAR Admiral Francis C. Denebrink has been conducting in Hawaii on conditions aboard the U. S. S. *Reclaimer*, an auxiliary repair and salvage ship, have finally come to a close. The investigation was ordered after seventy enlisted crewmen, and two newspaper reporters, had complained that the skipper, Lt. Marion C. Kirkpatrick, was a petty tyrant who crushed morale and violated navy regulations. From these complaints it would appear that the *Reclaimer*—dubbed "U. S. S. Ridiculous" by the crew—was rather like the ship described in "The Caine Mutiny." The case is important not only because of the gravity of the charges but because of the manner in which the navy has conducted the inquiry. The investigators seem to have been more interested in finding out who made the charges, and how, than in investigating conditions aboard the ship. Closed to the press, the hearings were conducted in a "hush-hush" atmosphere despite a recent directive from the Secretary of the Navy enjoining officers and their spokesmen to "give frank, honest answers to questions from newspapers and wire services" and to "tell the truth, even when the truth hurts." If the navy wants to inspire confidence in its investigations, it should carry out the spirit of Secretary Kimball's directive by stopping the practice of excluding the press.

Steel and Stabilization

SPRING has brought a sudden blossoming of strikes and industrial controversies—in steel, in oil, in communications. Putting aside for the moment the question of the President's "right" to seize the steel industry, the undeniable fact behind the disputes is that a substantial part of organized labor is fed up with the stabilization program.

There are three basic reasons. First, the Administration's delay in imposing economic controls in the summer and autumn of 1950 allowed speculative price jumps that cut consumer purchasing power. Second, the price-control laws passed by Congress contained built-in profit guarantees for business men but were otherwise punctured with loopholes. Third, while the Wage Stabilization Board is struggling with a backlog of cases, it has been constantly handicapped by the overt hostility of big industry and its spokesmen in Congress.

Industry spokesmen fought bitterly to cut down the board's sphere of activity even before it was organized. An "emergency" committee, with the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers cooperating, was formed to persuade Eric Johnston, then Economic Stabilizer, that the wage board should have no jurisdiction over "non-economic" labor disputes. The departed Charles E. Wilson's General Electric Company denounced the record of the earlier War Labor Board for giving too much to labor in wages, union security, and other "non-economic" clauses.

The attitude of the steel companies before and after the W. S. B. recommendation in the current dispute has reflected unrelenting hostility to any wage increase for which the companies could not immediately recover all direct and prospective indirect costs in the form of higher prices.

It should be clearly understood, therefore, that labor unions never have consented and do not now consent to the idea of a wage "freeze." Prices are not frozen; taxes are not frozen. Under these circumstances wages cannot be frozen, nor do the laws of the land require it.

Clarence Randall, president of Inland Steel Company, who was chosen to reply on behalf of the industry to President Truman's steel-seizure speech, asserted that if the W. S. B. recommendations were accepted, steel wages would have been raised above the increase in living costs. That is one way to argue. But another way is disclosed in W. S. B. Chairman Feinsinger's testimony before a Senate Labor subcommittee that, with a cost-of-living escalator clause in their December, 1950, contract, the steelworkers would have been entitled this year to a boost of sixteen cents an hour instead of the average 13.75 cents (in the basic wage) recommended by the board.

Wage stabilization has never been proclaimed as a formula tying wages to living costs ■ of any particular

date. In shipbuilding, pulp and paper, textiles and meat-packing the W. S. B. applied its formula flexibly; in none of these instances did industry resist so bitterly that strikes were called and the President was led to intervene with seizure or other drastic measures.

The steel companies' protests that they should not be compelled to grant "fringe" benefits, such as six paid holidays a year and premium pay for Sundays, serves as a reminder of the long years during which steel protested that it could not operate with less than a twelve-hour day. Long after other industries had accepted the shorter day, the masters of steel had to be appealed to by President Harding to follow suit. Moreover, workers in dozens of industries and literally hundreds of thousands of companies long ago won paid holidays and Sunday overtime pay. Steel lagged in these just as it lagged in instituting the eight-hour day. It has little reason to complain if it is now asked to catch up with the parade.

Adjusting inequities is part of the W. S. B.'s business. Many companies have voluntarily joined unions in asking the board's approval of "fringe" benefits: in the Curtiss-Wright case the board granted longer vacations for veteran employees; to the workers of the American Smelting and Refining Company it granted reclassification of job categories.

Part of the savage attack on the W. S. B. in the steel controversy has been executed through Representative Ralph Gwinn, a propagandist for the Committee for Constitutional Government, who has tried to smear public members of the board as biased because they are financially " beholden " to unions. But George W. Taylor, one of those he mentioned, left the board long ago and had nothing to do with the steel award. Chairman Feinsinger is as much "on the payroll" of industry as of unions, for in private life he arbitrates labor contracts and is paid jointly by management and labor. This is also true of one or two other public members.

The basic issue in stabilization is and always has been prices. If stabilization is destroyed, it will not be because of the W. S. B. proposals in the steel case. It will be because the steel companies, defying the government, succeed in forcing a greater increase in prices than is justified by the Copehart amendment and by their capacity to cover some added costs out of profits.

The Nation's Presidential Poll

THIS is the last call to those who have not yet voted in *The Nation's* Presidential-preference poll. If you missed the issue of April 5 in which the ballot appeared, drop us a postcard now and you will receive a ballot by return mail. Address: Poll Editor, *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. All ballots postmarked by April 25 will be counted.

Perón Turns to Torture

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

I AM in possession of a document that reveals better than any published story on Argentina both the rapid deterioration of the Perón regime and its mounting brutality. In general the Latin American dictatorships have preferred to take over from the Franco dictatorship, of which they are the spiritual heirs, everything but its Gestapo methods. It is only when their power is directly weakened that they pass from repression to terror. Even then terror is usually applied only to workers, but the document I have received—which was excluded from the Buenos Aires papers on the express orders of the Presidency—cites acts of torture perpetrated by the government against high-ranking army officers and other leading citizens. All of them had been arrested on suspicion of participation in the attempt to upset the Perón regime last February.

The author of the charges is Dr. Arturo Frondizi, one of the most courageous political leaders in the opposition. In the last general elections he was the candidate for Vice-President of the moderate democratic party, Unión Civica Radical, which polled more than two million votes. Now a deputy, Dr. Frondizi submitted in the Argentine Chamber on March 21 of this year a series of questions to the government which form the basis of the document in my possession.

1. Who ordered the beating and torture with *picana eléctrica* (electric goad) of Colonel José Domichelli, and Señores Oscar G. Martínez Zemborain, Alfonso Nuñez Malnero (former member of the staff of *La Prensa*), and other political prisoners who have been held in jail since February 3?

2. Will anyone challenge the names of the police officers who performed these acts of terror and of those others who witnessed them? (The names, given orally, were not included in the document.)

3. Will it be denied that police officers, whose names are known, when ordering the use of the electric goad specified that it should be applied to the most sensitive parts of the body—to the soles of the feet, under the fingernails and to the sexual organs, with further instructions that the victims should be soaked with water so that the pain would be more intense? Or that one of the victims was tortured directly on the penis?

4. Will anyone challenge the list of doctors whose function, during the application of the goad, was to check the pulse of the victim so that the torture could be halted if death seemed imminent?

5. Will it be denied that officers, after blindfolding one of the prisoners and binding him to a table, slashed a vein in his wrist and then put the bleeding hand to his

forehead so that he would believe he would bleed to death if he did not give the police the information demanded of him?

Dr. Frondizi concluded his challenge to the Argentine government with these words: "Does the Executive Power not consider that the moment has arrived to put an end to these tortures, since they are methods that violate the rights of man, are repugnant to the moral conscience of our people, and lower the level of civilization of the Argentine Republic?"

I have been informed that within the next few days the Frondizi document will form the basis of a special communication to the United Nations.

The Trieste Boomerang

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Rome, Italy

A FEW days after I arrived here there were several mild police charges in the Piazza Colonna, where the students—Fascists, Monarchists, Communists, everybody—were raising an infernal row over Trieste. The chalk trade must have done a roaring business. On every wall, bus, trolley car and shopwindow were scribbled: *W* (meaning "long live") *Trieste, W Fiume, Tito Go England* (in English), *M* (meaning "death to") *Tito*, with a picture of a pig and the legend: "Pig, don't be offended if we call you Tito."

The trouble started with the riots in Trieste on March 20, the fourth anniversary of the famous Tripartite Declaration by which the Western Big Three promised to do their best to see the Free Territory of Trieste restored to Italy. Whoever conceived that idea in March 1948—and Ernest Bevin is considered the chief culprit—was playing with fire. The Yugoslavs were then on the "other side"; the peace treaty inaugurating the F. T. T. had been signed; but on the appointment of a governor—after which the Allied troops were to withdraw from Trieste—a deadlock had been reached between the West on the one hand and Yugoslavia and Russia on the other. It was then that Sforza started working for revision of the Trieste provisions of the treaty and, benefiting from the West's ferocious anti-Yugoslavism as well as from the fact that a general election was impending in Italy, won the restoration pledge from Washington, London, and Paris.

The Nenni Socialists and Communists, evicted by that time from the government, were quick to point out that this unilateral declaration by only three of the signatories of the peace treaty was strictly illegal; they declared it also to be a double-cross calculated to influence

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the election in favor of De Gasperi. It did prove to be an important political factor in the election; and once De Gasperi had won, the West—as the Left had foreseen—promptly forgot all about it. The West's memory failed the more readily inasmuch as the Tito-Soviet quarrel had created the need to keep Tito in just as good humor as the Italians.

Today everybody agrees that the declaration was nothing but an election stunt, for which De Gasperi at the time had every reason to be grateful but which has now, since its virtual repudiation, made things very awkward for him. For one thing is certain: On the question of Trieste there is a deep and genuine national feeling. Trieste is an Italian city, and the majority of the population of the F. T. T. is Italian; and even the population of Zone B (its southern section, now in Yugoslav hands) used to be predominantly Italian and may even be so still, in the opinion not only of Italians but of many Western diplomats here.

The Nenni Socialists, though not chauvinist, have warned the De Gasperi government that the nationalist frenzy over Fiume after World War I was the real prelude to the establishment of the Fascist regime in Italy; and what Fiume was then, Trieste may be now. Like many others, they consider it insulting to Italian national pride that Zone B should in fact have already been fully annexed by Yugoslavia, while in Zone A (the northern section, including the city of Trieste, which adjoins Italy) Anglo-American troops should be in indefinite occupation. Nor does it help matters that the present negotiations are aimed at admitting a few Italian civilian or military representatives to Trieste as "foreign co-occupiers." The Nenni Socialists, the Communists, and independent liberals like Nitti and Orlando are concerned, above all, with the withdrawal of the Anglo-Americans. The Nenni view is that the peace treaty should be applied, a governor (no matter who) appointed by the United Nations, and the foreign troops withdrawn. After that the "beacon of Italianism" would shine so brightly in the F. T. T. that a territory-wide plebiscite would surely see the area return to Italy.

AS FOR the Yugoslavs, their ethnic case for Zone A—except for a few small enclaves—appears nonexistent. Their case is not very strong even in Zone B, where despite the exodus of a large proportion of the Italians and the ingress of Slovenes, the existence of a Yugoslav majority is still doubtful. But for Tito, Trieste is a matter of prestige and the abandonment of Zone B is out of the question. His recent proposal for a joint Italo-Yugoslav administration, with alternating governors, is considered unrealistic and demagogic by both the Italians and the Anglo-Americans. The conditions which Tito has laid down for a plebiscite are based on the assumption that Italy has changed the city of

Trieste's ethnical position by enforced denationalization of the Slovene element. The reality is that enforced denationalization has been much more widespread in Zone B, where evidence is accumulating of genuine Yugoslav terrorism against the Italians.

On the other hand, a general plebiscite for the whole zone is unacceptable to Tito, since the great majority of the population is Italian. With Tito in an uncompromising mood, backed by a Yugoslav parliament which has adopted a resolution against "further concessions," no solution seems to be in sight. Clearly Tito feels himself in a position from which only a strong American push can dislodge him.

But the Americans, as the Italians constantly and regretfully recall, want to maintain good relations with Tito, whose army is more valuable (in the American scheme of things) than the Italian. Moreover, the Anglo-Americans frequently argue that it is impossible to withdraw their troops because the Italians and Yugoslavs can't be trusted not to fight each other. This is a position with which Tito seems to have no quarrel; indeed, he may even prefer the presence of the Anglo-Americans, for so long as they stay in Trieste the transfer of the area to Italy must remain in abeyance. Tito seems to feel that time is on his side; he believes his army will become steadily more important to the Western allies whereas the Italian army will become less so.

Opinion here is divided on whether the De Gasperi government itself encouraged the demonstrations and riots of March 20 in Trieste. Certainly the government needed something to prop up its flagging prestige on the eve of the local elections to be held in May in southern Italy, and the concessions it hoped to get in Zone A were perhaps calculated to improve its chances. But if so, then the government was lagging far behind Italian public opinion. The concessions offered in Zone A are interpreted here, both on the Left and on the Right, as implying a tacit surrender to Yugoslavia for all time of Zone B, and, simultaneously, the perpetuation of the Anglo-American occupation of Trieste.

So all of De Gasperi's opponents are making political capital out of the result. It may be argued that Trieste is not that important to Italy. But mixed up in the Italians' attitude toward it are factors in addition to genuine national feeling. There is the old Fascist dislike of Anthony Eden; strong anti-American and "anti-Atlantic" feeling on the Left and, to some extent, on the Right; and dissatisfaction with De Gasperi—for quite different reasons—by the Vatican. Trieste, moreover, is a peg on which many grievances against the government will be hung, including some with no relation to the problem of Trieste. The whole situation greatly increases the danger of a swing to the extreme Right in Italy, and, consequently, the danger to the present democratic Republic—such as it is.

Ickes: American Legend

BY RUTH GRUBER

IT IS fitting that a memorial meeting for Harold L. Ickes, who died February 3, should have been scheduled for April 20 on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. It is especially fitting that Marian Anderson should journey to Washington to sing there. It is now thirteen years since that historic Easter Sunday afternoon when Mr. Ickes invited Miss Anderson, barred from the hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, to sing before the lonely, brooding figure of the Great Emancipator.

There is no fighter left to fight the way Ickes did. There is no voice today like his.

For me the key to Ickes was that he was an American. In no other country could he have functioned as he did; no other country could have produced him. He was an all-American combination of German, Swedish-Finnish, French, and Scottish ancestry, with relatives who fought in the Revolutionary War; a combination of small-town insulated childhood and big-city political sophistication; of belly-racking poverty and real wealth.

He was the best liberal, the best Negro, the best Indian, the best Nisei and the best Jew in Washington. He was on the side of every oppressed minority. He fought their fights, rejoiced if they were victorious, stormed if they were hurt. "There has been no time since my resignation," he wrote barely six months before he died, "that I have been able to go to bed at night with the comfortable feeling that all was well along the Indian front." The five years that I worked for him were unforgettable years of working with one of the liveliest personalities Washington has ever known. He was that rare thing—a reformer with wit. He hated revolution. He hated Nazism. He hated communism. He hated fascism, including Franco's variety. Like Roosevelt, whom he adored, his reforms were aimed at saving the country from revolution.

THE Old Curmudgeon was his trademark. He created it. He taught the world what a curmudgeon was. He loved to boast, as he did in his "Autobiography of a Curmudgeon," that he was America's No. 1 Sourpuss. "There was a time," he confessed, "when I was, owing to my mother, in danger of becoming, if not exactly a mellow and urbane human being, at least a reason-

able facsimile thereof. I claim sole credit for having rescued myself from such a ghastly fate."

It was a fine pose, and nobody enjoyed it more than he. But it was a carefully grown crust to hide the things he knew better than to expose to his critics—a fierce idealism, a thick vein of sentiment, a complete freedom from race prejudice, a devotion to his employees that was almost the devotion of a father (and he could be hurt, like a father, by any betrayal), a great loneliness, and in his last years, an agony of spirit.

He loved America. He loved its institutions. He loved its heritage. According to Jane Ickes, his wife, when he could no longer fight for that heritage, he died. "Actually," she told me recently at her farm in Maryland, "he died in February, 1946, the day he resigned. It took him six years to stop breathing. He died because he had no more will to live. He died because he felt he could no longer be of service to the country and the world."

His fights were epic fights—and most of them he won. He fought for the rights of American minorities. He refused to send helium to Germany to fly Hitler's dirigibles over the protests of the army, navy and State Department. He refused to let scrap iron from America and shipments of lubricating oil go to Hirohito's Japan. To the exasperation of his critics, who were legion, he was outrageously upheld by history.

Soon after Roosevelt surprised Ickes as well as the nation by appointing him Secretary of the Interior because, as Roosevelt told him, "Mr. Ickes, you and I have been speaking the same language for the past twenty years," he gave him the ammunition with which to fight against revolution in America. He made him head of the Public Works Administration, with the biggest appropriation ever voted until then in the history of the country.

Ickes used the depression-born agency to battle the diseases of depression. He fought for slum clearance and low-cost housing. He struggled to outlaw Jim Crowism in any of his projects. He helped lick starvation through a subsistence-homestead program that became the basis of the present Farm Security Administration. In his twin role as Secretary of the Interior and Public Works Administrator, he called a federal halt to the looting of the West that had been going on almost undisturbed since the nineteenth century. The huge dams, the reclamation projects which created sorely needed power and cheap energy, the Big Inch pipeline which brought oil to the East during the war when our tankers were

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being sunk, were first initialed on his desk. He turned a department that had one of the least savory reputations in history (Teapot Dome had come out of it) into a department whose honesty became a watchword in government.

It took a Roosevelt to recognize an Ickes. Roosevelt soon realized that with Ickes's guts, his driving energy, his full-steam-ahead approach, he was the best administrator in Washington. Roosevelt kept dropping bigger and tougher jobs in his lap. At one time in World War II he held sixteen jobs, each of them enough to keep an ordinary man busy twenty-four hours a day. He was the boss of all the nation's coal mines, Fishery Coordinator for War, Petroleum Administrator for War, Coordinator of Solid Fuels, as well as, of course, Secretary of the Interior. He was boss of all the lubricating oil that kept our planes flying over Germany and Japan and our ships patrolling the seven seas.

How did he do it? "By having a damned good organization," he told an interviewer. He knew how to delegate authority, and once he did, he backed his employees to the hilt. In turn, most of them gave him blind devotion.

HIS tests of character were simple ones—honesty, loyalty, political incorruptibility. And he was incorruptible. His enemies sought a chink in that armor of incorruptibility and never found it. In three different election campaigns, the Republicans went over his department in what must surely have been the most thorough attempt at political muckraking in history. Each time he came out unscathed. His very resignation after thirteen years was over the question of bribery and corruption. Edwin Pauley, a wealthy oilman from California, had offered him a huge sum for the coffers of the Democratic Party if Ickes would let some of the untold riches of the California offshore oil fields go out of the federal jurisdiction to the states and private hands. When Pauley was nominated as Secretary of the Navy (with potential control of those very oil fields), Ickes revealed the offer as "the rawest proposition ever made to me." He resigned with fireworks, refusing to "commit perjury for the party." It was his last great fight and again he won. Pauley's nomination was withdrawn.

Harold Ickes's humor and poison-arrow wit, as well as his joy in battle, made his press conferences second only to Roosevelt's. He was a wonderful wordsmith, and the reporters were forever scurrying to their dictionaries. At one press conference, he called Martin Dies a "zany." Some of the boys rushed to their Webster's to see if he had made the word up.

Ickesisms have already become part of American folklore. He attacked Wendell Willkie as "the simple, barefoot Wall Street lawyer" and Tom Dewey as "Thomas Elusive Dewey, the candidate in sneakers" who

"threw his diaper into the ring." He described Walter Winchell as having an "obstetrical turn of mind." He called Martin Dies "Loaded Dies," and in a series of fine flamboyant battles he told Huey Long what his best friend wouldn't tell him, that he had "halitosis of the intellect," and he diagnosed Hugh Johnson's ailments as "mental saddle sores."

He educated nearly everyone around him, especially in grammar. It was no mean task for a Cabinet member to give English lessons to 50,000 people. But he managed. He was not merely a perfectionist; he was a classicist of the old school. He insisted upon having the conjunction *that* put in, wherever possible, in any letter or draft written for him. Many of us who had written for newspapers had been trained to leave out the *thats* as much as possible. Now we put *thats* in by the dozen. But it was rarely enough. Back would come the page with *that* scrawled all over with a thick, stub pen. The staff finally got even. At a birthday party for "The Boss," he was presented with about a thousand huge cardboards, each bearing the word *THAT*, with instructions to "sprinkle as desired."

He hated waste—big or small. He would fight just as hard to save a penny's worth of electricity in an office in the Interior Department as to save billions of dollars of oil which belonged to the people. His own day never ended. He came to work at 7:30 a. m. and, for a long time, stayed until midnight. At the beginning, he would frequently call up his bureau chiefs at 7:45 to see if they were at their desks. He stopped the practice later on, but in the early years he would walk around the building to make sure everyone was working.

He made everyone who worked for him feel important. He would constantly call even minor officials into his office for advice. He was as ready to fight for the rights of an elevator girl as for the rights of victims of Hitlerism abroad. One of his subordinates scolded a Negro elevator operator sharply one day, with stern threats of firing her because she failed to recognize him and took him one floor above his own. Ickes learned of the incident, called the terrified girl into his office, apologized for his staff, and promised that she would not be fired. She was later promoted, and today is a clerk in the Interior Department.

Washington was a "border town" when Ickes arrived. It still is a "border town," though much less so now than in 1933, and Ickes played no small role in that progress. Today the National Theater is reopening, and Negroes may sit in any seats they can afford. Negroes work in government bureaus—not only as cleaning girls, janitors, chauffeurs, and handymen, but as secretaries, clerks, research workers—in fact in any jobs for which they qualify. At his recommendation, President Roosevelt appointed a Negro, Judge William H. Hastie, Governor of the Virgin Islands. (Judge Hastie is now on the

bench of the Federal Court of Appeals.) Ickes was an old Urban Leaguer whose blood boiled at the discrimination he found in Washington. He not only appointed Negro advisers to his staff, but permitted Negroes to eat in the Interior Department's dining room—something that rocked Washington. He then forced the Willard Hotel to admit Negroes to the birthday party for his great friend Jane Addams.

Ickes personally declared war on Hitler's Germany long before the rest of the Administration. It was a little embarrassing for Washington to have one Cabinet member at war, but it never bothered Ickes. He swung out at Adolf every chance he got. He called him "the biggest liar in history." He said that Germany's treatment of Jews carried it back to "a period of history when man was unlettered, benighted, and bestial." The Führer demanded a national apology. But President Roosevelt, personally approving his Secretary of the Interior's private and slightly premature war, directed Sumner Welles to announce to the world, in his iciest diplomatic manner, that there would be no apology to Mr. Hitler from the United States.

Of all the minorities, Ickes fought longest and hardest for the American Indians. They were his special care. He had been trying to protect them as a lawyer in Chicago for many years, and one of his first acts of office was to appoint John Collier Commissioner of Indian Affairs. With a humility that most of his critics would never dream lay behind the crusty, belligerent exterior, he once told me, "Long after I'm gone and forgotten, the world will remember John Collier."

The most dramatic fight he ever led for civil rights was that for Marian Anderson in 1939. Miss Anderson, less well-known then, had been billed to sing for the Daughters of the American Revolution in Constitution Hall. The D.A.R. suddenly canceled her contract. Ickes immediately announced that he would grant her permission to sing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, which was under his control as a National Monument. The concert would take place on Easter Sunday. Everyone—and he meant everyone—was invited.

The Washington metropolitan police went to the Secretary and offered him the entire police force. Obviously, they said, there would be race riots. There had never been such a huge mixed crowd as they now expected. The Secretary declined the offer. Then the army came around. "There's going to be bloodshed," they predicted. "We'll give you a whole regiment." He declined that too. He told them there would be no trouble if only the army and police would stay home.

But he began to get a little nervous. He called in the Superintendent of the National Capital Parks, Marshall Finnan.

"We want about eighteen of your park patrolmen to keep order. You're responsible—do you understand?"



Drawing by Ernest Finnan

Harold L. Ickes

"Yes, sir," Mr. Finnan said. Most of his park patrols were grandfathers, a good deal of whose policing consisted of finding lost children or pointing the way to the ladies' room.

"We've got elevator operators, too," Ickes said.

"Yes, sir."

"They have uniforms."

"Yes, sir."

"All right, use them too."

It was a beautiful Easter afternoon. Seventy-five thousand people had come from the North and the South to hear a Negro girl sing in the shadow of the man who had freed her people. The audience, in their best Easter finery, was about equally divided between Negroes and whites. They were so proud to be there that if anyone had so much as jostled anyone else, the crowd would have taken care of him. It was one of the greatest self-policing jobs in history.

The leaders of the nation were there—Eleanor Roosevelt, who had resigned from the D. A. R. in protest, Cabinet members, Senators, Congressmen, Supreme Court Justices. Hugo Black had been nominated for the Supreme Court and was being fought on the grounds of having been a member of the Ku Klux Klan. The newsreel cameras shot a full sequence of Mr. and Mrs. Black walking across the platform.

Marian Anderson sang, perhaps as she had never sung in her life. There were tears in the audience. But everyone stood with his head high. It was a day for pride. Ickes had won another victory for civil liberty. "Under this open sky," he said "all men are free and equal."

East Europe's New Trade Potential

BY ERIC JOSEPHSON

Geneva, Switzerland

A New industrial revolution, little understood in the West, has swept Eastern Europe in the brief period since the close of the war. It is in the light of certain features of this revolution that the whole question of East-West trade, and the significance of the international trade conference which closed last week in Moscow, can best be studied.

The first post-war goal of the smaller countries of Eastern Europe was immediate industrial and agricultural recovery. Trade with the West was still important at that time and there was even some competition among Eastern countries in the world market—as between Poland and Czechoslovakia in coal. With the exception of Czechoslovakia, of course, all the Eastern countries were producers of raw materials. Nevertheless, even before the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance was created in Moscow in January, 1949, Czechoslovakia and Poland had begun to integrate certain features of their production and foreign-trade policies.

A new phase of cooperation, however, began with the signing of the Moscow mutual-economic-aid agreement, by which the long-term plans of the Eastern countries were integrated. Since 1950, original long-term programs have been revised extensively to place greater emphasis on heavy industry; the specific objectives are to increase supplies of steel and investment goods, to avoid duplication of effort, and to provide for greater regional specialization based on the national resources of each country. Entirely new industrial centers were planned, such as the giant Nowa-Huta steel works in Poland. One of the biggest projects is the Oder-Danube canal joining the Baltic with the Black Sea, which will give Hungary and Czechoslovakia access to the sea and make possible closer integration of the supply of equipment and raw materials within the region as well as an increase in foreign trade. According to the plans, it will be the responsibility of the Soviet Union to provide the needed raw materials and some of the necessary capital equipment.

The complementary character of the integrated plans is illustrated by Czechoslovakia, which will continue to produce a wide range of industrial machinery and also specialize in light engineering, precision instruments, and automobiles, while depending to a certain extent on its neighbors for food. Czechoslovakia's engineering ex-

ports are stated to be entirely intended for the Soviet Union, other Eastern countries, and China; in all, more than half of its planned production of heavy engineering, machine tools, and road vehicles in 1953 is slated for export.

Poland, which will concentrate on heavy engineering, offers another interesting example of specialization within the area: Polish targets for the production of railroad cars have been raised and those for East Germany reduced. In fact, according to a survey by the Economic Commission for Europe, it appears that Poland manufactured almost as many railroad cars in 1951 as did Britain. Furthermore, Hungary will specialize in textiles and food processing, Rumania in petroleum and its by-products, and Bulgaria in agricultural machinery.

THE industrialization of this formerly agricultural region has been described as a major event in European history, and its appeal to the young people and intellectuals of Eastern Europe must not be underestimated. The industrial potential of this area is already far greater than is generally supposed in the West. Its ninety million people produce as much industrial goods per capita as the U. S. S. R. Their output of coal amounts to one-half, of steel one-third, and of oil more than one-fifth that of the Russians. The rate of industrial growth in the region is now faster than Russia's: in 1951, the ECE estimates, the area produced 9,300,000 tons of steel; its goal for 1954-55 is more than sixteen million tons.

The production of consumer goods, of course, reflects the high priority given to heavy industry; Czechoslovakia, whose consumer-goods industries were the most important in the East, has further shifted emphasis away from this sector. So far, the rate of increase in capital-goods production throughout Eastern Europe has been much higher than that of consumer-goods output, which has barely managed to surpass the pre-war level. Nevertheless, the ECE reports that the total volume of consumption in Eastern countries increased up to 5 per cent in 1951 compared with smaller increases or, in many cases, actual decline in the West. The modest climb in consumer goods was not sufficient to prevent a fall in living standards in Eastern countries, however. The ECE ascribes the fall chiefly to the fact that the pace of industrialization increased the number of workers faster than it did the supply of consumer goods.

Compared with pre-war levels, total industrial production has risen faster in the East than in the West;

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industry in Poland grew 268 per cent from 1938 to 1951, while the rates of increase were even higher in other Eastern countries. Agricultural production, on the other hand, is still below the pre-war level, and compared with pre-war the difference between agricultural and industrial growth is much larger here than in the West. It is clearly recognized in the East that this lag creates a major obstacle to further economic development.

Progress made toward industrialization and closer economic integration within Eastern Europe is reflected in changing trade policies. There has been a large increase in trade between the Soviet Union and other East European countries; at the same time, general intra-regional trade has made gains all the more striking since the traditional pattern of production was not complementary to any large extent. The key to further trade increases is the mutual adaptation of production plans; during 1951 several long-term trade agreements were concluded, covering generally the period of national production plans. Among the more important changes in the "structure of imports" has been a decrease in consumer goods in proportion to capital goods and raw materials.

Even critics of the Eastern regimes have admitted that the industrialization and coordination of resources in the region have been forward steps making possible a far better utilization of manpower and resources. In so far as the region is becoming a single large producing and consuming area, economic interdependence has tended to weaken national differences. Here the interest of the Russians in helping to build the industrial power of the East coincided with the economic needs of the smaller countries themselves. Of course, it is readily admitted in the East that one of the major objectives of the mutual-aid pact between the U. S. S. R. and the People's Democracies was to make the area independent of Western markets.

IN THESE circumstances, what is the future of East-West trade in Europe? It is clear that the East would still like to import capital goods, but since this is no longer possible and the region is not particularly interested in the West's offers of consumer goods, it has made strenuous efforts to achieve self-sufficiency. If this is the case, it may be asked, why all the talk about reviving trade between East and West? Why the recent trade conference in Moscow? While Britain reduces its exports to the Soviet Union by more than a third in order to deny the Russians "strategic materials" (and therewith expects the Soviets to quit the British market to "launch a trade assault on backward tropical countries"), the U. S. S. R. claims that Britain can solve its economic difficulties by resuming heavy trade with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries. Although the Moscow conference has been interpreted variously as propaganda designed to weaken and divide the West and as the open-

ing of a "trade war" against the United States and Britain, it nevertheless appears that the Western European countries have as much to gain as has the East from a revival of East-West trade.

The interest of the Eastern countries—which was admitted frankly by one of their delegates at the last ECE session—is to make Europe as a whole less dependent on the United States. However, it must be realized that when and if East-West trade in Europe is revived, the position of the Eastern countries, and particularly of the People's Democracies, will be far different from what it was before the war when the region had no more to offer than raw materials. On the other hand, certain Western countries face the unpleasant alternative of becoming more dependent on America—which in turn must make up for the West European loss of trade and raw materials—or competing with the rising industrial power of Germany and Japan. Despite the curious logic of certain Congressmen who would like to end both our subsidies to Europe and all East-West trade, the West's basic interest in reviving this trade remains. It is not the East, but the West, that must export to live.

But what does the East itself have to offer? In considering the sincerity of its appeals for increasing East-West trade, it should be remembered that the Eastern European countries outside the Soviet Union, although themselves constituting a grain-deficit area (since grain production is hardly above pre-war levels), have repeatedly expressed, along with the U. S. S. R., their willingness to expand grain exports, depending on the nature and quantity of counter-deliveries offered by the West. Nevertheless, the ECE is skeptical about the possibility of increasing this trade:

When exports in any case account for only a small proportion of total production—as is true of nearly all the major export products of Eastern European countries—the concept of export availability becomes rather vague, and within a given volume of production the supply of exports may be extremely elastic. It can be safely assumed, therefore, that the increase in exports from Eastern Europe which has actually taken place since the immediate post-war years was smaller than it could have been in a *different* political atmosphere.

The U. S. S. R., of course, as the second industrial power in the world and a major producer of basic commodities, is in a far stronger position to engage in expanded East-West trade than the People's Democracies, but as the smaller Eastern countries industrialize further, they may be in a better position to increase their trade with the West, and the entire area may be able ultimately to compete with the West in world markets outside Europe. The ECE concludes:

Available information on the development of production in Eastern Europe tends to suggest that the next few years will bring about some further increase in export

possibilities, which is a necessary, albeit insufficient, condition of expanded East-West trade in Europe.

It has been pointed out in both East and West that any trade between the planned economies of the Eastern countries and the less planned economies of the West presents certain problems not easily overcome. However, stable exchange between East and West is still believed

feasible on the basis of *long-term* arrangements compatible with Eastern planning. Of course, if obstacles to trade remain, the Eastern countries believe themselves capable of taking up the slack and will do so, if necessary, through mutual agreements and a continued emphasis on economic self-sufficiency. It may soon be impossible for the West to turn the clock back.

Do Lie-Detectors Lie?

BY JULES H. MASSERMAN and MARY GRIER JACQUES

DURING periods of social stress and tension every body politic is apt to become sensitive to real or supposed enemies in its midst and to cast about for means of revealing and eliminating them. But even in societies with a latent sense of justice the juridical methods adopted may be somewhat unreliable—as witness the trials by combat in the “heroic” ages, or the prescribed techniques of torture employed by the judges of the Inquisition to detect witches and heretics for public execution. More in accord with our modern era of technology and psychosomatics, we now have the “lie-detector,” a device which is being used with increasing frequency by police laboratories on suspected criminals and their accomplices, and by some government agencies on suspected Communists and “fellow-travelers.” However, our talent for gadgetry has not left our sense of equity so far behind that we cannot still ask: What is this mysterious lie-detector? Does it serve any useful function? How trustworthy are its findings? What is their legal status?

What is the lie-detector? This first of our queries is easy to answer: it is a relatively simple device for making a graphic record of a person's breathing and blood pressure while he is being questioned. Formerly, the rate of sweating of his palms (the so-called “psychogalvanic reflex”) was also determined, but this proved to be so unpredictable that it was abandoned. The usual procedure is to seat the subject “comfortably,” put a rubber tube around his chest and an inflated cuff on his arm, connect each to a pneumatic diaphragm which operates a pen, and start these writing on a moving sheet of paper. When, after about ten minutes of preliminary observation, the respiratory and blood-pressure tracings seem to have reached a relatively stable level, the subject is

asked a series of supposedly innocuous “control” questions interspersed with various “crucial” ones, such as “Is your name John Doe?” “Are you forty-eight years old?” “Did you kill Cock Robin?” “Do you live in Washington?” “Is your wife named Emmy?” “Is today Thursday?” “Did you ever read the *Daily Worker*?” and so on. The subject is required to confine his replies to “yes” or “no,” since any extension of his remarks would interfere mechanically with the record. Finally, after a period of ostensible “rest,” the procedure may be repeated to follow up any leads that have been revealed.

The entire method is founded on a principle with some basis in fact: namely, that when people with a fairly well-developed conscience violate it by deliberate prevarication, they experience an inner anxiety which may be expressed physiologically not only by transient blushing, muscular tensions, and other signs, but also by alterations in respiration and blood pressure that can be limned in neat squiggles for exhibition to a jury. But can these changes, no matter how accurately detected and recorded, be interpreted categorically as valid evidence for the truth or falsity of any statement? In other words: Does the lie-detector serve any useful purpose?

As is usual in scientific discourse, the answer to our second rhetorical query must be: yes, and no, and usually both—depending on what is meant by “useful purpose.” To begin with, the general public and not a few criminals have built up so many fears of the oracular powers of the device that true confessions are sometimes obtained by the mere threat of its use, or by the desire to turn state's evidence before being involved by an accomplice about to be examined. F. E. Inbau, in his “Lie Detection and Criminal Investigation,” also justifies its use in this connection on the basis that “the availability of the lie-detector technique will reduce the extent of ‘third degree’ practices, especially upon innocent suspects.” Again, there is no question that a thoroughly trained and experienced observer—of which, incidentally, there are relatively few—can use this method to obtain valuable clues which can then be fol-

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lowed up. But granted all this, there are still so many pitfalls of technique and interpretation implicit in the procedure that our third question becomes immediately apropos: How trustworthy are the findings?

Here serious difficulties arise. On physical grounds alone, bodily exhaustion or systemic diseases of the lungs, heart, or circulation can put gross distortions into the record. In all cases, then, it devolves upon the examiner to prove that such disorders did not exist at the time of the test—a task made doubly difficult by the circumstance that some healthy and guiltless people are subject to unpredictable irregularities in respiratory and cardiac function. Again, various grades of mental deficiency may render the subject incapable of understanding the meaning of the questions, whereas schizoid or other psychotic tendencies may lead to gross misinterpretations of, or indifference to, the import of examination. But of even greater concern is the more common psychologic fact that both "positive" and "negative" responses on the polygraph may be either invalid or seriously misleading. Thus, one falsely accused subject may become so anxious over the implied threat to his reputation and career that he may over-react to the "crucial questions"; another may show the repressed hatreds of a martyr being persecuted; a third may fear the detection of some other quite unrelated culpability—yet in each case the cardio-respiratory deviations may be spuriously "positive." Conversely, a guilty person may have rationalized his actions so effectively that he suffers few pricks of conscience during his examination and therefore remains subjectively and physiologically placid. Or if he lacks this inner serenity, he may have learned how to "beat the detector rap" in a number of ways. He can, for instance, tense his muscles undetectably in such a manner that his tracings during "control" observations indicate greater deviations from normal than those in response to the "crucial" questions; or he can vitiate the results even more subtly—as an intelligent spy or saboteur can be trained to do—by maintaining certain "mental sets" or by concentrating on emotionally stimulating topics during the entire examination.

THESE are but a few of the reservations on the reliability of so-called "lie-detection" by the polygraphic technique; there are many other medical and psycho-analytic qualifications to the method too technical for discussion here. In their totality such difficulties led a group of Northwestern University investigators to conclude that even under favorable circumstances at least one record out of four is either invalid or erroneous, and that with less careful control the proportion of seriously misleading results may be much higher. In view of this, our last question becomes particularly relevant to considerations of liberty and justice, namely: What is the legal status of lie-detector evidence?

Seven appellate courts have ruled that lie-detector records are not admissible as evidence in the trial of criminal cases, though, of course, duly attested confessions obtained by the polygraphic or any other non-violent method may be so admitted. The Bureau of Legal Medicine and Legislation of the American Medical Association recently reported such a decision in the following words:

We are of the opinion, said the court, that the foregoing enumerated difficulties alone in connection with the lie-detector present obstacles to its acceptability as an instrument of evidence in the trial of criminal cases, notwithstanding its recognized utility . . . for uncovering clues and obtaining confessions. This conclusion is in line with the weight of authority repudiating the lie-detector as an instrument of evidence in the trial of criminal cases. In addition, the authorities give other cogent reasons for its inadaptability as an instrument of evidence in the trial of cases, such as the impossibility of cross-examining the machine (a constitutional impedient) and those human elements of fallibility which surround interpretations of the lie-detector recordings predicated upon the hazards of unknown individual emotional differences, which may and oftentimes do result in erroneous conclusions. We can foresee conditions where to ascertain the truth, it would become necessary to require the operator of the machine to submit to a test to determine the truthfulness of his interpretations.

And yet, despite such rulings, the "lie-detector" continues to be given credence as evidence for Congressional committees, in interviews of applicants for government positions, and in "loyalty" investigations in military or civilian life. Since it is here in particular that the competence of the investigators themselves plays so important a role, let us turn to an article in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* by Professor Inbau for an opinion on this subject:

Some branches of the armed services have used and are perhaps still using as examiners certain individuals who are basically unqualified and improperly trained. They have at times conducted tests—and on a large-scale basis at that—upon persons whose loyalty was under scrutiny, and in many instances the reports of these examiners appear to have been accepted at face value and upon the assumption that the technique produced results approximating perfection. For the future welfare of this nation, let us hope that somewhere along the line of persons responsible for the security of our secret weapons or of any other project or interest of national importance there develops a realization that the dependability of lie-detector-test results is no greater than the qualifications and ability of the examiner himself. Moreover, there should be an awareness that even as regards a highly qualified examiner mistakes are still a possibility.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY: A MEMOIR

BY EDMUND WILSON

ONE is grateful to Vincent Sheean for having written the memoir of Edna Millay that he calls "The Indigo Bunting" (Harper), because, since this extraordinary woman's death, no adequate tribute has been paid to either her work or her personality, and Mr. Sheean, though he saw her only a few times in the later years of her life, has been able to bring to the subject his almost novelistic gift for dramatizing contemporary personalities. What sets Mr. Sheean off from the ordinary writer of memoirs, who depends on mere big names or on gossip, is his ardent sense of human greatness. Nothing, for example, could be more different from the way in which celebrities are usually described than the way of Mr. Sheean in such a book as "Between the Thunder and the Sun." In his account of a house party on the Riviera, he can give you the colors and contours of Maxine Elliott and Winston Churchill—like a portrait painter in the best old tradition—in such a way as to make them impressive, without relinquishing a strong sense of character and personal idiosyncrasy. It is the special Irish faculty, no doubt—which one finds in Yeats's autobiography—for seeing people in their most human, and sometimes in their comic aspects, and yet making them walk the earth like the creatures of heroic legend. In Edna Millay, who had herself so much Irish, Mr. Sheean finds an ideal subject, since one needed no romantic temperament, no predisposition to hero-worship, to recognize in her an exceptional being.

It is one of the themes of his portrait that she exercised over wild birds what seemed to him a special attraction. This, he says, she pooh-poohed herself—she was not a romantic or a mystical person—explaining that they came to her window or circled about her head simply

book out of his necessarily slender memoirs. There is a whole chapter on birds in general, which seems little to the purpose and reads like padding—though I believe it is true, as he says and as the following pages will confirm, that Edna Millay had some special affinity with birds; and he runs later to speculations along the lines of his recent interest in Hindu religion, in which he conveys the impression that she did not seem eager to follow him—not surprisingly, in view of her exclusive preoccupation with the actual human world. (God never, I think, appears in her work after such early poems as *God's World* and *Renaissance*, except as a mythological property, and her vision of man and the universe is expressed in her *Epitaph for the Race of Man*.) But "The Indigo Bunting" has a certain importance, for Mr. Sheean has recognized and been able to convey something of Edna Millay's qualities, and he has given the lead for others who knew her better and longer and to



Drawing by Francisca Bolles

because she fed them; but what he tells us does show unmistakably that she exercised an enchantment for Vincent Sheean and induced him, for the first time in his life, to become acutely aware of birds, of which he seems hitherto to have been subnormally ignorant. One never forgot the things *she* noticed, for she charged them with her own intense feeling. This power of enhancing and ennobling life was felt by all who knew her.

It was probably a mistake, however, for Mr. Sheean to try to make a small

whom her work has meant more (Mr. Sheean says he read her poetry only after he met her in the forties) to supplement what he has written of his visits to the Boissevains at Austerlitz, New York, and on the island in Maine where they spent their summers. I propose to take advantage of this cue, with apologies to Mr. Sheean for using "The Indigo Bunting" as a pretext for a kind of counter-memoir. I hope that others who knew Edna Millay will also write about her. There ought to be a memorial volume. The

wonder is, one realizes with shame, that none of those who were especially indebted to her—with the exception of Rolfe Humphries, who registered a brief protest in *The Nation* against the stupidity or indifference with which the news of her death was received—has done anything to commemorate this great writer. It is the proof of Mr. Shecan's instinct for spotting and his talent for celebrating what is really important in his own time that he first should have broken the silence.

I

I FIRST met Edna Millay sometime early in 1920, but I had already known about her a long time. A cousin of mine, also a poet, Carolyn Crosby Wilson (now Carolyn Wilson Link), had been in Edna's class at Vassar, 1917, and when I had visited her at college in the spring of 1916, she had given me the April number of the Vassar *Miscellany Monthly*, of which she was one of the editors. I had read it coming back on the train and had been rather impressed by the leading feature, a dramatic dialogue in blank verse called *The Suicide*, by Edna St. Vincent Millay; and later, in "A Book of Vassar Verse," published in 1916, I found *The Suicide* and another similar poem by Miss Millay called *Interim*. In 1917, when Miss Millay's book "Renascence" came out, I was in France with the A. E. F., and my cousin sent me a copy of the book, which impressed me much more than the Vassar poems. In 1920, when I was back in America, I read in the March issue of the new literary magazine, the *Dial*, a sonnet called *To Love Impuissant*, which I immediately got by heart and found myself declaiming in the shower:

Love, though for this you riddle me with darts,
And drag me at your chariot till I die,—
Oh, heavy prince! Oh, panderer of hearts!—
Yet hear me tell how in their throats they lie
Who shout you mighty: thick about my hair,
Day in, day out, your ominous arrows purr,
Who still am free, unto no querulous care
A fool, and in no temple worshiper!
I, that have bared me to your quiver's fire,
Lifted my face into its puny rain,
Do wreathe you Impotent to Evoke Desire
As you are Powerless to Elicit Pain!
(Now will the god, for blasphemy so brave,

Punish me, surely, with the shaft I crave!)

The fascination that this poem had for me was due partly to its ringing defiance—at that time we were all defiant—but partly also to my liking to think that one who appreciated the poet as splendidly as I felt I did might be worthy to deal her the longed-for dart. This was a different, a bolder voice, than the brooding girl of "Renascence." How I hoped I might some day meet her!

This was finally brought about—sometime in the spring of that year—by Hardwicke Nevin (the nephew of Ethelbert Nevin, the composer), whom my friend John Peale Bishop had known at Princeton. He had further excited my interest by his description of Edna's enchanting personality, and he had invited John and me to an evening party at his apartment in Greenwich Village to which Edna came, late, from the theater, where she was acting with the Provincetown Players. I think it was just before this that I had seen the double bill there: a play of Floyd Dell's, in which she had acted, and her own "Aria da Capo," in which her sister Norma played Columbine. I was thrilled and troubled by this little play: it was the first time I had felt Edna's peculiar power. There was a bitter treatment of war, and we were all ironic about war; but there was also a less common sense of the incongruity and the cruelty of life, of the precariousness of love perched on a table above the corpses that had been hastily shoved out of sight, and renewing its eternal twitter in the silence that succeeded the battle. In any case, it was after the theater that Edna came to Hardwicke Nevin's. She complained of being exhausted, but was persuaded to recite some of her poems.

She was dressed in some bright batik, and her face lit up with a flush that seemed to burn also in the bronze reflections of her not yet bobbed reddish hair. She was one of those women whose features are not perfect and who in their moments of dimness may not seem even pretty, but who, excited by the blood or the spirit, become almost supernaturally beautiful. She was small, but her figure was full, though she did not appear plump. She had a lovely and very long throat that gave her the look of a muse, and her reading of her poetry was thrilling. She pronounced every syllable

distinctly; she gave every sound its value. She seemed sometimes rather British than American—in her quick way of talking to people as well as in her reading of her poems, and I have never understood how her accent was formed. I suppose it was partly the product of the English tradition in New England, and no doubt—since she had acted from childhood—of her having been taught to read Shakespeare by a college or school elocutionist. She had probably also been influenced by the English Mitchell Kennerleys—Kennerley had been her first publisher—who had taken her up when she was still a girl, and, in a more important way, by the English dramatist Charles Rann Kennedy, who, with his wife Edith Wynn Matthison, the actress, had also been interested in her and had tried to persuade her to go on the stage. In any case, the trueness of her ear made it possible for her to write verse which was really in the English tradition. I believe that our failure in the United States to produce much first-rate lyric poetry is partly due to our flattening and drawling of the vowels and our slovenly slurring of the consonants; and Edna spoke with perfect purity. It may have been partly her musical training, which came out also in her handling of her voice.

Among poets whose phonograph recordings I have heard, it seems to me that Edna Millay and E. E. Cummings and James Joyce give conspicuously the best performances. Joyce, like Edna Millay, is a musician with a well-trained voice; Cummings has, like Edna, the New England precision in enunciating every syllable. All three are masters of tempo and tone. If you play the recording of *Renascence*, you will hear how the *r* in the first line gets just the right little twist—so different from the harsh or the slighted *r*'s of the American regional accents; and how the vowels in *long* and *wood* are correctly made, respectively, short and long. If you play *Elegy*, you will hear in the closing lines her characteristic cadences that are almost like song. I do not remember whether she recited this poem the night that I met her first. If she did not, I heard it soon after. It was one of a series she had written for a girl friend at Vassar who had died, which I thought among the finest of the things that she showed me then. What was impressive and

rather unsettling when she read such poems aloud was her power of imposing herself on others through a medium that unburdened the emotions of solitude. The company hushed and listened as people do to music—her authority was always complete; but her voice, though dramatic, was lonely.

MY NEXT MOVE was to cultivate her acquaintance by way of *Vanity Fair*, in the editorial department of which magazine John Bishop and I were both working then. She had at that time no real market for her poems; she sold a lyric only now and then to the highbrow *Dial*, on the one hand, or to the trashy *Ainslee's*, on the other. She was hard up and lived with her mother and sisters at the very end of West Nineteenth Street. When I would go to get her there or take her home in a cab, the children that were playing in the street would run up and crowd around her. It was partly that she gave them pennies and sometimes taxi rides, just as she later put out food for the birds, but it was also, I think, the magnetism that Vincent Sheean felt.

We published in *Vanity Fair* a good deal of Edna's poetry and thus brought her to the attention of a larger public. This was the beginning of her immense popularity. Frank Crowninshield, the editor of *Vanity Fair*, a clever and extremely entertaining man, was in some ways rather shallow as well as unreliable, but he did have—as it were, as a heritage from his distinguished Boston family—a true instinct about painting and writing and a confidence in his own taste. He deserves a good deal of credit for featuring Edna Millay's poetry and for enabling her later to go abroad. There was nobody else in the publishing world who was both qualified to appreciate her work and in a position to do something to help her in a financial and practical way.

As for John Bishop and me, the more we saw of her poetry, the more our admiration grew, and we both, before very long, had fallen irretrievably in love with her. This latter was so common an experience, so almost inevitable a consequence of knowing her in those days, that it is possible, without being guilty of personal irrelevancies, to introduce it into a memoir of this kind. One cannot really write about Edna Millay without bringing into the foreground of the pic-

ture her intoxicating effect on people, because this so much created the atmosphere in which she lived and composed. The spell that she exercised on many, of the most various professions and temperaments, of all ages and both sexes, was at that time exactly that which Vincent Sheean imagines she cast on the birds. I should say here that I do not believe that my estimate of Edna Millay's work has ever been much affected by my personal emotions about her. I admired her poetry before I knew her, and my most exalted feeling for her did not, I think, ever prevent me from recognizing or criticizing what was weak or second-rate in her work. Today, thirty years later, though I see her in a different "context," my opinion has hardly changed. Let me register this unfashionable opinion here, and explain that Edna Millay seems to me one of the few poets writing in English in our time who have attained to anything like the stature of great literary figures in an age in which prose has predominated. It is hard to know how to compare her to Eliot or Auden or Yeats—it would be even harder to compare her to Ezra Pound. There is always a certain incomensurability between men and women writers. But she does have it in common with the first three of these that, in giving supreme expression to profoundly felt personal experience, she was able to identify herself with more general human experience and stand forth as a spokesman for the human spirit, announcing its predicaments, its vicissitudes, but, as a master of human expression, by the splendor of expression itself, putting herself beyond common embarrassments, common oppressions and panics. This is man, who surveys himself and the world in which he moves, not the beast that scurries and suffers; and the name of the poet comes no longer to indicate a mere individual with a birthplace and a legal residence but to figure as one of the pseudonyms assumed by that spirit itself.

This spirit so made itself felt, in all one's relations with Edna, that it towered above the clever college girl, the Greenwich Village *gamine*, and, later, the neurotic invalid. There was something of awful drama about everything one did with Edna, and yet something that steadied one, too. Those who fell in love with the woman did not, I think,

seriously quarrel with her or find themselves at one another's throats, and they were not, except in very small ways, demoralized or led to commit excesses, because the other thing was always there, and her genius, for those who could value it, was not something that one could be jealous of. Her poetry, you soon found out, was her real overmastering passion. She gave it to all the world, but she also gave it to you. As in *The Poet and His Book*—at that time, one of my favorites of her poems—with its homely but magical images, its urgent and hurried movement—she addressed herself not to her lover, by whom, except momentarily, she had never had the illusion that she lived or died, but to everyone whose pulse could throb quicker at catching the beat of her poetry. This made it possible during the first days we knew her for John and me to see a good deal of her together on the basis of our common love of poetry.

Our parties were in the nature of a sojourn in Pieria—to which, in one of her sonnets, she complains that an unworthy lover is trying to keep her from returning—where it was most delightful to feel at home. I remember particularly an April night in 1920, when we called on Richard Bennett, the actor, who had been brought by Hardwicke Nevin to the Provincetown Players, in the cheerful little house halfway downtown where he lived with his attractive wife and his so soon to be attractive daughters; I sat on the floor with Edna, which seemed to me very Bohemian. On some other occasion, we all undertook to write portraits in verse of ourselves. John's, under the title *Self-Portrait*, appeared in *Vanity Fair*, and we wanted to publish Edna's, but one of her sisters intervened and persuaded her that this would not be proper. There was also a trip on a Fifth Avenue bus—we were going to the Claremont for dinner, I think—in the course of which Edna recited to us a sonnet she had just written: "Here is a wound that never will heal, I know." For me, even rolling up Fifth Avenue, this poem plucked the strings of chagrin, for not only did it refer to some other man, someone I did not know, but it suggested that Edna could not be consoled, that such grief was in the nature of things.

I used to take her to plays, concerts, and operas. We saw Bernard Shaw's

"Heartbreak House" together, when it was first done in New York, in the November of 1920. I had not liked it much when I read it and had told her that it was a dreary piece on the model of "Misalliance." But the play absorbed and excited her, as it gradually did me, and I saw that I had been quite wrong: "Heartbreak House" was, on the contrary, the first piece of Shaw's in which he had fully realized the possibilities of the country-house conversation with which he had been experimenting in "Getting Married" and "Misalliance." At the end of the second act Edna became very tense and was rather upset over the scene in which Ariadne—who had just said, "I get my whole life messed up with people falling in love with me"—plays cat-and-mouse with the jealous Randell; and when the curtain went down on it, she said: "I hate women who do that, you know." She must have had, in the course of those crowded years, a good many Randells on her hands, but her method of dealing with them was different from that of Bernard Shaw's aggressive Ariadne. She was capable of being mockingly or sternly sharp with an admirer who proved a nuisance, but she did not like to torture people or to play them off against one another. With the dignity of her genius went, not, as is sometimes the case, a coldness or a hatefulness or a touchiness in intimate human relations, but an invincible magnanimity, and the effects of her transitory feminine malice would be canceled by an impartiality which was amiably humorous or sympathetic. It is characteristic of her that, in her sonnet *On Hearing a Symphony of Beethoven*, she should write of the effect of the music:

The spiteful and the stingy and the rude
Sleep like the scullions in the fairy-tale.

Spitefulness and stinginess and rudeness were among the qualities she most disliked and of which she was least willing to be guilty.

BETWEEN JOHN BISHOP and me relations were, nevertheless, by this time, becoming a little strained. Frank Crowninshield was complaining that it was difficult to have both his assistants in love with one of his most brilliant contributors. There was a time when, from the point of view of taking her out, I

was more or less monopolizing Edna, and John, who, between the office and his perfectionist concentration on his poetry—which he recited in the bathroom in the morning and to which he returned at night—had collapsed and come down with the flu. I went to see him, and afterward told Edna—no doubt with a touch of smugness—that I thought he was suffering, also, from his frustrated passion for her. The result of this—which I saw with mixed feelings—was that she paid him a visit at once and did her best to redress the balance. I knew that he had some pretty good poetry to read her, and this did not improve the situation.

But her relations with us and with her other admirers had, as I say, a disarming impartiality. Though she reacted to the traits of the men she knew—a face or a voice or a manner—or to their special qualifications—what they sang or had read or collected—with the same intensely perceptive interest that she brought to anything else—a bird or a shell or a weed—that had attracted her burning attention; though she was quick to feel weakness or strength, she did not, nevertheless, give the impression that personality much mattered for her or that, aside from her mother and sisters, her personal relations were important except as subjects for poems; and when she came to write about her lovers, she gave them so little individuality that it was usually, in any given case, impossible to tell which man she was writing about. What interests her is seldom the people themselves but her own emotions about them; and the sonnets that she published in sequences differed basically from Mrs. Browning's in that they dealt with a miscellany of men without—since they are all about *her*—the reader's feeling the slightest discontinuity.

In all this she was not egotistic in any boring or ridiculous or oppressive way, because it was not the personal, but the impersonal Edna Millay—that is, the poet—that preoccupied her so incessantly. But she was sometimes rather a strain, because nothing could be casual for her; I do not think I ever saw her relaxed, even when she was tired or ill. I used to suppose that this strain of being with her must be due to my own anxieties, but I later discovered that others who had never been emotionally involved with her were affected in the same way.

She could be very amusing in company, but the wit of her conversation was as sharp as the pathos of her poetry. She was not at all a social person. She did not gossip; did not like to talk current events; did not like to talk personalities. It was partly that she was really noble, partly that she was rather neurotic, and the two things, bound up together, made it difficult for her to meet the world easily. When Mr. Sheean met her, late in her life, she at first, he tells us, seemed tongue-tied; then puzzled him extremely by thanking him, as if it had happened yesterday, for his having, in some official connection about which he had completely forgotten, sent her some flowers five years before; then analyzed, with a closeness he could hardly follow, a poem of Gerard Manley Hopkins, the sense of which she insisted, with bitterness and an "animation" that brought out "her very extraordinary beauty—not the beauty of every day but apart," had been spoiled by Hopkins' editor, Robert Bridges' having put in a comma in the wrong place. But although Edna sometimes fatigued one, she was never, as even the most gifted sometimes are, tyrannical, fatuous, or vain. She was either like the most condensed literature or music, the demands of which one cannot meet protractedly, or like a serious nervous case—though this side of her was more in evidence later—whom one finds that one cannot soothe.

WHAT WAS THE CAUSE of this strain? From what was the pressure derived that Edna Millay seemed always to be under? At that time I was too young and too much in love to be able to understand her well, and I afterward saw her only at intervals and in a much less intimate way. But I had found, when I had come into contact with the formidable strength of character that lay behind her attractiveness and brilliance, something as different as possible from the legend of her Greenwich Village reputation, something austere and even grim. She had been born in Rockland, Maine, and had grown up in small Maine towns. I heard her speak of her father only once. He and her mother had not lived together since the children were quite small, and her mother, who had studied to be a singer, supported them by district nursing, without ceasing—as I learn from Mr. Sheean—to train

the local orchestra and write out their scores. They were poor; the mother was away all day, and the three girls were thrown much on themselves. To Edna, her sisters and her poetry and music must have been almost the whole of life. Such suitors as she had had in Maine she did not seem to have taken very seriously. By her precocious and remarkable poem, *Renascence*, written when she was hardly nineteen, she had attracted, at a summer entertainment, the attention of a visitor, Miss Caroline B. Dow, the New York head of the National Training School of the Y. W. C. A., who raised the money to send her to college. She did not graduate, therefore, till she was twenty-five, when she at last emerged into the freedom of a world where her genius and beauty were soon to make her famous, to bring all sorts of people about her, with a character and intellect that had been developed in solitude and under the discipline of hard conditions. Her human emotional life had, it seemed to me, in her girlhood been rather cramped, but she had herself given her emotions their satisfaction through the objects—the poems—she was able to create, and this life of the mind, this life of art, by which she had triumphed in a little Maine town that offered few other triumphs, was to remain for her the great reality that made everything else unimportant.

It is all in the astonishing *Renascence*, which is a study of claustrophobia. Hemmed in between the mountains and the sea of Camden on Penobscot Bay, the girl is beginning to suffocate; she looks up, and the sky seems to offer escape, but when she puts up her hand, she screams, for she finds it is so low that she can touch it, and Infinity settles down on her—she can hear the ticking of Eternity; she is beset by a new ordeal, for she begins to feel all human guilt, experience all human suffering, and this, too, becomes an oppression which is killing her; she now sinks six feet into the ground, and she feels the weight roll from her breast; her tortured soul breaks away, and the comforting rain begins to fall; but she is dead now and she wants to escape from the grave, which itself has become a prison, for she imagines how beautiful the world will be as soon as the rain is over; she prays to God for the rain to wash away the grave, and a

storm comes and sets her free to those beauties of the world she has longed for; she springs up, embraces the trees, hugs the ground, feels that nothing can ever hide her from God again; the world, she now knows, is as wide as the heart, the heavens as high as the soul, but East and West will close in and crush you if you do not keep them apart, and the sky will cave in on you if your soul is flat.

This poem gives the central theme of Edna Millay's whole work: she is alone; she is afraid that the world will crush her; she must summon the strength to assert herself, to draw herself up to her full stature, to embrace the world with love; and the storm—which stands evidently for sexual love—comes to effect a liberation. Her real sexual experience, which came rather late, was to play in her poetry the role of this storm, for it gives her the world to embrace, yet it always leaves her alone again, alone and afraid of death. Withdrawal is her natural condition: she was always, as Mr. Sheean indicates—and this made itself felt as a part of the strain—extremely shy of meeting people; and she was terrified by New York, of which I do not think she saw much, for she would not cross a street alone. She feels that she is "caught beneath great buildings," and she longs to be back in Maine—though the Maine she is homesick for is never in the least idealized, but, on the contrary, a meager country with threadbare interiors, wizened apples, and weedy mussels on rotting hulls. One of her poems of this time that impressed me most was the long *Ode to Silence*, in which she celebrates an inner sanctuary that is like the grave of *Renascence*—a garden which lies "in a lull," like it, "between the mountains and the mountainous sea."

OF THE HOUSEHOLD in which Edna grew up I had a glimpse, in the summer of 1920, when I went at her invitation—she had John Bishop and me on different week-ends—to visit her at Truro, near the tip of Cape Cod. It was already dark when I got there—there was in those days a train that went all the way to Provincetown, shuffling along so slowly that it might have been plodding through the sand—and though I was met by a man with a cart, he did not, for some curmudgeonly Cape Cod rea-

son, drive me all the way to the house but dropped me some distance away from it, so that I somehow got lost in a field and dragged my suitcase through scrub oak and sweetfern in the hot breathless August night. At last I saw a gleam—a small house—which I approached from the fields behind it, and there I found the Millays: Edna, with her mother and her two sisters, none of whom I had met.

The little house had been lent them by George Cram Cook (always known as "Jig"), the organizer of the Provincetown Players, who with Susan Glaspell lived across the road. It was bare, with no decoration and only a few pieces of furniture; a windmill that pumped water and no plumbing. Norma has told me since that when it rained the first night they got there, before they knew they had neighbors who could see them, they had all taken a shower under the spout from the roof. They gave me a dinner on a plain board table by the light of an oil lamp. I had never seen anything like this household, nor have I ever seen anything like it since. Edna tried to reassure me by telling me that I mustn't be overpowered by all those girls, and one of the others added, "And *what* girls!" Norma, the second sister, was a blonde, who looked a little like Edna; Kathleen, the youngest, was different, a dark Irish type. Edna was now very freckled. All were extremely pretty. But it was the mother who was most extraordinary. She was a little old woman with spectacles, who, although she had evidently been through a good deal, had managed to remain very brisk and bright. She sat up straight and smoked cigarettes and quizzically followed the conversation. She looked not unlike a New England school teacher, yet there was something almost raffish about her. She had anticipated the bohemianism of her daughters; and she sometimes made remarks that were startling from the lips of a little old lady. But there was nothing sordid about her: you felt even more than with Edna that she had passed beyond good and evil, beyond the power of hardship to worry her, and that she had attained there a certain gaiety. The daughters entertained me with humorous songs—they sang parts very well together—which they had composed in their girlhood in Maine.

Edna had been turning into verse, for

a collection called "Folk Songs of Many Peoples," prose translations of some European peasant songs, and she sang me her versions, which enchanted me—especially one from Estonia, with a merry and poignant tune:

Piper, pipe a tune, call the dancers out!
Oh, the happy bag-pipes, the laughing shout!

Now the merry step we are treading!
Health to all, and joy bless this wedding!
Tra, la, la! Tra, la, la! Youth is all pleasure!
Let the beating foot strike the time of the measure!

Now the master's son, riches spurning,
Weds the farmer maid of his yearning;
Now the girl the rose garland covers,
Leaves her father's house for her lover's.
Tra, la la! Lonely my heart, dream-laden.

Would that I the bridegroom were, of so sweet a maiden.

The word *lonely* in the second stanza was given a dramatic emphasis by being put in the place of the second *Tra la la*, in such a way that the first syllable was prolonged in two drooping notes.

Since there were only two rooms on the first floor, with no partition between them, the only way for Edna and me to get away by ourselves was to sit in a swing on the porch; but the mosquitoes were so tormenting—there being then no mosquito control—that we soon had to go in again. I did, however, ask her formally to marry me, and she did not reject my proposal but said that she would think about it. I am not sure that she actually said, "That might be the solution," but it haunts me that she conveyed that idea. In any case, it was plain to me that proposals of marriage were not a source of great excitement.

The next morning she sat on the floor and recited a lot of new poems—she rarely read her poetry, she knew it by heart. The Millays were rather vague about meals and only really concentrated on dinner, but they never apologized for anything. We played the Fifth Symphony on a primitive old phonograph that had been left with them by Allan Ross Macdougall. She was committing the whole thing to memory, as she liked to do with music and poems; and raspy and blurred though it sounded, the power of its bold or mysterious motifs came through to me—surcharged with her power—as it never had done before.

Jig Cook and Hutchins Hapgood dropped by and sat on the edge of the porch. The conversation was light but learned, and I was rather astonished when Jig quoted a poem in Sanskrit: I did not know at that time that he was a liberated Greek professor. But the things that remain with me most vividly—because she called my attention to them—are the vision of Jig Cook's daughter, Nilla, a handsome and sturdy little girl in a bright red bathing suit walking along the beach, as we looked down from the cliff above; and a gull's egg we found on the naked sand—gulls do not build nests—which made Edna stop and stare. It came back to me seven years later when, going up to Cape Cod in the early summer, I found myself alone in Provincetown:

We never from the barren down,
Beneath the silver-lucid breast
Of drifting plume, gazed out to drown
Where daylight whitens to the west.

Here never in this place I knew
Such beauty by your side, such peace—
These skies that, brightening, imbue
With dawn's delight the day's release.

Only, upon the barren beach,
Beside the gray egg of a gull,
With that fixed look and fervent speech,
You stopped and called it beautiful.

Lone as the voice that sped the word!—
Gray-green as eyes that ate its round!—
The desert dropping of a bird,
Bare-bedded in the sandy ground.

Tonight, where clouds like foam are blown,
I ride alone the surf of light—
As—even by my side—alone
That stony beauty burned your sight.

For I was not "the solution," nor was anyone else she knew; and she had come to a crisis in her life. "I'll be thirty in a minute!" she said to me one day. She moved from the apartment she had shared with her family and where, she complained, the sewing-machine had interfered with her writing, and took two rooms and a bath on West Twelfth Street, where Kathleen eventually joined her. But this made her more accessible and exposed her to the importunities of her suitors, who really besieged her door. She did not want to marry any of them, and, having tried two Greenwich Village ménages, she no longer had any illusions about extra-marital arrangements that were supposed to leave the parties free but, since somebody was

always jealous, actually made their relations intolerable. And even with her literary career, she had lately been running into difficulties of a most discouraging kind. Her new book, "Second April," had been set up a long time before—she showed me the proofs when I first knew her—but Mitchell Kennerley, who was having financial troubles, did not bring the book out and would not even communicate with her. Besides this, her benefactress, Miss Dow, to whom she had dedicated "Second April," did not approve of her recent work—just as James Joyce's patron, Miss Harriet Weaver, was scandalized by "Ulysses"—and this worried her very much, for she could not write differently to please Miss Dow, and did not know how to answer her letters. She had one or two depressing illnesses. Her apartment was poorly heated, and I brought her an electric heater. I remember how miserable she seemed—though she never lost a certain liveliness—wrapped up in an old flannel bathrobe and bundled in shabby covers. Above the bed was a modern painting, all fractured geometrical planes that vaguely delineated a female figure, which the Millay girls called *Directions for Using the Empress*.

IT WAS DECIDED she should go abroad. She had never been in Europe, and she wanted to get away from the Village. She had begun to do for *Vanity Fair* the satirical dialogues and sketches which were published under the pseudonym "Nancy Boyd," and this made it possible for Crowninshield to pay her a regular allowance. He did his best to induce Edna to sign these pieces with her own name—he offered her, in fact, more money; but she never would compromise about her work. No matter how confused her life became, she was always clear about this. If one compares the contents of "Figs from Thistles," written in the same year as the poems in "Second April," with the contents of the other book, one can see that she imposed on herself a pretty rigorous critical standard. She would not mix with her serious work any of the merely cute feminine pieces that had something in common with the songs that the sisters made up for their own amusement, nor any of the easier lyrics that reflected the tone of the women's mag-

azines. This serious work, never loosely written, was tragic, almost pessimistic (though the best of her lighter verse had the same sort of implications). It was natural that Hardy and Housman should have been among her admirers. From Housman she partly derived (Mr. Sheean, in asserting that Edna Millay owed nothing to any other poet since Shakespeare, has neglected this important exception), and she was closer to this masculine stoicism than to the heartbreak of Sara Teasdale. It was this tough intellectual side combined with her feminine attraction that made her such a satisfactory companion, and that persuaded so many men that they had found their ideal mate. She was quite free from the bluestocking's showing-off, but she did have a rather school-marmish side—which rapped Mr. Sheean's knuckles when he put out a cigarette in his coffee cup. In just this way I have heard her complain of the vandalisms of Greenwich Villagers who made a point of scorning bourgeois sanctions. And so she reprimanded me once when I tried to fulfil my editorial function by urging her to sign her name to her Nancy Boyd articles. Her attitude was: "Don't you know it's impolite to the teacher and reflects on the home you come from to throw chalk around in class?"

I tried to help her get on with these sketches, at the time when she was not yet well, by typing to her dictation, but she was anything but a facile writer and she insisted on putting in as comic lines remarks I had just made in earnest. We had at this time some wonderful conversations, at which quite a lot of bootleg gin was drunk, and even in that dreadful form, this exhilarating bitter liquor has always kept for me a certain glamour that others have not acquired. On one of these occasions she recited to me the fragments of a long poem she had started, called Epitaph for the Race of Man. This was something quite different from the sonnet sequence that she published in 1934. It was written, like *Renascence*, in iambic tetrameter; but it was equally evolutionary: there were monkeys, though not yet, I think, dinosaurs. It surprised me, for it was purely philosophical, and it gave me a new idea of her range. One evening we set out to talk French in preparation for her coming trip. I remarked that her

ex-admirers ought to organize an alumni association—to which she answered with promptness and point: "On en parle toujours, mais on ne le fait jamais." John Bishop and I, who had realized that we were both quite out of the running without, however, we thought, having yet been superseded by a serious rival, had renewed our good relations and spent an evening with her together, just before she left, on our old high and festive basis. But neither of us saw her off. I think that we were both afraid of the possible unknown others we might have to confront on the pier.

THAT I MISSED HER may be seen from the following poem. I had read the "Georgics" of Virgil in the summer of 1922, and the phrase *in luminis oras*—which he uses in connection with the sprouting plants that reach upwards to "the shores of light"—though a conventional Latin formula that had appeared in the older poets, had echoed in my head with the accent of pathos that haunts even fertility in Virgil, and eventually gave me a motif.

Shut out the Square!
Though not for grayness and the rainy
path.—
For that intolerable aching air
Of meetings long resolved to silences
And absences like death—
For the throat a moment lifted, the wide
brow shaken free,
Where there was neither leaf nor wind
A dryad by her tree—
Against the narrow door that closed the
narrow hall,
Blank then but for a night that now for
all
With blankness wounds the mind.
Gaze out with steady glare!
Present the tough unbroken glove!
For suddenly you heard to-night
Your voice that speaks and saw your
hands that write,
Yet never speak nor write the name they
love—
And knew the hours were waves that
wash away
Farther each day to sea the summer sound
Of children shrill and late, of summer
hours that run
Late, late, yet never sleep and never tire,
Before they meet the sun.
We spoke the sudden words, the words
already known—
We spoke, and spoke no more, for
tongues were fire.
Now, watching from this shore at last,
alone
I seem to wait the turning of that tide
That ebbs for ever.

Children, waking to the day,
Cry out for joy.

My stubborn heart to-night
Divines the fate of souls who have not
died,
Buried in sullen shadows underground—
That reach for ever toward the shores of
light.

II

I SAW her in Paris in the summer of 1921. She had made new friends and, both there and in England, was having, I think, a very good time. I had the impression that Europe frightened her less than New York, but she must have continued to live with considerable recklessness, for at the end of two years abroad she was in very bad shape again. Returned home at the beginning of 1923, she married, in July, Eugen Boissevain, just before she went to the hospital for a serious operation. She had met him at Croton since she had come back from Europe, and had first got to know him in a round of charades. He was a Dutchman with an Irish mother, the son of the editor of the largest Dutch newspaper and himself a coffee importer, with offices in New York. He had been married to Inez Milholland, a Vassar girl who had practiced law and become a famous public champion of labor causes and women's rights, who had died in 1917. He was a gentleman and had once been quite well-to-do. Max Eastman, in his autobiographical "Enjoyment of Living," describes him at the time of his first marriage as "handsome and muscular and bold, boisterous in conversation, noisy in laughter, yet redeemed by a strain of something feminine that most men except the creative geniuses lack." With no particular talent or bent of his own, it was possible for him only vicariously to express this imaginative and sensitive side, and he was led, as it were, to the special vocation of assisting the careers of gifted women. He was twelve years older than Edna, and, although, as Max Eastman says, he had "the genius, the audacity, and the uncompromising determination to enjoy the adventure of life," he made one feel that he had always behind him a stout background of Dutch burgher stability. She had made a very sound choice. He took her on a trip to the Orient and then bought a large farm at Austerlitz, New York, where they settled in 1925 and lived for the rest of their lives.

I used to see and correspond with her occasionally. I have a memory of calling on her once in January, 1924, in the tiny little house in Bedford Street, 75½, where they lived before they went to the country. I found her absorbed in a paint catalogue, of which she made the special shades of color and their often delightful names start into a relief that seemed almost as vivid as the voices of the Fifth Symphony when she had played it on the phonograph in Truro. From a notebook of 1928—it must have been early in the year, since "The Buck in the Snow" had not yet come out—I learn that she "summoned me to the Vanderbilt to talk about [her] bobolink poem," about which I seem to have been only moderately enthusiastic. "You mean you think it sounds like Mary Carolyn Davies!" I find she replied to my criticisms. "I said," my record continues, "that at the time she had written 'Second April' she had been under so many kinds of pressure that the people who read her poems hardly thought about them as literature at all: there had been an element of panic about them. She said, 'Yes, and I still want to knock 'em cold!' For two cents she would tear up the bobolink proof and not let the *Delineator* have it. . . . She looked quite beautiful, very high pink flush, and brown dress that brought out her color." I noted, also, Boissevain's "protective attitude" and his saying that her recent work was "more objective." He was right, and the volume of lyrics called "The Buck in the Snow"—the first she had published since "The Harp Weaver" of 1923—which came out later that year, contained work of a much less desperate, a more contemplative kind, which included, along with the bobolink, several of her finest poems: Dawn, The Cameo, Sonnet to Gath, On Hearing a Symphony of Beethoven.

This book contained also a piece that I read with both pleasure and embarrassment, for I recognized it—she afterwards confirmed this—as an account of an evening we had spent together—it must have been sometime that same winter, when I had been living in a little room on West Thirteenth Street opposite a taxi garage and just around the corner from Eighth Avenue. I had read her the Latin elegiacs that A. E. Housman had prefixed to his *Manilius*

and a translation of them I had made; some of Yeats's latest poems, which she had not seen; and James Joyce's "Pomes Penyeach," as to which I thought her rather old-fashioned for objecting that the title cheapened them, as if he had let them go as the work of some "Nancy Boyd." I do not remember behaving as she describes (as people seem so often to say). I think she must have combined this occasion with some memory from our earlier phase, but it is painful to me to reread this poem today and to feel again, in retrospect, how much I must have hated to part from her.

PORTRAIT

Over and over I have heard,
As now I hear it,
Your voice harsh and light as the
scratching of dry leaves over the hard
ground,
Your voice forever assailed and shaken
by the wind from the island —
Of illustrious living and dead, that never
dies down,
And bending at moments under the
terrible weight of the perfect word,
Here in this room with fire, without
comfort of any kind,
Reading aloud to me immortal page after
page conceived in a mortal mind.
Beauty at such moments before me like
a wild bright bird
Has been in the room, and eyed me, and
let me come near it.

I could not ever nor can I to this day
Acquaint you with the triumph and the
sweet rest
These hours have brought to me and
always bring,—
Rapture, coloured like the wild bird's neck
and wing,
Comfort, softer than the feathers of its
breast.
Always, and even now, when I rise to go,
Your eyes blaze out from a face gone
wickedly pale;
I try to tell you what I would have you
know,—
What peace it was; you cry me down;
you scourge me with a salty flail;
You will not have it so.

She had said to me in the course of that evening that the only bad feature of Austerlitz was its not being near the sea, of which she had a permanent need, that the hills and the woods walled her in and sometimes made her feel imprisoned (this was, as I now can see, one of the phases of her recurrent claustrophobia). I suppose it was to remedy this that they later bought their island in Maine. In the May of 1928, I

had a wire from her inviting me to Austerlitz for a week-end. I went, and it was pleasant, as I learn from my notes—the prospect of seeing her again must, as usual, have stimulated my perceptions—to find myself on the train, in the widening landscape of upstate New York, with its dark and thick-bristling hills, today blurred with mist at the tops and misted at the bases with fruit-blossoms; and, in intervals of reading Proust's letters to Mme Sheikévitch, I looked out on the long roads leading over these hills, the white houses and little red cabins and large-looming tarnished barns, the stone fences that lay in loose meshes, the small faded rural hotels that so often stood opposite the stations—with the soddenly wet gray day superimposed rather queerly on the freshest greenness of spring. There were desolate yellow freight cars trailing along the route, and the timbery marshes were studded with the rank green of skunk-cabbage leaves. The ponds and the stream had a dark smooth luster even under the rain, but the foam of the apple blossoms, like some dirty sheep in a pasture, seemed yellowed by the turbid weather. A growth of squarish, whitish houses in the bowl of one of the valleys seemed almost a product of the damp, like the skunk-cabbage in the swamp.

At Austerlitz—hirsute hills—the overcast sultry weather seemed brooding like a mother bird over the not yet quite opening beauties of spring, the little pink fruit-tree buds that were just on the point of bursting. The birds themselves seemed subdued, and Edna, when I reached the Boissevains' place, said that she imagined the farm hands—"ominously silent," also—perched somewhere with their heads under their wings. I had, on my side, been saving for her a simile and remarked that on one of the lawns I had passed the dandelions had looked like grated egg on spinach. We were neither of us quite at our best perhaps, but we always made a certain effort. Above the Boissevains' house—called Steepletop—a big densely green tree-grown hill, with the flat effect of a tapestry, was stitched with distinct white birch.

Gene Boissevain, when I arrived, was planting a border of pansies with a gardener's intent application; but his attention seemed soon to flag, for he

began singing cockney songs at the top of his voice. Then he addressed himself to oiling the lawnmower; then suddenly dropped it and proposed a drink. There was a comfortable living-room, in which, as one first came into it, one was startled at being confronted by a dark black human head staring fixedly and almost fiercely from eyes that had black irises and glowing whites: a bronze bust of Sappho, painted black, on an immense marble pedestal, which an admirer had sent Edna from Italy. There were also hangings from India, golden birds on a background of green, that she had brought back from her first trip to London. We did a good deal of leisurely drinking, all in the gamut of apple products, on which people who lived in the country much depended under Prohibition: apple brandies and apple wines that ranged in color from citron to amber. Edna was interesting herself in the local animals and birds and trees, which begin to turn up in "The Buck in the Snow"; but we decided not to go for a walk, as it had been earlier proposed to do. They had a sensitive German police dog, who, when Boissevain had given her a scolding, would drag herself into the room, bumping against the chairs, as if her hind legs were paralyzed. They thought she was a case for Freud.

There was a piano in the living-room, and the next morning I asked her to play. I had not heard her since years before, when she had taken off her rings and left them on the piano in my apartment in Sixteenth Street, and I had found in my mailbox the next morning a note dated "three p.m. (out to get food)"—since she lived only a few blocks away—asking me to bring them back. She had now, she told me, taken up music again and was trying to work regularly at it. She was studying a sonata of Beethoven and played parts of it with her bright alive touch, dropping them, however, with impatience at the raggedness of her own performance. Then she got out a lot of new poems, over which we had a long session. It brought her back to her old intensity. She was desperately, feverishly anxious not to let her standard down. She sometimes kept a poem for decades before she got it into satisfactory form. I remember one ambitious piece called Pittsburgh Rose, on which she had been

working that summer, that impressed me very much at the time but that she never got to the point of publishing—also *Menses*, which was not printed till "Huntsman, What Quarry?" in 1937.

I tried to relieve the strain that was inevitably set up between us by talking about current ideas and books—to which at that time she paid little attention—and by telling her a gag of Joe Cook's, which I had also been saving for her, because it was a little in her own vein. Cook, in his latest show, had exhibited to the audience two shower baths and explained they were his own invention: the remarkable thing about them was that you could have a complete shower without taking off your clothes and without getting them wet. He introduced to the audience two men in full evening dress, wearing silk hats. They stepped into the showers and pulled the curtains—the sound of water was heard. Joe Cook then jerked open the curtains, and the gentlemen emerged drenched. Cook turned to the audience and said, "I have never been more embarrassed in my life!" But even as I was telling this and Edna was laughing at it, I was chilled by the awful seriousness of the implications it was taking on.

The next summer I was visiting near Austerlitz and called on the Boissevains one afternoon. While we were talking, it began to grow dark, and the living-room was half in shadow. There were a number of people there, and the conversation was general. I had a curious and touching impression, as Edna sat quiet in a big chair, that—torn and distracted by winds that had swept her through many seas—she had been towed into harbor and moored, that she was floating at anchor there.

IT WAS DIFFICULT for the romantics of the twenties to slow down and slough off their youth; when everything had seemed to be possible and they had been able to treat their genius as an unlimited checking account. One could always still resort to liquor to keep up the old excitement, it was a kind of way of getting back there; the old habit of recklessness was hard to drop, the scorn for safe living and expediency, the need to heighten the sensations of life. Edna had now been led back to something like the rural isolation of her girlhood, and in her retreat she had no children to

occupy her, to compel her to outgrow her girlhood. Though I did not see much of her through all these years, I got the impression that she was alternating between vigorously creative periods when she produced the firm-based strong-molded work that represented her full artistic maturity—"Fatal Interview" and "Epitaph for the Race of Man"—and dreadful lapses into depression and helplessness that sometimes lasted for months. I did not encourage her to talk about these; but I remember her telling me on one occasion, not very long after her marriage, when she had apparently spent weeks in bed, that she had done nothing but weep all the time; and on another she startled me by saying, in the midst of showing me her poetry: "I'm *not* a pathetic character!" This must have been in 1928, at the time when she was still a romantic figure and a fabulously popular poet, imitated, adored, and envied all over the United States, who was able to make big fees by reading her poems in public. Through all this Eugen Boissevain must have been inexhaustibly patient, considerate, and comprehending. He had given his whole life to Edna. He dropped his business and seriously worked the farm. He accompanied her on the triumphs of her reading tours and saw her through the ordeals of her hospitals. He arranged for her a social life—it is reflected, I suppose, to some extent, in "Conversation at Midnight"—of a kind that she could never have made for herself, which afforded her more "human" contacts than were possible in the exhausting relationships that were natural to her passionate spirit. Yet she continued, from time to time, to follow her old pattern of escape by breaking away from her domestic arrangements. The sequence of sonnets called "Fatal Interview"—certainly one of her most successful works and one of the great poems of our day—was evidently the product of such an episode. It is, I think, unique among her poems in representing the lover as wanting to end the affair before the poet is willing to let him go.

I DID NOT SEE her for nineteen years after my call of 1929. It was not till 1944 that I seem even to have written her again. I had been astonished and worried by the poetry she had been pub-

ishing during the war, on a level of war-time journalism of which I had not imagined her capable. I tried to explain it as partly due to the natural anxieties of Eugen when Holland was seized by Hitler, and I remembered Henry James's description, in his life of William Wetmore Story, of Mrs. Browning's "feverish obsession" with the Italian Risorgimento. "It is impossible," says James, "not to feel, as we read, that to 'care,' in the common phrase, as she is caring is to entertain one's convictions as a malady and a doom. . . . We wonder why so much disinterested passion . . . should not leave us in a less disturbed degree the benefit of the moral beauty. We . . . end by asking ourselves if it be not because her admirable mind, otherwise splendidly exhibited, has inclined us to look in her for that saving and sacred sense of proportion, of the free and blessed *general*, that great poets, that genius and the high range of genius, give us the impression of even in emotion and passion, even in pleading a cause and calling on the gods." I concluded that when women of genius got carried away by a cause, this was the kind of thing that deplorably sometimes happened. But I thought that, since she had come to that pass, she probably needed artistic encouragement; the reviewers were giving her plenty of scolding.

So I wrote her a letter in which I refrained from mentioning her war verse at all but congratulated her on the album of her recordings, which, although it had been made some time before, in 1941, I had only recently bought. One of the poems she had recorded was *The Harp-Weaver*, for which I had not much cared when it first appeared. I had told her that it was one of her poems that belonged in a woman's magazine, and was surprised when she defended it strongly, as she did not always do with her work when it verged on the sentimental. I had known that it was about her own mother, and the volume was dedicated to Cora Millay. During the years when Edna had been living in Europe, she had arranged to bring her mother over—which, with her own meager resources at that time, could not have been easy to manage; and I knew how devoted she was to the debonair, hard-bitten old lady who had worked for her and educated her. But I

did not know with how much effectiveness she had put it into the Harp-Weaver poem—or, at least, into her reading of it, for it is better to hear than to read: the loneliness, the poverty, the unvalued Irish heritage, the Spartan New England self-discipline, the gift of artistic creation and intellectual distinction—her mother had taught Edna to write verse at four and to play the piano at seven—that the mother had been able to transmit. She had made of it something dramatic and almost unbearably moving, a record of the closest relationship that Edna, up to then, I suppose—that is, up to her marriage—had ever known. I wrote her something of this, and I told her that John Bishop had died that spring. I heard nothing from her for two years; then, in the summer of 1946, I received from her this strange letter:

Steepletop,
August, 1946.

. . . It is two years now since I received your letter. You had bad news to tell me: the death of John Bishop. Even now, that seems unlikely* . . . How you must have missed him that summer, and how you still must miss him, is something that I would rather not go into in my mind. For it would make me ache, only to think of it . . . and I don't like aching, any more than anybody else . . .

You told me also, in that letter, that you liked my recorded readings from my poems. That pleased me enormously. I had felt pretty sure, myself, that they were good, but your verdict was like an Imprimatur to me . . .

Your letter reached me at a time when I was very ill indeed, in the Doctors Hospital in New York. I was enjoying there a very handsome—and, as I afterwards was told, an all but life-size—nervous breakdown. For five years I had been writing almost nothing but propaganda. And I can tell you from my own experience, that there is nothing on this earth which can so much get on the nerves of a good poet, as the writing of bad poetry . . . Anyway, finally I cracked up under it. I was in the hospital a long time . . .

This does not explain, of course, why, when I got out and came home, after I got well and strong again, still I did not write you . . . But here, happily for me, and for you, I can save ourselves the cumbersome explaining, by reminding you of a letter of Gerard Hopkins . . . In this letter he makes apology—I forget to whom; possibly to Robert Bridges, although, somehow, I think not—for having been so slow in answering. And he states—not in these words at all, but this is the meaning of it—: that the driving of him-

*The double dots are her own punctuation; they do not indicate omissions.

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self by himself to make the beginning of a letter, is almost more than his strength can support. When once he has forced himself to begin the letter, he says, the going is not so bad. . . Well, I, too, suffer from that disease. For it is a disease. It is as real, and its outlines are quite as clear, as in a case of claustrophobia, or agoraphobia. . . I have named it, just in order to comfort myself, and to dignify this pitiful horror with a name, epistolaphobia. . . I say, "I, too, suffer from that disease." But I think I have it very much worse than he had. For after all, he did write many letters. . . And I don't. . . It is sheer desperation and pure panic—lest, through my continued silence, I lose your friendship, which I prize—that whips me to the typewriter now. I don't know where you are. But I think, and I think it often, "Wherever he is, there he still is, and perhaps some day I shall see him again, and we shall talk about poetry, as we used to do."

I have just finished learning by heart Matthew Arnold's *Scholar Gypsy*,—such a lovely poem. I had wanted for years to know it by heart, but it had always looked a bit long to me. . . It is not at all difficult, however, to learn by heart stanza by stanza; it is so reasonable. I have also learned by heart *The Eve of St. Agnes* and *Lamia*. *Lamia*, let me tell you, is a very long poem. And Keats, in both these poems, makes it as tricky as possible for you, by shifting all the time from "thou" to "you," and by whisking you suddenly from the past tense into the present tense. . . To get these passages into your memory, and exact, is really quite a chore. I have learned by heart, of Shelley, not only *To the West Wind*—and surely the second stanza of that poem is as fine a thing as ever was written in English—but also the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*—a devil to learn by heart. Anyway, I have them all now. And what evil thing can ever again even brush me with its wings?

With love, as ever,

Edna

. . . I am sending you, here—enclosed, three new poems of my own. I hope, of course I hope very much, that you will like them. But don't—oh, for God's sake, don't for one moment—feel that you must write me something about them, or, indeed, in any way acknowledge this letter at all. I would not put so great a burden upon the shoulders and upon the brain of the person that in all the world I hated the most. . . I do not need your answer. I am happy enough as it is. For I have at last, after two years of recurring spiritual torment, been able to flog myself into writing a very simple letter to a dear and trusted friend.

E.

I forgot to tell you, even though I was speaking of Father Hopkins, that I have also learned by heart at least one-third of his published poetry. Have you ever tried

to learn him by heart?—It is great fun, very exciting, difficult.

IN THE AUGUST of 1948 I was attending the Berkshire Music Festival and, discovering that Austerlitz was not far away, I called up the Boissevains and went over with my wife to see them. I had not seen them for nineteen years, and when I had inquired about them of such friends as I happened to meet, they had not seemed to know much about them either. As we drove through the long tunnel of greenery that led to the Steepletop house, I felt, as I had not done before, that Edna had been buried out there. Gene Boissevain came out in his working clothes. He shuffled in his leather moccasins; he had aged: he was graying and stooped. I had a feeling that his morale was low. "I'll go and get my child," he said. I did not realize at first that this meant Edna. I found in the living-room most of the things that had been there in 1929: the scaring Ethiopian Sappho, the golden birds on the "Tree of Life." But the birds were paler, their background was gray; the couches looked badly worn. The whole place seemed shabby and dim. I had the feeling that it was so long ago that they had set up keeping house together that they had ceased to notice the room, that they never did anything to freshen it up. One saw, standing outside the window, three rusty old tin oil barrels, on which Edna could put food for birds without having it stolen by the squirrels. In one corner, a litter of copybooks covered table, couch, chair, and floor.

In a few minutes Edna came in, wearing slacks and a white working shirt, open at the neck. It was a moment before I recognized her. She had so changed in the nineteen years that if I had met her unexpectedly somewhere I am sure I should not have known her. She had become somewhat heavy and dumpy, and her cheeks were a little florid. Her eyes had a bird-lidded look that I recognized as typically Irish, and I noticed for the first time a certain resemblance to her mother. She was terribly nervous; her hands shook; there was a look of fright in her bright green eyes. Eugen brought us martinis. Very quietly he watched her and managed her. At moments he would baby her in a way that I had not seen him use before but that had evidently become habitual,

when she showed signs of bursting into tears over not being able to find a poem or something of the kind. My wife said afterward that Gene gave the impression of shaking me at her as if I had been a new toy with which he hoped to divert her.

Edna said that she had been writing in the last two months and was very much excited about it, because, for two years before that, she had not been able to work. She talked about her war-time poetry as an error that she frankly confessed to. She knew that she had deserved the reviews she got, but had been hurt by them, nevertheless. She said that she had been dismayed when this handful of political verses—under the title "Make Bright the Arrows"—had been issued in the same format as her other books, as if she meant it to stand beside them, for she had intended a paper-bound pamphlet that could circulate quickly and be read and thrown away. I was confirmed in my supposition that these poems had been inspired by loyalty to Eugen when he talked about his family in Holland. One of his cousins had been tortured and killed; others had had hairbreadth escapes. Edna now constantly sent them packages. She always spoke of "our relatives," and one could see that she was very much attached to them. She had visited them in Holland and had even learned the language. My wife knows Holland and understands Dutch, and, for her benefit, Edna produced and read a poem she had written in Dutch. She showed us a good deal of her poetry, much of it in an unfinished state. It was of an almost unrelieved blackness. I could see that she was just emerging from some terrible eclipse of the spirit.

I had difficulty in adjusting myself to Edna in her present phase. There was something more distressing than the old anxiety that she had shown before in discussing her verse: a pressure that she now put upon you for assurance, approval, praise, and even in those moments when she sounded like a good-natured healthily laughing elderly woman, this, too, was a person I did not know, and these moments, as it were interpolated, seemed to leave her more nervous still. But the nervousness wore off with the drinks, as did my feeling of strangeness about her. This was, after all, the girl, the great poet, I knew,

groping back in *luminis oras* from the night of the underworld. She had tackled Catullus's bitter poem, *Si qua recordanti benefacta priora voluptas . . .*; and I could see that the last lines,

Ipse valere, opto et taetrum nunc deponere morbum.

O di, reddite mi hoc pro pietate meal

had for her a special and desperate meaning. She was afraid that the translation she had sketched would not do the poem justice; and she told us that, when she had sat on the judges' committee for the Guggenheim fellowships, she had not been able to bring herself to vote for Horace Gregory, in spite of his list of distinguished supporters, on account of the badness of his translations of Catullus. But she had had some misgivings since—wasn't it better, perhaps, that the Latinless public should be able to get Catullus, even in an imperfect version. Eugen pulled her up: "Remember," he said, "that was the kind of thing you thought about your war poetry—that it was important to rouse the country." I thought this was very shrewd of him. We talked about John Bishop's poetry, of which I had sent her the collected volume, brought out after his death. She said that his poems had "more overtones" than those of any other contemporary poet: "It's like a row of poplars on a river, with another row reflected in the river." I told her how impossible it had been for me, though John had talked about his illness, to realize that the gloom of his poetry had a real and serious cause or to guess that it announced the approach of death. "Yes: he was despairing," she said.

I was reminded of the little Estonian folk-song that I had loved so when she sang it in Truro, and I asked her about the anthology in which it had appeared. She didn't know where to find it, but, after reflecting a moment, she was able to recover the song, with its sweet little plaintive tune and her own bitter-sweet words. I inquired about the original version of the "Epitaph for the Race of Man"—I had been surprised by its coming out in such a different form from that of the version I had heard in 1920; and she told me that she had lost her first draft, of which she could now recall only scraps. Wanting Elena to hear her read, I asked her to recite *The Poet and His Book*. As she did so, the room became so charged with emotion that I

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BATON ROUGE 3

began to find it difficult to bear. I could not weep, I did not want her to weep, and though Elena thought we should have stayed, I soon insisted on leaving.

I told myself that Edna was even more fatiguing than she had been in her younger days, and I reasserted my middle-aged indifference. It was too much for me, at fifty-three, to go back to that old state of mind, so demandingly, imprisoningly personal. The whole thing was like one of those dreams that I had never quite ceased to have, in which I found myself with Edna again—though in these dreams she had sometimes seemed faded and shrunken, never ruddy and overblown as I saw her now. The gap of the almost two decades was something that, encountering the real woman, I could not accept or take in. I had found them there, Edna and Eugen, just as I had left them in 1929, and this latest visit connected itself with my glimpses of that summer long past, not with anything that had happened between. It became like the fears and desires, the revived emotions, of sleep; and the changes in her were like the old images of dreams that come to us exaggerated, distorted, swollen with longing or horror. So she was still, although now in a different way, almost as disturbing to me as she had ever been in the twenties, to which she had so completely belonged—for she could not be a part of my present, and to see her exerted on me a painful pull, as if to drag me up by the roots, to gouge me out of my present personality and to annihilate all that had made it. My own life was now organized and grounded, I had children to worry and divert me; and from my present point of view, besides, it disturbed me to find Edna and Eugen haunting like deteriorated ghosts their own comfortable old house in the country. I tried to imagine their lives.

They were evidently very hard up—a certain income that Gene had from Java had ceased at the time of the war, and Edna could no longer give readings; they never seemed to see anyone or go anywhere. When we asked them to come to Tanglewood—an hour's drive away—and go with us to one of the concerts, I was astonished to find that Edna, who loved music so, had no idea at all of what the festival had become and assumed that the concerts were still held under canvas as they had not been

since the very first years. We could not persuade her to go. Gene had said that he would ask us to dinner, but "I'm the only thing in the house—I'm the cook and bottlewasher and maid"—so I assumed that he attended to the house as well as—with little help nowadays—the farm, and cooked all the meals for Edna. But I could not conceive what their daily existence, month after month, had been like or what it would be like in the future. It did not occur to me, as it had not done in connection with John Bishop, that they were both very soon to die. What had desolated and frightened me there was death, to which Eugen was wearily resigned but against which Edna, when I saw her, with the drafts of her unfinished Erebean poems, was making her last fierce struggle.

EUGEN BOISSEVAIN died in the autumn of 1949. I had wondered already, at the time of our visit, what would happen to Edna if he should die first. All I was able to learn about her was that she was still living out at Steepletop. The night of October 20, 1950, I had a long dream about Edna. It began with a kind of revival of the longing I had had for her in the twenties, and she came to me in her old dream-shape, which was so much more familiar to me than that in which I had seen her last; but then it turned into a conversation that was taking place in the present. I was telling her about John Bishop's relations with another contemporary poet, who had sat at his feet and learned from him, then later had become better known than John and treated him, I had thought, rather shabbily. The next evening I heard of her death, which had taken place the day before, apparently very early on the morning of the nineteenth (Mr. Shecan gives the erroneous impression that she died the morning of the twenty-first). She had been living alone in the house and had evidently sat up all night reading the proofs of Rolfe Humphries' translation of the "Aeneid," which were found in the living-room. She must have been going upstairs at dawn and have felt faint and sat down on a step. She had set down on the step just above her a glass of wine she was carrying. A man who came in to do the chores found her there the next afternoon. My dream was probably prompted by Sartre's book on Baudelaire, which I had been reading

at night in bed and which must have led me to Edna by way of the translation of the "Fleurs du Mal" that she and George Dillon had made, which I had recently been rereading; and it was motivated partly, no doubt, by my wanting, in my sleep, to have somebody to listen to my literary gossip and somebody from old times to talk to, but partly, I believe, also, by the impulse to console her in this vicarious way for the neglect that she, too, had been suffering. And I may have had some sort of intuition about what had happened the morning before. I do not mean anything supernatural, but the kind of sympathetic sense of the rhythms of another's life that may sometimes persist in absence, ■ I had had, in 1944, the feeling that she needed support, at the time of her nervous breakdown.

[Mr. Wilson's *Memoir of Miss Milway* will appear in a new book by him called "*The Shores of Light: A Literary Chronicle of the Twenties and Thirties*," which is to be published next fall by Farrar, Straus and Young.]

U. S. S. R.: The Early Years

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, 1917-1923. Volume Two of A History of Soviet Russia. By Edward Hallett Carr. The Macmillan Company. \$6.

NOWADAYS it has become banal to declare that history is always written from a distinctive intellectual point of view. Like many banalities, this one is not necessarily correct, and may merely mark the exchange of one fashion in self-deception for another. After all, events either happened in a certain way in the past or they did not, even if the pattern may at times be beyond human recovery or discovery. But the contemporary intellectual vogue does have the advantage of making both historians and their reviewers explicitly aware of the standpoints from which they write.

Anyone who is familiar with Professor Carr's outstanding writings on international politics and Russian affairs will expect freedom from the moralistic blindfold that has affected so much American and English work on these topics. To place such a brilliant mind ■ Carr's in an intellectual pigeonhole is of course impossible. Nevertheless, in

the two volumes which have thus far appeared in Carr's history of the Soviet Union, I feel that he has taken the position of an intelligent Bolshevik—too intelligent and too independent to have survived for long in the regime whose early stages he analyzes here. The greater portion of what he says would be anathema to the present rulers of the U. S. S. R., whose regard for historical fact is somewhat less than scrupulous. Yet the treatment is largely Marxist, with overtones of sympathy for Lenin's original objectives. In this volume, ■ in the first, this sympathy becomes quite explicit in occasional revealing phrases. One of the more striking is the observation on page 14 that the Bolsheviks avoided the "insidious danger which had overtaken the German [Socialist] Party" of becoming ■ gradualist group satisfied with orderly change under capitalist auspices. Yet to reject this book as ■ mere apologia would be an act of parochialism and a sign of inability to make essential intellectual distinctions.

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in which various leading Bolsheviks approached them, all varied tremendously during the brief period covered by this volume. To highlight them in this fashion inevitably distorts the lucid variety of Carr's narrative. But I hope that it may draw attention to some of the book's most significant points.

Much of the material will be familiar to those who have read the accounts of Dobb and Baykov, whose treatment is somewhat more sympathetic and less politically discerning than Carr's. There is also a variety of specialized studies, such as those by Hubbard, Manya Gordon, Naum Jasny, W. Koch, that have beginning chapters covering much of the same ground. From none of these books, however, can one get the same sense of the interrelationship of the various developments that emerges from Carr's pages. Since the others deal with longer time periods, there is not the same scholarly—yet most unpedantic—exploitation of the sources. Carr is an expert at finding just the right quotation to illustrate or drive home a point. As one who has spent considerable time burrowing in the same sources, I can testify that he has not chosen them to buttress any narrowly conceived thesis. That does not mean that there is no room for disagreement, or that all the sources have been mined out. I wish, for example, that more attention had been given to the often revealing trivia of memoranda, notes, records of telephone calls, and the like, whose preservation and publication have been one useful aspect of the veneration for Lenin. And at the level of interpretation various points are open to severe question. As Jasny's work has shown, the Marxist argument that only socialism could solve the economic problem of the peasantry is, to say the least, highly dubious. That no solution other than the one ultimately adopted was compatible with the Bolsheviks' retention of power may be a tenable conclusion. Here, however, one touches on problems for which the present book merely lays the groundwork.

The over-all significance of an intellectual structure still in the process of construction cannot be evaluated. Carr's study can throw but limited light on the problems of the moment, since the structure of Soviet society and of international relationships has fundamentally changed since the date with which his

three volumes will close. Yet, for anyone seeking a comprehension of the historical forces that have produced the chief totalitarian power of our age, his work will constitute a major landmark. In this context it suggests comparison with Hannah Arendt's "The Origins of Totalitarianism." Aside from Carr's vastly superior competence in handling Russian developments, the difference appears to be largely one of temperament. Both make considerable use of the Marxist intellectual framework. But where Arendt is passionate, intuitive, and often chaotic, Carr is restrained, balanced, urbane, and slightly mocking. Finally, even though the two books complement each other, they cover only a portion of the totalitarian growth that is a central feature of our century. To understand this development adequately we shall have to draw on other intellectual traditions, in whose eventual synthesis such contributions will be included. BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.

Ecce Roma!

ROME AND A VILLA. By Eleanor Clark. Doubleday and Company. \$4.

DRENCHED with sunlight alternating with ominous shade, the scenes of novel after novel by non-Italians revolve about Italy: within two years we have had "The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone," "Friends and Vague Lovers," and "SPQR." Of these three, the first came closest to the touchstone, but Williams's Rome, accurate and sensitive as is the recording retina, was a small, special Rome and did not pretend to reach beyond that limited scene. We had to wait for a non-fiction title to contrast authenticity of atmosphere with what Bonner and Dunphy offer as a substitute. Almost any page of Eleanor Clark's book is at the true center, more communicative, more freely felt, more informed than the fiction writers have found time to be. "Rome and a Villa" is, of course, not a novel, nor does it aim to catch up the reader with trite or even true nostalgic touches (in this sense, it defies classification as a "travel book"). Instead, it is a distinguished and enthralling collection of non-fiction pieces in which Miss Clark does more than any writer in English in my memory (except possibly Lawrence) to reveal the essence of the Italian spirit.

All the material is good, some of it better than the rest. The only piece I found weak at all was the one on the bandit, Giuliano. This seemed unnecessary, though it is good reporting. And as the rest of the collection is so specifically not reportage I thought it a pity to have the tone altered, by its inclusion, even so slightly from the heights reached in the early and last sections of the book. Let me cavil at this piece and be done with it: too much is recreated from newspaper accounts of a world with which Miss Clark can thank her stars she has had little to do, the grub's world of the peasant living in an exhausted land. It takes a Garetto, a Vittorini or, on occasion, a Berto, to make you taste the dry bread of the poor, to make you understand the motivation of banditry, always very near the surface in Sicily. This recreation of the Robin Hood myth, which Miss Clark duly qualifies but still rather falls for, is out of place in the Sicilian frame of reference.

But that's enough back-of-the-hand. The rest is all praise. How she impales the succubus, the clerical horde:

The priests and monks and nuns are shocking: what is this vast population feeding at the expense of the other? So are all their expensive new houses going up on the Janiculum where they already have dozens, while the poor are still in caves and huts in the dumps, having to throw their droppings together with their garbage out the door. All those men and boys in their long skirts always seem to be walking on revolving paddles like little steam-boats. . . . Rome is their port . . . they just paddle through it, being the *pensionnaires* of the greatest real estate firm in Europe.

Or she gets, through her awareness of why the Romans do things, to the core of difference between a centuries-old people and our own:

You walk close to your dreams. Sometimes it seems that these pulsing crowds, with their daily and yearly rhythms established so long ago none of it has to be decided any more, with their elbows and knees and souls and buttocks touching and rubbing and everybody most pleased and agreeable when it is like that, in a bus for instance, will in another minute be naked, or will have fish tails or horses' behinds like the characters of the fountains. For the Anglo-Saxon mind, ruled by conscience and the romantic, rigid in its privacies, everything here is shocking—an endless revelation and immersion; *this is the vocabulary of our sleep; and*

the key image is always water (italics mine).

The passage on Hadrian's villa, the Villa of the title, of course, is pure evocative mastery, pure understanding. It is as much reconstruction of the genius of the place, the brilliant, petulant, creative Emperor, as it is descriptive, atmospheric. A very high point indeed and one that can't have quotes plucked out without impairment. A few of Henry James's letters on Florence achieve this time-spanning understanding, but never could he have spread it over to the less homogeneous Roman world. (Stendhal did, though, recreating *his* Roman world as he sat with a friend in Paris miles away, without notes, but with subtle comprehension of the city in his pulse beat.)

A final paragraph, to show one more facet of Eleanor Clark's eclectic, observant mind:

LeCorbusier [who had just been quoted as saying "Rome has nothing to offer me"] was speaking admirably too; all that Rome offers was taken into his own

great creativity long ago. What is depressing is the number of our own fine arts or architectural school graduates who are either arrogant toward the past because they are creative, or respect it because they are not. The first category is bored in Rome, the second makes even Rome boring.

But Eleanor Clark does not. Remembered corners, a flight of birds, the cats of the Pantheon under the rain, the pace of the piazza in the afternoon, these things come alive in her book. "Ecce Roma!" Yet as she herself says, Where? which Rome? who is seeing it? and at what time of day?

The lovely presentation of this book is integral to its charm. Doubleday has done a stunning but unpretentious job. The pages are handsome, the Eugene Berman drawings and jacket are evocative and right, even the end-papers, a warm Pompeian red, are chosen with taste. Physically, as well as in the head, a thoroughly distinguished job.

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The "Zone of Silence"

THE SECRET DRAMA OF MY LIFE.

By André Gide. Translated by Keene Wallis. Seven Sirens Press. \$2.

THIS small volume is, so far as we can know, the last of the Gidean outrages, the final scandal of a man determined to face posterity squarely. Published last year as "*Et Nunc Manet in Te*," it threw a few further shadows on the serene death-mask, and provoked still another controversy. Once again the outrage lay less in the sins themselves than in the act of public confession—that a great man should choose to expose what anyone else would conceal.

Gide wrote this 10,000-word portrait of his wife shortly after her death in 1938, and to it attached the passages of his "Journal" (relating to her) which do not appear in the Pléiade edition. Its public issue was posthumous. But Gide always feared the censorship of well-meaning friends. He insured himself against it by a 1947 private edition of thirteen copies.

The major revelation (that Gide had no sexual relations with his wife) had long been assumed. Yet even now it is impossible to reconstruct the tragedy fully. We learn that Gide consulted a doctor before marrying, and was reassured that his homosexual impulses would disappear. They broke out ferociously on the honeymoon, however—and now Michel's demonic journey southward in "*The Immoralist*" seems closer than ever to Gide's personal history. Behind this (or related to it, at least) lay a childhood surrounded by sainted, un-fleshly women and an adolescence of spiritual communion with the frightened girl he would marry. "I am amazed today at that aberration which led me to believe that the more my love was ethereal the more it was worthy of her—that naïveté of never asking myself whether an entirely uncarnal love contented her. . . . What I fear that she could not understand is that precisely the spiritual force of my love inhibited all carnal desire." What amazes the reader, of course, is that he never asked *her*; that the "zone of silence" was so vast between two people who loved each other so much, and who were married for forty-three years. It covered more than sexual matters. Gide (who would ask a stranger anything) evidently could

not ask his wife which of his books she had read. At best he could reason that she may have seen the last page of "*Si le grain ne meurt*" in the *Nrf*, since that last page faced the first page of a Claudel piece whose pages she had cut. Yet he insists again that he wrote everything before "*Les Faux-Monnayeurs*" for her, in the hope of converting her to a freer life.

The portrait of Madame Gide is—let there be no mistake—a loving portrait. But no woman could have been less suited to an adventurous and polygamous husband. The traumatic experience of discovering her mother's infidelity looms even more importantly than in "*Si le grain ne meurt* . . ." and "*Strait is the Gate*." The frightened child recedes into a conservative, masochistic, and prematurely aged woman of piety troubled by the debilitating influence of infiltrating foreigners. Only in the infirmity of age does she permit herself some relaxation of spirit. Yet how much she did or did not suffer not even this humble essay can say. To burn all of Gide's letters to her, in 1918 when he went to England with Marc Allégret, was one of the few "spoken" protests of her life. But clearly she was helped to her chronic self-destructiveness by the seeming rejection, by her husband's sexual neglect. "And this deficiency of my desires she doubtless attributed modestly to her insufficient attractiveness."

Now this is the major interest of the present volume, for those of us who reason glibly on the therapeutic value of art. "*The Gambler*" did not cure Dostoevsky of compulsive gambling, nor did "*Adolphe*" free Benjamin Constant from compulsive attachments. Yet the minuteness and clarity of Gide's fictional diagnoses ought to have been irresistible. "*Strait is the Gate*" (1909) dramatized exactly Madame Gide's plight. The clue to Alissa's tragedy (as Gide saw better than any of his critics) lay in the ethereal unaggressiveness of her lover Jerome. It was he who drove her to a final solitude and withdrawal, rather than an illusory God. Gide's novel, frankly based on his own romance, could not have shown more psychological understanding. Yet its author then proceeded to live the part of Jerome. It is only in this essay, thirty years later, that he recovers the insight of his fiction. He takes upon him-

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self, unequivocally, the blame for his wife's progressive self-mutilation.

Thus Gide's astonishing and on the whole successful experiment in living—involving so many loves and so many loved ones who got on surprisingly well with each other—yet left its victim. For not even this widest circle could be drawn around a woman who detested any departure from convention. Had he married instead Elizabeth van Rysselberge, or her mother, Gide could perhaps have reconciled everyone—wife, mistress, mature homosexual companions, casually encountered Arab boys—not to mention the hundreds of respectable disciples and friends.

But then he would not have been the Gide we know, so capable of both childishness and grandeur. And he would have been, as he puts it, a kite without a string.

ALBERT J. GUERARD

Natural History, with Ideas

THE DESERT YEAR. By Joseph Wood Krutch. William Sloane Associates. \$3.75.

SINCE Thoreau there has been, at least in America, a long gap in the recording of natural history from the point of view that is primarily literary, though still careful of its facts. In England, the war-time series, Britain in Pictures, laid stress upon the essential literacy of its writers by mingling such professional natural historians and excellent writers as Fraser Darling and James Fisher with poets such as Geoffrey Grigson and Geoffrey Taylor. Joseph Wood Krutch is an American example of the man who is aware of the differences between various kinds of beetles or cacti, and of the vision of Wordsworth. Like all the best modern writers on natural history, he has adopted, to a greater or lesser degree, the ecological outlook which strives to see his subject as a whole, to relate each form of life to each other form—not forgetting man. This outlook, which makes "The Sea Around Us," Jacques Hawkes's "A Land," and Joseph Mitchell's brilliant New Yorker study of the bottom of New York Harbor so memorable, makes "The Desert Year" a book to be kept and reread.

What "The Desert Year" attempts to do, and is successful in accomplish-

ing, is to record those matters of interest which occur to a sensitive observer in spending a year (or rather a sabbatical fifteen months) watching and recording. Mr. Krutch succeeds in capturing his reader's interest in the strange case of the Sonoran spadefoot toad (*Scaphiopus couchii*) which suddenly appeared singing after a heavy rain and then disappeared, leaving puddles full of tadpoles which dried to nothing before they had time to mature. Where did the adult toads disappear to with the passing of the rain? How did they manage to perpetuate their species? With Mr. Krutch we follow the investigation like devotees of Ellery Queen, and like him we are disappointed when none of the experts can provide an answer to either question. Maybe there is sometimes enough rain to allow the tadpoles to become little toads. Maybe the adults spend the rest of the time buried underground, like the toads (prime specimens of spontaneous generation) mentioned by John Clare and Christopher Smart, which were (and still sometimes are) reported to be found hermetically sealed in rock, despite the experiments of Frank Buckland which proved that, suffering such a fate, the toads all died. Readers can only hope that, if and when Mr. Krutch discovers more, he will send out a postscript.

On the subject of birds, Mr. Krutch is very good indeed, pointing out that the fascination which we feel for them is largely due to the fact that they are brightly colored and move quickly and that, in reality, they are not, "despite the grand mystery of migration," really very interesting creatures: "They stimulate our imaginations but there is not really anything we can learn from them. And for that reason a dead bird is simply not a bird any more. The bubble is pricked; the illusion vanished. What had interested us was not bones and feathers but an idea." Still, he becomes involved, rather despite himself, in numbering one hundred and thirty-eight birds which he has seen in his part of the Arizona desert.

This desert, despite the associations which the word has come to bear, is not barren and infertile like the Sahara or the gypsum dunes of the White Sands of New Mexico, and while perhaps not as crammed with goodies as that absurd island in "Swiss Family

Robinson," it bears whatever climate and soil will allow. Unlike the richer, damper parts of the world, no plant seems to struggle with others for existence; the struggle is only with the soil, each area supporting only what it can and trying for no more.

Mr. Krutch has certainly succeeded in making the desert appear, to one who has never known it, a real and intensely interesting place. Someday, somehow, the reader feels, I must see it for myself.

RUTHVEN TODD

American Journey, 1868

THE AMERICANS AT HOME. By David Macrae. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$4.50.

CONSIDERING the American appetite for travelers' tales, it is strange that this book, issued in England as long ago as 1871, has only now found a local publisher. Better late than never! Dutton and Company are to be congratulated on their discovery but also scolded for failing to add a memoir of the author and an index.

David Macrae was a Scottish minister who later in life created something of a furor in his native land by expressing doubts about eternal damnation. That apparently was too harsh a doctrine for a man who, as this book shows, was an exceedingly amiable soul. Certainly, he was far more sympathetic with and friendly to the United States than most contemporary British travelers. Unlike Trollope, for instance, who merely admired Americans, Macrae genuinely liked them, which may explain why he was far more successful than that eminent Victorian in making contacts with the man in the street.

Landing in Canada in 1868, the author moved in leisurely fashion via New York and Washington south to New Orleans; thence by train and river-boat to Chicago—"the lightning city"—and back to New England where he thoroughly enjoyed hobnobbing with Longfellow, Emerson, and other notables. A keen reporter with a pleasant sense of humor, his observations still make interesting reading. But his most valuable contribution is his account of the South, then in the throes of reconstruction. He is forthright in expressing his horror of slavery and in explaining its demoralizing influence on both races

and he describes with enthusiasm the efforts of the Negroes to educate themselves for freedom aided by Northern friends. But he also views sympathetically the plight of the defeated whites and the problems of readjustment with which they were grappling.

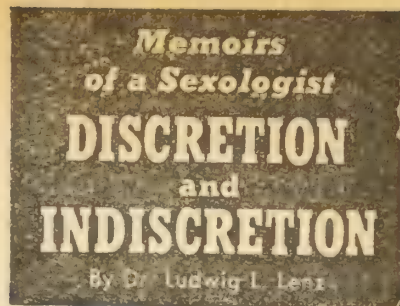
Friendly as he was, Mr. Macrae had no hesitation in expressing disapproval of American traits and institutions that he considered obnoxious. He disliked the election of judges and the patronage system; over-indulgence in pie and spitting and chewing; the prevalence of divorce; and the bad state of city streets. On the other hand, he was generous in his praise of the experimental attitude of Americans and he liked the oysters, hotels, iced water, and Henry Ward Beecher. He shared Trollope's admiration for American education but not his distaste for the railroads.

Reading this book eighty years after it was written, I found myself making notes under two headings—*plus ça change* and *autres temps, autres mœurs*. As an example of the first, take Ben Wade's comment on the Presidential campaign of 1868: "I foresee that the Republican party will take Grant up and run him in with a hurrah. The trouble is, you don't know where he stands." But times do change, as witness Macrae's observation that "American girls are nervous about their thinness, for they are constantly having themselves weighed, and every ounce of increase is hailed with delight, and talked about with the most dreadful plainness of speech."

KEITH HUTCHISON

Verse Chronicle

FROM Shakespeare on, and maybe before, the Welsh have had the reputation of embodying the more repulsive aspects of humanity, but they can, look you, they always could, write poetry, even when, as fairly often, they are feeling sorriest for themselves. Six poems, four hundred or so lines, set in rather large type so the book won't look too small, is an offering I doubt many American poets could get away with as Dylan Thomas does with his latest collection, "In Country Sleep" (New Directions, \$2). And I doubt any American could bring to work in its contrived, derived, or weary moments, which are to



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be found in Mr. Thomas's book, such a rush of resource, such lilt, such energy, such imagination to "hear the bouncing hills grow larked and greener at berry brown/fall and the dew larks sing/taller this thunderclap spring and how/more spanned with angels/ride the mansouled fiery islands!" And how, indeed!

Another recent visitor to our shores is an Englishwoman, Kathleen Raine, whose "Selected Poems" have been issued, bound in paper, by the Weekend Press, New York, price not stated on this reviewer's copy. Correct, cool, interested in dreams and angels, and all the difference in the world between this kind of English, and that kind of Welsh, poetry. Miss Raine also contributes an introduction to another collection edited by the same firm, "Poems" by Humphrey Jennings, 1907-1950. Mr. Jennings was also a painter and member of Grierson's G. P. O. film unit. A considerable portion of this collection looks more like paragraphs in prose than tightly organized or ordered verse. Both these pamphlets, handset in Goudy Old Style type and printed on Arches paper, are handsome in appearance and contain too many errata. (P. S. \$2.50, I'm told.)

The firm of A. A. Knopf has re-issued in one volume, priced at \$3.50, "The Man with the Blue Guitar," including "Owl's Clover" and "Ideas of Order," by Wallace Stevens. It is a

little hard to keep up with all these editions. And is it heretical to remark that when Mr. Stevens is letting himself be full of high sentence he is somewhat boring? He strikes me as much happier when he is capering, or cutting up touches, and no matter if the climate of his exuberance has less sense of moisture than that of Dylan Thomas. "Axes and Songs" by Andrew Lazarus, was printed in Finland, presumably at the author's expense, and is said to be on sale at the Gotham Book Mart. The price is not stated; there are limits, I know, to the human imagination, but I do wish some of these citizens, or their publishers, would occasionally be mundane enough to confide in people who might want to buy a book or two how much they are supposed to pay. The technique of Mr. Lazarus is either very awkward, or very original, hard to say until it becomes more sure of itself. What is more certain is that this young American has some respect for the sound of the language, feeling, imagination, and some sense of music in a line.

Two Rilke items have come in: "Rainer Maria Rilke: His Last Friendship," edited by Marcel Ravel, with an Introduction by Edmond Jaloux (Philosophical Library, \$2.75), and "The Life of the Virgin Mary," containing the German text with an English translation and introduction by Stephen

Spender (same firm, same price). The first volume proves what everybody knows by now: one, that Rilke's friends could gush excessively when reminiscing about him; and, two, that Rilke himself could act pretty silly when it came to the ladies. This one, Nimet Eloui Bey, judging from her picture on jacket and frontispiece, must have been (pardon the vulgarity) a real pipperoo, but oh dear! The Spender translations show Mr. Spender at his best—modest, respectful without being mawkish, in control of his line, and with an imaginative and perceptive understanding of the original. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

ONE of the year's outstanding events—and one of its surprises, for me—is the Schneider Quartet recordings of Haydn quartets issued by the Haydn Society. At the group's Y. M. H. A. concerts last fall I heard a lot of violin sound, little cello, and almost no viola; but the records produce the correctly balanced sounds of all four instruments. And while at the Y. the playing seemed to me lively and sensitive, now that I hear all four instruments and at close range I am aware of the extraordinary freedom in tempo and inflection with which the musicians give effect to the freedom of Haydn's lively and inventive mind in its excitingly unpredictable course, and the extraordinary way they point up the wonderful details which that mind contrives. And when I say "extraordinary" I mean it literally: no other quartet has played Haydn with such vitality—not even the old Budapest Quartet, whose recorded performance of Opus 54 No. 1 is superb in tone and phrasing, but in the usual suave style.

The works which the Haydn Society has issued so far, two on a record, are the six quartets of Opus 17, the two of Opus 77, Opus 42, and the uncompleted Opus 103. Of these Opus 77 No. 2 is one of the works in which Haydn carries to sheer incandescence the method that delights one in Opus 77 No. 1 and Opus 17 No. 6, achieves outstanding individual movements even in the others of Opus 17, and is never less than interesting elsewhere. As for re-

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recorded sound, Opus 17 Nos. 1 and 4, recorded in Perpignan, are a little brash; the others of Opus 17, recorded in New York, require reduction of treble; Opus 42 and Opus 77 No. 1 are edged in loud passages even with treble reduced to minimum; the first movement of Opus 103 also requires reduction of treble to minimum but then isn't bright enough.

Marvelously beautiful playing of Haydn in the usual suave style—marvelous, that is, in its refinement of blended string tone, its ensemble precision and sensitiveness, its delicacy of phrasing—is heard in the Quartetto Italiano's performance of the fine Opus 64 No. 6. And on the reverse side of the London record this playing is heard in Boccherini's lovely Quartet Opus 6 No. 1. The performances are excellently reproduced—though again not with the warmth and luster that one gets from RCA Victor recording of strings.

But also not with the ear-lacerating sharpness and the surface chatter of Columbia's reproduction of Mozart's great String Quintet K.614 played by the Budapest Quartet and Milton Katims, which spoils a performance that is better than the one on the Westminster record. On the reverse side is the superb performance of the Quintet K.516 recorded years ago when Roisman was in good form and Alexander Schneider was second violin—with a sound that is agreeable to the ear but acquires a hash of distortion as it nears the end of the side.

Excessively sharp too is Columbia's reproduction of a performance of Mozart's lovely Clarinet Quintet by the American Art Quartet and Benny Goodman—which is a pity, since the strings play well, Goodman this time phrases sensitively, and the performance is well-paced.

From Victor comes Beethoven's engaging Sonata Opus 24 for violin and piano, with unaffected but surprisingly unimpressive and not always agreeable-sounding playing by Milstein, and superlative playing by Balsam.

And finally I have given myself another chance with some of the late works of Fauré that his devotees consider his best—the Quartet Opus 121, played by the Guilet Quartet, and Sonata Opus 108 for violin and piano, played by Daniel Guilet and Gaby Casadesus, on

a Polymusic record; the Sonata Opus 117 for cello and piano, played by David Soyer and Leopold Mittman, which is on another Polymusic record with the early Quartet Opus 15 for piano and strings, played by Mme. Casadesus and members of the Guilet Quartet. The performances are first-rate and beautifully reproduced; but the music I again find uninteresting.

The Sonata Opus 108, played with less refinement of tone and style by Ruth Posselt with Joseph Rezits, is also on a Festival record which offers in addition Haydn and Martinu duets for violin and cello that I don't care for, played by Miss Posselt and Samuel Mayes.



S. LANE
FAISON, JR.

WHAT can one say about Paul Cézanne that is new? The big exhibition at the Metropolitan (through May 18) dominates everything else on the art calendar; but there are other concurrent shows by living artists which must not be overlooked. Moreover, the study of Cézanne leads inevitably to the present.

The Cézanne show is in every way the equal of the Van Gogh exhibition of two years ago. Once again the Art Institute of Chicago is co-sponsor. There are 128 oils, watercolors, and drawings. They cover the full range of Cézanne's career, including some lapses, and all the important themes. In addition to most of the best in the United States (always excepting the Barnes Foundation), other works of stature have been imported from Paris, London, Oslo, São Paulo, Johannesburg, and Zurich. They are beautifully displayed. Chronology is respected, but not slavishly. All works, irrespective of medium, have been catalogued in fairly strict temporal sequence. Thus the numbers serve as a guide to Cézanne's development. (I do not understand the displacement of numbers 54 and 76.)

What a change fifty years, or even twenty-five years, have brought! The antagonisms Cézanne aroused in his own lifetime can now be resurrected only by an effort of the mind. The paintings seem as little arguable as those of the Impressionists. Even the vaunted severity of the "classic" pictures of the

eighties and nineties is delicately attenuated. Some of them (still-lifes numbers 73 and 87) are gentle, even pretty, like middle Renoirs and late Demuths. The very early and the very late works both seem more modern. Cézanne's influence, however, appears to have progressed backward across his career. The Fauves, particularly Matisse, were deeply indebted to his last works; for the Cubists, the examples of his classic equilibrium were more meaningful; and now his violent early pictures seem the most influential, at least in terms of today's and yesterday's expressionism.

But all of it has settled into the great tradition, even though this was surely

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the most revolutionary art since Caravaggio (if not since Masaccio). The time is therefore ripe for a vast new public to begin to understand, and the present show provides the best possible opportunity. For understanding modern art begins at the precise moment Cézanne's pears stop rolling off the table.

For this reason, I welcome the special exhibit, however elementary it may seem to the aesthetically arrogant, of charts and diagrams organized by the Art Institute of Chicago and displayed on the wall opposite three major examples of Cézanne's work. The analysis of his palette may not be new, but how many have noticed that Cézanne had a habit of arranging the folds of a tablecloth in the shape of the Mont Sainte Victoire?

I shall spare the reader the usual apostrophe to permanence and stillness (which is much overworked in the labels accompanying the exhibit mentioned above), and conclude with a few random comments. This exhibition makes it clear that Cézanne's serenity was hard won, and that it did not last through to the end. Even the Orchard (number 64, of the mid-'80's) is tenu-

ously topheavy, like the early seated portraits of Cézanne's father and of Paul Alexis, both gigantic on rickety little chairs. The late Quarry of Bibémus (number 107), in my opinion the masterpiece of the whole show, owes much of its force to the holes at the base. So does the dramatic early still-life, Black and White (number 12). Notice how, in the sequence of still-lives, the center of gravity moves upward until finally the motive breaks through the top edge of the frame. Notice also the importance of dark blue and strong orange among the early pictures, how these colors pale in the middle period, and how they return at the end to darkness and nearly full strength.

Gustave Courbet once complained that "there are people who wake up at night, with a start, shouting: 'I want to judge! I must judge!'" The opinion I would offer of the work of Robert Motherwell (Kootz Gallery, through April 19) is much more tentative than that. He has, I think, a fine flair for dramatizing a big surface. Architects and ship designers please take notice. Some of the drawings for the paintings, especially for the Spanish series (one of them is now at the Whitney), seem outrageously thin. But at large scale, all is different. Black and white, or black and ochre, are the dominant chords, sometimes bound or crossed by planes of bright yellow, with and without complementary areas of a rich red violet. Motherwell can excite the eye simply by compressing ovoid shapes held in mid-air by strong vertical bands. There are too few levels of meaning—by Cézanne's standards—but those he accents come off with power. Speaking of old masters, I find Léger a closer parallel. The visitor to the Kootz Gallery may profit from comparing the big oil, Catalonia, with the drawing reproduced in the brochure: the slight differences are instructive as to how Motherwell intensified the push of forms against each other. I am disconcerted, however, to find that Granada (reproduced in Hess's "Abstract Painting," p. 136) is so nearly the same composition. But Motherwell deserves more opportunities than he has had to bring to life a plane in a modern building. Occasionally his bold black and white drawings provoke the same kind of excitement, as in Jewish Candelabra (number 18).

If papa Cézanne had not come to town there would be space to consider William Congdon's Italian landscapes (Betty Parsons Gallery, through April 19) and David Smith's dual show (Willard and Kleemann Galleries, through April 26) which I should have done with enthusiasm. Congdon demonstrates that nostalgia and romantic mystery need not be effete, as they so frequently are in Berman; Smith, that violence, when it is disciplined, spells power. Smith is not always disciplined, but doubters of his power should reserve judgment until seeing his larger works under uncrowded conditions, or better still out of doors. I think his forms do not gain much from being painted, except when the color key is held well down and there is an intrinsic demand from the point of view of clarity, as in Flight.

Despite a prejudice in favor of violence in modern art, I can and do respect the reticence and tact of James Fosburgh (Durlacher, through April 19). His smaller pictures seem to me much the best. He is in love with the old-old masters, from Vermeer through, I should think, Manet.

CORRECTION: In some copies of last week's issue Joseph Wood Krutch's review of "The Grass Harp" was wrongly attributed to Margaret Marshall.

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Crossword Puzzle No. 461

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 17. This saw isn't associated with early man. (6, 4, 4, 5)
- 2 See 22 down.
- 3 Accompanists? (7)
- 4 See 21 down.
- 5 Jalousie might be one of them. (8)
- 6 Admonition to obstructionists (or those who strike first)? (3, 4)
- 7 They're sometimes loaded with game. (5)
- 8 See 1 across.
- 9 Tiger, in a way, which might be responsible for the "burning bright." (7)
- 10 Time on your hands? It could prove fruitful. (4, 4)
- 11 See 3 down.
- 12 Behaves like a mad dog ---- and they were in such a barbaric business. (7)
- 13 A Spanish hero indeed! (His mind's made up.) (7)
- 14 The smallest amount of grit to the musician might be a peep or a stint. (5, 9)

DOWN

- 1 It's a good climb for opportunists. (9)
- 2 Those who make fancy work with rags? (7)
- 3 and 23. Does it keep things from being on the level in union contracts? (9, 6)
- 4 Endure, but not proverbially the head of 27. (4)

- 5 Got a hole in your head? Perhaps the ring-pin is responsible. (10)
- 6 All quiet in the attic. (5)
- 7 Is atonal music? (Blame it on the negative atmosphere!) (7)
- 8 Puts in a questionable way extremely! (4)
- 9 Toss silica around, but not on the right side. (10)
- 10 Sealing vessel, as far as its use is concerned! (6, 3)
- 11 Does a pant hang on each one? (9)
- 12 Mar. (7)
- 13 Implying the bell has sounded, but there's time out west for it. (7)
- 14 and 11. Spoke out when they came in (giving the punsters of the 20's an observation on the lack of lubrication). (4, 6)
- 15 and 9. Don't crush desserts—performers are fond of them. (5, 7)
- 16 A study of the gulf, perhaps. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 460

ACROSS:—9 AGAIN; 10 and 23 POINT WITH PRIDE; 11 EGG CUPS; 12 PRUDENT; 13 HATED; 14 MANCHUKUO; 15 RANCHEROS; 16 STEAL; 17 DYSPEPSIA; 21 BEATS IT; 22 NARCISSUS; 24 BARBER COLLEGE.

DOWN:—1 and 1 across SPARE THE ROD AND SPOIL THE CHILD; 2 ORANGUTAN; 3 LAQUID; 4 HOPIS; 5 CLIPPINGS; 6 IN TOUCH; 7 DRIVE; 8 and 14 WHAT FOOLS THESE MORTALS BE; 15 KEEPS TIME; 17 HANDIER; 18 SCALPEL; 20 SCRUB; 21 BASIC.

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Free Speech Wins

Red Bank, N. J.

PRIOR to last February 17, few of the 15,000 residents of this prosperous Monmouth County business center had ever heard of Dr. Theodore Brameld, professor of philosophy at New York University's College of Education. But by the time he got around to delivering his talk on the "Moral and Spiritual Values in Our Public Schools" some six weeks later, he had become Red Bank's most controversial figure in many years.

Curiously enough, what provoked the controversy was the desperate desire of the Red Bank Board of Education to avoid one. The story began late last winter, when the board invited Dr. Brameld to address a teachers' "in-service" program on February 21. But four days before the talk was scheduled to take place, five members of the nine-man board met in special session—it was a Sunday morning—and decided to cancel it. Stanley Haviland, whose term as president of the board was about to expire, explained to reporters that the board was in receipt of information to the effect that Dr. Brameld "had associated himself voluntarily, or involuntarily, with persons, organizations, and institutions regarded as anti-American." Mr. Haviland added: "The appointment with Dr. Brameld has aroused so much controversy in town it is felt for the best interest of the public that he not appear."

It turned out that the chief witness against the professor was Mrs. Henry DeLand Strack, of the neighboring borough of Little Silver, who presented to the board at its special Sunday meeting certain documentary evidence on Dr. Brameld, most of it gleaned from the 1949 Tenney report to the California legislature. The New York educator was charged, among other things, with having attended the "cultural conference" at the Waldorf-Astoria in 1949 and having been a member of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, the American League Against War and Fascism, and the Board of Directors of the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

Dr. Brameld learned of the cancel-

lation of his speech not from the board, but from reporters. He immediately called the Red Bank school authorities to ask for a chance to state his case. He was told the authorities had tried to reach him the day before the special meeting to ask him to appear, but could not locate him. Dr. Brameld vows he was home all day.

Red Bankers learned of what had occurred from their local morning newspapers of February 18. It soon became apparent that the board's hope of avoiding "controversy" had proved abortive, to say the least. When it met that evening to install Edmund J. Canzona as president to succeed Mr. Haviland, more than seventy-five persons—most of them mad as hatters over what had happened—crowded into the meeting room in the Red Bank High School. Mr. Canzona, gallantly taking over the torch of non-freedom from his predecessor, tried to appease the objectors by insisting that "we haven't labeled anyone a Communist or a leftist; we didn't feel it proper to have a controversy."

"Well, what have you got?" asked someone in the audience.

In any case, the board refused to reconsider its decision, but it hadn't reckoned with an organization known as the Red Bank Ministerium, which is composed of fourteen clergymen and Y. M. C. A. leaders of Red Bank and its vicinity. The Ministerium issued a sharp attack on the board members:

Their action was contrary to the best interests of the church, which is surely deemed one of the bulwarks against communism. It seems an anomaly that the meeting was convened on Sunday morning at eleven o'clock—the hour at which the adherents of Christianity should be in attendance at church. . . .

The clergymen commended the board for "its zeal in its efforts to combat communism," but added: "The board stands in just condemnation for the tactics which they utilized in the cancellation of the speaker."

With the support of many independent-minded Red Bankers, the Ministerium worked on plans to hear Dr. Brameld with or without the Board of Education's approval. Katharine Elkus White, Red Bank's first woman Mayor

and daughter of a former United States Ambassador to Turkey, offered the clergymen the use of Borough Hall for the Brameld talk. The offer was accepted on condition that efforts to have the educator appear on a public-school platform failed. At one stage it looked as if the Ministerium would win total victory: it got the board to agree to permit the professor to talk at the Mechanic Street School. But at the last minute a newspaper in a neighboring town headlined a story, "Board on the Spot," which said that the board was about to submit to "pressure" and reverse its decision. This made board members so angry they reversed their planned reversal and finally and irrevocably closed all school doors to Dr. Brameld.

But the doors of Borough Hall remained open, and on April 3 the New York educator appeared before a capacity crowd, while many who couldn't get into the small hall heard his speech broadcast from WJLK's local studio. In the course of his talk, Dr. Brameld said: "I am against the Russian system of education. The Russian system is not education, but indoctrination." Then, in answer to a question posed from the floor by one of his antagonists, Dr. Brameld said: "I don't know of anything of much importance in a democracy that is not controversial." Many in the audience wondered whether members of the Board of Education were listening.

LEON ZUCKERMAN

[Leon Zuckerman works on the *Asbury Park* (N. J.) Press.]

Next Week's Nation

Lord Boyd Orr, former head of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (F. A. O.), who played a leading role at the recent International Economic Conference in Moscow, gives his impressions of the conference in an article prepared exclusively for *The Nation*.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE THREAT OF SOME REPUBLICAN SENATORS to organize a "bipartisan" move to impeach the President is not likely to get far. Its only effect, especially in this election year, would be to solidify the broken ranks of the Democrats and prevent any honest discussion of Mr. Truman's seizure of the steel mills. The idea will probably fizzle out, while the steel industry and its irate defenders in Congress concentrate their heaviest fire on Secretary Sawyer's order raising steel workers' wages. But the constitutional issue itself is a real and serious one which should not be lost in the fog of self-interested, self-righteous propaganda now blanketing it. *The Nation* regards the President's act as an unwise use of the executive power. Justification for it would have to be found in a national emergency so extreme as to override ordinary democratic procedures. But if such an emergency existed—a claim we should certainly challenge—it should be recognized by Congress and special powers be granted the President. This has not happened; it would be hard to imagine it happening. Even the President's war powers, which expired with the signing of the Japanese peace treaty, were not broad enough to cover the seizure of industrial plants. In the light of these facts it seems to us that Mr. Truman made two serious mistakes: he exaggerated the crisis and exaggerated even more the "inherent powers" with which the Constitution has invested him. This view was strengthened by the President's suggestion that he might similarly seize newspapers or radio stations if such an act was "for the best interests of the country." Put plainly, we don't like the arbitrary exercise of executive authority even to force a just settlement of a labor dispute or to prevent a strike in steel.

✱

MEANWHILE ELLIS R. ARNALL, DIRECTOR OF Price Stabilization, has done an excellent job of refuting the steel companies' claims and charges. In two energetic statements Mr. Arnall repeated his assertion that the companies could absorb cost increases amounting to around a billion dollars or \$13.60 a ton, more than twice the amount of the recommended wage increase. Allowing a \$3 price increase under the Caphart amendment, the average net profit per ton for the proposed contract

period of eighteen months, under the government's wage recommendation, would come to about \$17—compared to the average of \$11 during "the very prosperous pre-Korean base period." Mr. Arnall flatly rejected the industry's claim that profits *after taxes* should be used as a basis of calculation. This, he pointed out, would require in "simple justice" that "personal taxes should be included in measuring changes in living costs, and that workers would therefore be entitled to correspondingly larger cost-of-living adjustments in their pay." (Here is a thought that may have escaped the steel bosses.) On any basis of computation the favorable situation of the companies is evident. The April *Letter* of the National City Bank, for example, reporting on fifty-three iron and steel companies, shows that while net profits after taxes dropped by 12 per cent from 1950 to 1951, the companies still made 12.3 per cent on their net assets last year, a loss of only 3 per cent over 1950. Moreover, steel did better in 1951 than industry as a whole; the profits of 3,409 leading corporations of all kinds averaged 11.4 per cent, as compared with 13.4 per cent in 1950. These figures should be borne in mind when listening to the outraged protests of steel men and Senators over Mr. Sawyer's wage increase and Mr. Arnall's recalcitrance on the subject of prices.

✱

THE BASQUE DELEGATION IN NEW YORK IS to be commended for having submitted the case of the prisoners in Vitoria to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. This is an effective counter to the pro-Franco propaganda in this country which would like to convince Americans that the only enemies of the Spanish dictator are the "reds." The arrested workers of Vitoria, whose single offense was participation in the hunger-inspired strike of last spring, are for the most part Catholics. Their coming trial is already arousing strong feeling in Catholic circles inside and outside Spain. But other interesting developments have brought the Spanish issue again into the foreground. The State Department has felt itself obliged to suggest to the mayor of Madrid, a known Falangist, that he would do well to give up his official visit to New York, where various unions and anti-Franco organizations were prepared to picket and generally harass him. No doubt the department had been informed of what happened to the Spanish Ballet, whose appearance in Paris at the Théâtre Chaillot was the object

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of a hostile demonstration organized largely by Spanish Republicans which many Frenchmen joined. In this connection we want to endorse the action of Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who resigned as a director of the New York City Center because of the decision to send the New York City Ballet to Spain. In the cancellation of the visit of Madrid's mayor we have evidence of what organized democratic protest can accomplish.

★

THE OTHER DAY ELIA KAZAN, NOTED STAGE and movie director, confessed to the Un-American Activities Committee that he had been a member of the Communist Party for a short time in the '30's, and then went on to incriminate a number of his former associates, including one who was dead and could not defend himself. The next day Mr. Kazan, in a performance unique even for our unique era, paraphrased part of his testimony in a newspaper advertisement which must have put him considerably out of pocket if not out of conscience. A man must want to make moving pictures very much indeed to be willing so to degrade himself in public. Mr. Kazan cannot justify what he did on the grounds that he was saving his country from peril; all that he told happened a long time ago, and none of those he incriminated—according to his own statement—were engaged, so far as he knew, in espionage of any kind. Mr. Kazan is himself a victim, of course, of a devilish conspiracy to rob us of our integrity; we may shortly reach the point where the orgy of confessions and denunciations which characterized the Soviet spy trials will no longer mystify us, as they have done for two decades. But one would have thought that Mr. Kazan, who in his time has made a good deal of money, not to speak of many good pictures, would have found the courage to withstand the pressures on him, even if it meant being kicked out of Hollywood. After all, "The Informer" has already been filmed; even the redoubtable Mr. Kazan could hardly improve upon it.

★

THE MISSOURI AND THE MISSISSIPPI ARE once again making a contemptuous comment on our failure to tame them—a task certainly not beyond the capacity of the American people. The TVA has demonstrated how a great river can be brought under control and its water employed to create wealth and life instead of death and destruction. But as Richard G. Baumhoff shows in an article on page 398, appeals to false economy and the rivalries of vested interests, public and private, have prevented the application of this lesson to the Missouri Valley. Much money has been spent piecemeal fashion and often with good results: the present flood would have been still more serious if the great Fort Peck dam had not been built to hold back the swollen

waters of the Milk River. But clearly nothing less than a fully integrated plan which takes into account flood control, navigation, power development, irrigation, and soil conservation will make the Missouri Valley safe and able to reach its full economic potentialities. As the President said on returning from his inspection flight over the flood area, it is time "to stop fooling around" and get action. In addition to needling Congress to provide more funds for construction and to pass flood-insurance legislation, Mr. Truman is reported as ready to adopt the Hoover Commission's proposal to take river navigation and flood control away from the Army Engineer Corps and concentrate it in the hands of the Reclamation Bureau of the Department of the Interior. This move would eliminate much costly inter-agency rivalry, but if Reclamation is to justify the added responsibilities it will have to improve on its record of recent years. In any case this reorganization will not solve the Missouri Valley problem. The need there is still for an independent authority, representative of both national and regional interests. *

NOTHING COULD BE MORE TIMELY THAN Father McCullen's statement on page 397 of this issue: "No one should be convicted of Communist sympathies on the word of a former Communist, unless proof is available to substantiate the charge." Louis Budenz, whose testimony as an informer has been given an aura of credibility by Catholic sponsorship, has provided a glimpse of the golden harvests that can be reaped these days by the voluble ex-Communists whose religious convictions do not include an overly sensitive appreciation of the Commandment about bearing false witness. In the last seven years Mr. Budenz has, by his own account, picked up loose change totaling \$71,000 for various writings, lectures, and denunciations in many of which he has sought to incriminate other persons. Average annual earnings of \$10,000 are not remarkable in a season of inflation; but they are large enough, all the same, to suggest that the ex-Communist who denounces his former colleagues, and falsely denounces those who were never his colleagues, often does so to his personal financial advantage. We commend to Mr. Budenz the final sentences of Father McCullen's sermon: "Every Catholic—especially the Catholic writer—should be distinguished by a love of justice and freedom and by a spirit of charity in his writings. Only in this way can we give testimony to the great truth which is ours to give to the world." *

BOLIVIA MUST BE WATCHED-ATTENTIVELY to see whether the courageous masses that won their bloody rebellion against the ruling military junta are to be loyally served by the new regime or betrayed, as so often happens in Latin America. The revolt was remark-

able precisely because victory was achieved by civilians fighting in the streets after the military leaders who launched the action had given up the struggle as lost. The casualties have been estimated at more than 1,000 dead—a terrible toll for an uprising in a small country. Uncertainty about the aftermath stems from the personality and political position of Victor Paz Estenssoro, whose return to Bolivia from his Argentine exile was welcomed with disquieting shouts of "Long Live Paz Estenssoro!" and "Long Live Perón!" The new president shared power in a regime which was overthrown by another popular uprising in 1946. His relations with Perón are supposed to be friendly and his rule may well represent that mixture of dictatorship and demagogic appeal to the masses that characterize the Argentine regime. Paz Estenssoro's first act was to be the appointment of a commission to study the nationalization of tin, Bolivia's main source of wealth. The people apparently intend to see that their new president yields them the fruits of their revolution. Led by the tin miners, the Bolivian workers have united to press for nationalization not only of the mines, but of the railroads; their program also includes agrarian reform. How will Paz Estenssoro, who owes his position to these workers, treat their demands? *

OUR GOOD WISHES GO TO JUDSON KING, who has just celebrated his eightieth birthday. Few Americans have had more to do with establishing and vindicating the vital principles of our brand of democracy than Mr. King. His is one of the great names in the conservation movement; in the history of the fight to secure the initiative, referendum, and recall; and in furthering the cause of public ownership. In these times it is a pleasure to recall the fact that he was also one of the leaders in the successful fight to curb the witch-hunting propensities of Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer. Would that more members of the younger generation of American liberals had Mr. King's courage and energy!

Trouble for the Parties

GOVERNOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON'S decision not to seek the Democratic nomination—a decision to be regretted on all counts—gives added emphasis to the possibility that this campaign may strike many American voters as meaningless. The people can decide issues only when they are offered reasonably clear-cut choices. As long as Roosevelt's leadership dominated the Democratic Party, the people were offered a choice on vital foreign and domestic issues. In 1948 the candidacy of Henry Wallace helped to maintain the Democratic Party as a real alternative to the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition by forcing Truman to resist the Dixiecrats. But the Presi-

dent has since so dissipated the Roosevelt heritage that the coalition now threatens outright capture of both parties.

In the Democratic Party the pattern is clear. Today neither labor nor the liberals nor the minorities (notably Negroes) have a feasible alternative to the Democratic Party. The dominant blocs in the Democratic convention will be the two that have the greatest bargaining power: the Southern Bourbons and the city bosses most strongly influenced by Catholic power. Now that President Truman has withdrawn, the differences between these elements can be reconciled without too much trouble. Cardinal Spellman and James Byrnes are in basic agreement on foreign policy and Chairman Frank McKinney has already projected a plan by which the explosive civil-rights issue may be compromised before the convention. Not only are both blocs subject to much the same economic controls, but there is a natural affinity between the leaders. It was Senator James Eastland of Mississippi who started the clamor for concentration camps and J. Howard McGrath who authorized their construction.

The difficulties in the way of nominating a liberal at Chicago were clearly foreshadowed in McKinney's statement on April 7 in which he "warned" Governor Stevenson that no one could get to the White House unless he was "willing to work for it." Other party leaders joined the chorus of "warnings," including Robert B. La Follette, insurgent Tammany leader, who told the Governor that his testimony in the Hiss trial would be used against him if he sought the nomination. In the short interval between the President's withdrawal and Governor Stevenson's decision not to seek the nomination it had been made fairly clear that someone like Senator Paul Douglas would be a more acceptable nominee to the Southern Bourbons—Senator Russell Long of Louisiana had already proposed him—and to the cleric-advised bosses of the Northern city machines. Any candidate acceptable to the leaders of these dominant blocs would have to take a position on foreign and most domestic issues that would be hard to distinguish from the views, say, of General Eisenhower. Senator Douglas, for example, had actually proposed General Eisenhower as the Democratic nominee at a Jefferson Day dinner in Los Angeles in January. Almost to the degree, therefore, that these blocs are appeased, the Democrats will cease to offer the people a real choice on issues and candidates.

The same pressures have begun to be felt, in a somewhat different way, in the Republican Party. No matter whom the Republicans nominate, the party strategy will be to break the Solid South; and to do this the door must be kept open to the Dixiecrats. The Republicans might be tempted to try to recapture the Negro vote were it not for two considerations. Recent elections have shown that where, for example, a proposed FEPC ordinance is on the ballot for approval or rejection, the Democrats will

tend to divide, whereas the Republicans will unite in opposition. In the last analysis, moreover, the Republicans cannot afford to become the champions of civil rights. Most Negroes belong to the working class and have come increasingly to identify their interests with the interests of labor as a whole. Just as the Democrats should expel the Dixiecrats but feel that they cannot afford to, so the Republicans should recapture the Negro vote but fear that the price would be too high. The Republicans have also begun to feel the pressure of Catholic power. If the Democrats are haunted by McCarran, the Republicans are worried by McCarthy. Somehow the Republicans must cut into the second-generation European-immigrant vote in the urban centers of the North, which is largely a Catholic vote, just as they must break the Solid South.

The fact that both major parties are in danger of being captured by the same forces creates an opportunity for the Democrats if they will seize it. If the Democrats want to win in November, they will try to find a candidate like Justice William O. Douglas who would challenge any nominee the Republicans might select on both foreign and domestic issues. Unfortunately Justice Douglas is not a candidate and now Governor Stevenson has taken himself out of the running. But the popular response to Senator Kefauver's engagingly direct and unconventional campaigning gives promise that, if given a clear-cut platform, he would make a strong nominee.

As though in anticipation of a Dixiecrat victory at Chicago, the Stars and Bars flutters today from army tents in Korea and rooftops all over the South; the Dixie Division marches in Confederate uniforms and schoolboys from coast to coast have succumbed to the "rebellion" by buying Confederate army caps. The Old South is on the march. The likelihood that the Bourbons can dictate conditions at the Democratic convention can no longer be dismissed as fantastic. Events have created a special opportunity for them, which they have been quick to sense and are well prepared to exploit. On the other hand, the liberal elements of the former Roosevelt coalition seem to be living in a political dream world; many of them have yet to realize that the New Deal is dead and that the Fair Deal was still-born. A new political world is emerging, with new issues, relationships, dimensions, and the voters are well ahead of the politicians of both parties in their awareness of this fact. In an editorial in our issue of April 5 (Mr. Truman Steps Aside), we pointed out that there were difficulties in the way of nominating Governor Stevenson which his backers did not sense. We have elaborated on these difficulties in this statement in the hope that the liberal elements of the Roosevelt coalition will recognize the necessity of securing unity now on a strategy and program for the Democratic convention in July.

A Priest Defends Civil Rights

BY JOHN J. McCULLEN

The following sermon was delivered on March 30 by the Reverend John McCullen of St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church, Fremont, Ohio. A graduate of the University of Notre Dame, Father McCullen has been curate at St. Ann's for the last five years. The sermon was apparently inspired by an attack on Justice William O. Douglas which appeared in a Catholic publication.

The Nation has rarely published sermons but we publish this one with genuine pleasure and also as a public service. It is an excellent and timely statement on an issue of great im-

portance. But there is special significance in its insistence on the proposition that "Catholics should be foremost among all groups in the United States in supporting civil rights for all." Father McCullen's is doubtless a minority point of view among American Catholics; but it is in line with the tradition that includes such memorable statements as the address given in 1947 by Cardinal Stritch at the Chicago dinner in observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Peter Altgeld—an occasion on which Cardinal Stritch shared the program with Justice Douglas.

THE people of the United States have at last become alarmed about the menace of Communist infiltration within our borders. This awareness, which is a very good thing in itself, creates another danger. There is a real danger today that in our zeal to ferret out and expose the hidden Communist agent and spy we will adopt methods of our opponents and seem to act on the false principles of the Communists themselves. We may destroy the liberty we cherish if we try to defend it in the wrong way. We must uphold our traditional American civil rights which are the legal foundations of our liberty. We must maintain the right of all citizens to be free from unfounded and libelous attack, even those citizens with whom we disagree or whom we may suspect.

We Catholics should be foremost among all groups in the United States in supporting civil rights for all. Unfortunately many Catholic voices have been silent in that cause. Our religious belief obligates us to advocate social justice for all, and civil rights—the rights of all to a fair trial and to enjoy the freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution—are a fundamental part of social justice. Beyond this general reason there is the practical consideration that we are a minority group—in some parts of the United States a very small minority. As a minority we have a personal stake in America remaining the land of the free; if the liberties of any group are to be curtailed, we may be next on the list.

These reflections are caused by articles in Catholic newspapers and magazines and by talks given in various Catholic-sponsored forums. The tendency of these articles and lectures is to brand anyone who disagrees with the majority opinion as a Communist, or at least a Communistic sympathizer. Many of these talks and articles come directly or indirectly from ex-Communists. This is a source which should be regarded with considerable reserve. No one should be convicted of Communist sympathies on the word of a former Communist unless proof is available to substantiate the charge.

An example of unsupported charges of a serious nature was the articles in many Catholic newspapers suggesting that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas sympathizes with communism because he has several times ruled in court in favor of Communists or alleged Communists. A more charitable explanation of the Justice's action would be that he believed everyone should have a right to a fair trial, and the right to hold the belief that is his, even if that person be suspected of communism. All of the cases in which the Justice ruled in favor of "radicals" were civil-rights cases—that is, these cases concerned the right of the accused to have a fair trial or to exercise some other civil right.

American history provides an interesting parallel to the action of Justice Douglas. John Altgeld, who was Governor of Illinois around the turn of the century, released several anarchists from prison because they had not had a fair trial. For this action the Governor was driven from public life. Today we realize that he was right, that he was a martyr to the principle that even the most unpopular individual is deserving of all the rights of a citizen.

In many civil-rights cases which came up before his death, Justice Frank Murphy, the last Catholic to sit on the supreme bench, sided with the view of Justice Douglas; both men have been outstanding advocates of civil liberty. That is not to say that these men were always right in their opinions—that is why we have nine judges on the Supreme Court rather than one. But we should not accuse these high officials of evil when there is a more just and more logical explanation for their decisions. We certainly need men with a passion for the liberties and freedom of the individual in a world where big business, big labor, and big government all tend to deprive men of their rights.

The Eighth Commandment—Thou shalt not lie—forbids us to make statements damaging to the reputation of others unless we can prove these statements. No Senator,

no lecturer, no writer is exempted from that commandment. It is a cowardly and shameful thing to smear any man—and especially any public official—with charges which are unproved and unprovable. If the policy of an official has been a mistake, it should be changed; but that does not give us the right to say that the official was dishonest or disloyal. If a man in public life has been praised by the Communists—as Justice Douglas has oc-

asionally been—we should check to see how often these same Communists have bitterly criticized him before we conclude that he is the friend of our enemies. Every Catholic—especially the Catholic writer—should be distinguished by a love of justice and freedom and by a spirit of charity in his writings. Only in this way can we give testimony to the great truth which is ours to give to the world.

Dam the Missouri Floods!

BY RICHARD G. BAUMHOFF

St. Louis, Missouri
STAGGERING Loss in Flood Reported—"500,000 Displaced, Great Flood Moves into the Missouri"—"Project to Curb Missouri Basin Spurred by Latest Disaster"—"Truman Inspects Flood from Air, Calls It Nation's Worst Disaster."

These are not today's headlines. They are taken from the newspapers of the third week in July, 1951. As inexorably as spring thaws follow winter snows in the Rockies where it rises, the Missouri bursts its banks and spreads desolation. And always the floods "spur" projects which never seem to get completed, and Presidential flights over the Big Muddy become almost as commonplace as his cruises on the Potomac.

Why is this situation permitted to continue year after year? Lack of money, or unwillingness to spend it, is only part of the answer. Involved also are questions of prestige and control, of states' rights vs. regional rights, of regional rights vs. federal rights, of interdepartmental jealousies, and—inevitably—the issue of public versus private electric power. The result has been that, while several large dams have been built and several more are planned, no over-all blueprint for the salvation of this one-sixth part of the nation's area has yet been agreed upon. Of committees, councils, and commissions, the Missouri Valley basin has more than enough; what it needs are more dams, levees, run-off and irrigation systems, and power plants.

At the moment, the following major bodies are involved in various types of Missouri-basin planning:

1. A new Missouri Basin Survey Commission, created by executive order of President Truman, is beginning work on a report scheduled for completion at the beginning of 1953. Meanwhile the powerful House Appropriations Committee, headed by Representative Clarence Cannon of Missouri, has been refusing to pro-

vide money to start any new basin projects until the survey commission's report is ready.

2. The moribund Regional Committee for a Missouri Valley Authority (to be modeled after the TVA), encouraged by the creation of the survey commission, is seeking money from liberal sources to renew its activities.

3. The Missouri River States Committee, comprising the governors and technical aides from the ten states of the basin region, has authorized the Council of State Governments to draft a big-scale interstate compact in the hope of providing a new type of basin management.

4. The President's old Water Resources Policy Commission recently published the final section of its report calling for legislation creating a system of fifteen river-basin commissions for the major regions of the nation, including one for the Missouri.

5. The Federal Bureau of the Budget is moving ponderously to draw up legislation calling for its own versions of basin flood-reclamation control.

6. The Missouri Basin Interagency Committee, an unofficial coordinating body comprising the governors of the ten Missouri basin states, plus representatives of the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, the Reclamation Bureau, the Army Engineer Corps and the Federal Security Agency, has shown surprising ability, up to a point, to resolve controversies and achieve cooperation. Under its aegis, more than a billion dollars has been spent on basin projects since World War II. But the body has no official executive authority, and even some of its own members are already worrying about who shall have the right to turn the water on and off at the dams once they are built.

This amazingly complicated situation on what may be termed the blueprint level is paralleled, to some degree, on the operating level, where the agencies in the field—the Army Engineers, the Department of Agriculture and the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation—are fighting not only the river, but one another. Agriculture, interested primarily in soil conservation, retardation of

MR. BAUMHOFF, a member of the staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch since 1918, is author of *"The Dammed Missouri Valley,"* published last year by Alfred A. Knopf.

run-offs and kindred measures, is wisely trying to achieve its program piecemeal. But it is meeting stiff opposition from the Army Engineers, who are also trying to high-jack some of the Kansas projects of the Bureau of Reclamation on the ground that they are flood-control measures and thus properly within the province of the army.

Action on the vitally needed flood control for the lower valley—hardest hit by this year's floods—has been stalled in spite of the terrific object lesson of last year's catastrophe. New irrigation in the middle and upper valley, with only a few exceptions, has failed to materialize; high costs and a population lulled by a better-than-average rainfall in the area for the last decade have discouraged progress. At the same time, demand for power along the river grows steadily; extensive steam plants will be needed, in addition to hydro-electric plants, to assure sufficient current. But on this front, the power lobby is keeping a close watch on basin activities, and the whole struggle over what shall be done about the Missouri valley is keyed, to a surprising degree, to the issue of public vs. private power.

Many of these problems were foreseen by supporters of a Missouri Valley Authority which would put essential control over basin development into the hands of the federal government. Enthusiasm for this plan was at its height in the 1940's. To ward off its adoption, Congress quietly enacted the so-called Pick-Sloan plan in 1944, a hasty amalgam of schemes worked out by the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. The Pick-Sloan program, enlarged and altered, became the present interagency scheme, supporters of which denounced the MVA plan as "socialistic" and involving the creation of a "super-state." MVA backers, on the other hand, would have everyone believe that its creation would work miracles overnight. Both viewpoints, of course, are nonsense; the truth lies in between.

It is this truth, presumably, which the President's new Missouri Basin Survey Commission, now beginning its work, will seek to find. The commission is empowered to hold public hearings, study present and proposed plans and, in effect, draw up a plan of its own. It consists of five laymen, three Senators and three Representatives; its chairman is James E. Lawrence, editor of the Lincoln (Nebraska) *Star*, and Senator Hennings of Missouri is

vice-chairman. In general, the commission is regarded as favoring MVA concepts for developing the basin.

Aside from the intrinsic difficulties of its job, the commission faces the prospect of carrying on its work during one of the most turbulent Presidential election campaigns in history, when many of the officials with whom it must deal will be preoccupied with fences rather



Drawn for The Nation from a map by Conrey in "The Dammed Missouri Valley."

than rivers. Moreover, it must make its report by next January 3, on the eve of the departure from the White House of the President who created it. And no one can foretell what kind of Congress and what kind of President will be in office to receive the report.

The commission's progress will be watched with keen interest by many groups, especially by the Missouri River States Committee, which from the beginning has opposed the commission as a move to foist an "authority" over the basin, and by the MVA Regional Committee, which will try to capitalize on its work.

There is growing public realization of the need for unified, regional management of the Missouri-basin program. The real issue is the authority to be granted to such an agency. Will it be a real valley organization, subject, like the TVA, to Congress, but not to the whims of Washington bureaucracy? The statement has been made repeatedly that any new device to deal with the Missouri basin must include adequate representation and official voice for the ten states of the valley. No denial of this assertion has been heard. It may be regarded as one of the fundamentals to be incorporated into whatever plan is adopted, and in this a precedent would be set for the nation.

I'd Prefer Bill Douglas

BY FRED RODELL

IT IS one of the tragedies of our time that William O. Douglas will not be the next President of the United States. The next President of the United States—or so every sign seems to point—will be Dwight D. Eisenhower. And the tragedy is high-lighted by even a quick comparison of the political characters of the General and the Justice—of the man who will likely be President and the man who ought to be.

The military man has long worn, like Joseph, a coat of many colors. Four years ago a group of left-of-Truman liberals wanted to draft him for the Democratic nomination; only a few months ago, a Democratic President offered him the succession on a platter; today, his Republicanism suddenly rampant, he is jubilantly backed by assorted G. O. P. stalwarts, some of whom, on domestic issues, are well to the right of Robert Taft. Indeed the General has been so cautiously noncommittal, even when he has been free to speak his political piece, that a recent series of newspaper articles, purporting to reveal his views, made headlines with such stuff as his support of democracy, free enterprise, and sound fiscal policy and his opposition to communism, corruption in government—and, presumably, the man-eating shark. An extremely able G. H. Q. administrator with a knack for negotiation and an engaging grin, Eisenhower has approached the White House with a crablike coyness as the hero whom nobody, not even Taft, hates and nobody really knows.

By striking contrast, the civilian government servant has long and courageously flaunted his political colors, hate them who will. There is no doubt where Justice Douglas stands on every important issue of our day. In his Supreme Court opinions—dishearteningly often in dissent—and increasingly in extracurricular writings and speeches, he has etched out a clear and militantly liberal political credo such as no other man high in public life can match.

Conservative and convention-bound critics of Douglas's forthright off-the-court expressions have accused him of subtly campaigning for the Presidency from the

bench. The charge is doubly absurd. Again unlike Eisenhower, Douglas not only has flatly refused to run for the office but has sharply discouraged all admirers, politically potent and amateur alike, who have asked his tacit permission to stage a campaign in which he need take no part. More significantly still, and once more in telling contrast to the amiable General, the views which Douglas has been stating so strongly—in particular, his ringing defense of civil liberties at home against the onslaughts of the proliferating witch-hunt and his castigation of a military-minded foreign policy that would try to stop communism with guns (and dollars) alone—are precisely the views that no elective office-seeker in his right mind would utter in the face of the conform-or-else anti-Communist atmosphere of the times.

Yet if American liberals had to choose today the two most crucial issues on which to stand and be counted, as a matter of fighting principle and to hell with political expediency, it would be hard to get away from the exact pair Douglas has chosen: the decline of freedom at home and the dependence on naked power abroad. Moreover, Douglas is the only man of national stature who has spoken out boldly, officially, and *ex-officio* against either of these deepening dangers, much less both.

Thus, a recent darling of the down-the-line Trumanites, the clean and correct and slightly sterile Governor Stevenson, is so undeviating a devotee of the Administration's foreign policy and is so much more concerned, on the domestic front, about inflation and Washington bureaucracy than about the Bill of Rights that he might also be called, in his orthodox internationalism-plus-efficient-conservatism, a Democratic Dewey. The coon-capped Senator Kefauver, who hopes to sidle into the White House on a record of being opposed to corruption and crime, is soft on civil liberties as befits a border-state candidate and has yet to peep in mildest protest against our might-makes-right philosophy overseas. Senator Kerr, Senator Russell, Senator Douglas, Senator X—all of them blindly follow the Truman-Acheson foreign policy or worse; not one of them has talked up for freedom of speech and thought against what Justice Douglas calls "the black silence of fear" that overhangs the nation.

Next to these men with their mild, safe brands of party-line liberalism, the Justice looms up like a giant. For thirteen years now, on the Supreme Court, he has teamed with Justice Black to uphold the highest Holmes-

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Brandeis tradition of progressive judicial statesmanship. Unlike a few of his brethren, he has not lost in the easy security of the bench his strong sense of outrage at injustice.

He is frankly sympathetic to labor, to consumers, to farmers, to small business men, to small investors, and he would read and build the law, wherever possible, in their behalf; he is frankly suspicious of powerful individuals and corporate colossi who would use the law to circumvent regulation, to escape taxes, to further in myriad ways the advantage of the economically strong over the economically weak. Like Justice Brandeis, to whose seat he

succeeded—and who remarked at the time, "I wanted you to be here in my place"—Douglas has been the court's top financial expert, unfooled by even the fanciest attempts at dollars-and-cents skulduggery. Impatient with petty legalisms and fusty generalities, his no-nonsense opinions, in majority or dissent, invariably reveal "an instinct for the jugular."

Of late, Douglas's judicial fire has been turned more and more frequently



Justice Douglas

and forcefully against the narrowing, in the name of "national security," of the First (and Fourteenth) Amendment's freedoms. His scornful dissent in the Dennis case last term—against the Smith-act conviction of the eleven Communists whom he dubbed "miserable merchants of unwanted ideas"—ranks with the great freedom-of-speech dissents of the past. His shocked protest against the court's recent benedictions of guilt-by-association, in upholding New York's infamous Feinberg law, is as eloquent a defense of academic freedom as has ever been penned.

It is undoubtedly because his (and Justice Black's) judicial battle to save our civil liberties is a losing legal cause today—thanks to the unconcern mixed with cowardice of the Truman-Vinson court—that Douglas has carried his fight to a wider front. Through articles and speeches he has made himself the nation's foremost spokesman against "loyalty" laws, "loyalty" oaths, "loyalty" checks, "loyalty" programs, and all the apparatus which inevitably equates a frightened and stereotyped orthodoxy of thought with genuine loyalty. His faith in our fundamental freedoms is matched by his contempt for our native Communists, whose supposed threat to the nation he rates as absurd.

But no man in public life understands so well as

Douglas the true threat of communism in other parts of the world. ("Bullets," he has said, "stop armies but they do not kill ideas.") His interest in Asia long predates the rather sudden concern of our policy-makers with that continent during the past decade. He was, for instance, one of the original backers of James Yen's mass-education movement for China, and he still hopes to see it restored and spread throughout the whole of Asia, and Africa as well. He has spent his past three summers in rugged trips through the Near and Far East, getting down to the grass-roots, talking to the people as few foreigners have ever done. Out of these trips have come two books (one as yet unpublished) and articles with such titles as *Why We Are Losing Asia*.

Here again Douglas has become the nation's foremost advocate of a dynamic instead of a static foreign policy—of an approach that would actively steer the world's underprivileged masses toward democracy, rather than resting content with attempted "containment" of communism. Almost two years before President Truman announced his Point Four plan, Douglas was publicly urging the export, throughout the world, of American technical skills and know-how, and American backing for health and education and land-reform programs—"to help other peoples to help themselves." Today, having seen on the spot how Point Four assistance, like Marshall Plan money, is too regularly restricted to ruling cliques and rarely trickles down to the people, Douglas is strong for what he calls Point Five.

Point Five would be active United States encouragement and support of revolution by the Eastern masses against their ancient landlords. Point Five would line up the United States, in the spirit of '76, in the camp of the peoples who are ripe and ready to throw off the economic subjugation of centuries. The seductive appeal of communism to such people, as Douglas knows first-hand, is its promise, however false, of land to own and no rent to pay and more food to eat. Such an appeal, says Douglas, can never be effectively countered by the military might, however necessary, and the dollar diplomacy, however free-handed, and the talk of democracy, however eloquent, on which the Truman-Acheson foreign policy stakes its all.

It is this sort of informed realism plus bold idealism that sets Douglas far apart from the crowd-pleasing, me-tooing Eisenhowers and Stevensons and Kefauvers, and that has given Douglas, throughout his career, the mark of greatness.

WHEN he went to the Supreme Court in 1939 at the age of forty—the youngest Justice in more than a century—Douglas had quite a career behind him. Born in Minnesota, the son of a poor, itinerant Presbyterian preacher; reared in the state of Washington, where he helped support his widowed mother while working his

way through school and college with a rag-tag succession of jobs that ranged from newsboy to berry-picker to window-washer to sheep-herder; graduated from Columbia Law School (after riding East on a freight-car to get there) number two in a class that included, much farther down in the rankings, a certain Thomas E. Dewey; rejecting the lure of a promising and lucrative Wall Street law practice to enter teaching—Douglas, aged thirty-two, his own LL.B. barely five years old, was named Sterling Professor of Law at Yale.

But Yale and teaching could not hold for long, despite Robert M. Hutchins's description of him as "the nation's outstanding law teacher," the intellectual dynamo that Douglas was—and is. He was soon dividing his time between his classes and an exhaustive investigation of corporate reorganizations for the new-born SEC—two normally full-time jobs. The brilliance of his eventual report to the SEC led President Roosevelt to appoint him a Commissioner; the tough-minded expertness of his work as Commissioner brought him elevation to the SEC chairmanship; the executive skill and courage he displayed as chairman, as in bringing the New York Stock Exchange to heel (he was rated by many as the New Deal's finest administrator), was rewarded by appointment to the Supreme Court—all this within the space of less than three years.

That Douglas's meteoric career could reach its zenith on the Supreme Court—that he would remain a Justice for twenty-five or thirty years and then retire—is something that nobody who knew the man believed, with the possible exception of Douglas himself. Yet events ever since have pointed precisely that way. When F. D. R. sounded him out for the vice-presidential nomination in 1940, Douglas made it clear he wanted to stay in his new judicial job, and Henry Wallace got the nod by default.

In 1944, a Roosevelt who may well have sensed he was close to death named Douglas first as his chosen running-mate and presumable successor in the famous note he sent to the Chicago convention; but Hannegan and Hillman and Flynn, three bosses who feared Douglas's incorruptible independence, contrived—with the help of Douglas's own abstention from the arena—to put across F. D. R.'s second choice instead. The bosses were not afraid of Harry Truman.

In 1948 it was Truman himself, impressed by the spontaneous show of strength for Douglas at Philadelphia, who begged the Justice to accept the other spot on the Democratic ticket. Nor was Douglas's firm refusal based, as has been reported, on a why-bother feeling that Truman could not win; rather, it was founded on a conviction that he could serve both the country and the cause of liberalism better on the court than in the Throttlebottom job of presiding officer of the Senate.

Thus Justice Douglas, three times in a row, could have made himself the Democratic heir apparent had he so much as lifted an assenting finger in his own behalf. That finger remains unlifted still, even though the available prize this year is first, not second, place on the party ticket.

And if the Democratic nomination for President goes to somebody like Stevenson or Kefauver, or to some other comparatively inoffensive comparative second-rater, the Presidency will probably go to the equally inoffensive General Eisenhower. Meanwhile, the man who has never failed or hesitated to put principle above politics, who has spoken out in strong and splendid solitude on the big issues of our time, whose insight and courage and indigenous American liberalism are unmatched in public life today, will remain, for at least another four years, Mr. Justice Douglas.

Germany: Not Uniforms, But Unity

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, Germany

ON NOVEMBER 3, 1950, the Soviet Union sent its war-time allies a diplomatic note calling for a Big Four conference; on the agenda was a peace treaty with Germany. Moscow laid down two cardinal conditions for this treaty: permanent demilitarization of Germany, and renunciation of the Atlantic defense pact. Failure to agree on these two points brought the rupture of the subsequent Paris negotiations.

On March 10 the Western powers again were the re-

cipients of a note from the East calling for a four-power conference on the question of a peace treaty with Germany. But this time the conditions were different: first, a unified, free Germany was to be permitted a national army for defense purposes; second, this armed and unified Germany was to be prohibited from joining a military alliance directed against any nation that fought Germany during World War II. The phrasing was different but the Soviet aim remained unchanged: to prevent Germany's participation in NATO.

What was the West's answer to Soviet Russia's main conditions? Like the U. S. S. R., the Western powers affirm their desire to see a free and unified Germany cre-

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ated even before a peace treaty is concluded. But in sharp opposition to Moscow, they regard a German national army as a step away from peace. In Western eyes a reconstituted German army would herald the rebirth of German militarism and constitute a threat to the envisioned European defense community, set up to deter aggression and maintain peace. On the issue of NATO, the West says, in direct contradiction to Moscow, that a unified Germany must have the right, before or after conclusion of a peace treaty, to join any grouping that adheres to the principles of the United Nations.

How does the average German react to this question-and-answer game between East and West?

Germany's man-in-the-street derides the obvious dishonesty, the blatant hypocrisy of both notes. Hard hit in war and post-war days, he shudders at the deadly game played by East and West with himself as the pawn and world peace in the balance. He opposes a new militarism, no matter how disguised. He doesn't want to see new barracks and war ministries no matter what they are called or what flags flutter from their rooftops. He will do anything rather than have Germany become another Korea.

The day before the Soviet note of March 10, the West German Communists' propaganda against Western defense plans still had a chance. The day after the note, the selfsame Communists were the laughingstock of all Germany. For Moscow's sudden concession to German militarist pride came as a shocking reversal after its record of intense opposition to militarization. West Germany's Communists are no longer a political factor. They have become a sacrificial offering of Moscow and few people doubt that the same fate awaits the Communist-run East German Socialist Unity Party should Moscow's tactics demand a compromise with the West. A unified Germany and a single German government can be obtained only through free, all-German elections, and free elections mean the end of the Socialist Unity Party.

But apart from the effect of the Soviet policy reversal on both German and French Communists, it cannot be denied that many Germans see in the Soviet note a chance for peaceful unification. They regard it as a significant development that could point the way to Germany's neutralization on the Swiss or Swedish model.

In view of this attitude, the West's negative answer caused widespread disappointment. West Germany's most notable political journal, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, mirrors public opinion in its March 29 comment: "Germany must obligate itself not to enter into military alliances; this indeed is a Russian bull's-eye. . . . Western diplomacy has failed in its answer by not dealing adequately with this decisive proposal. Was it correct to close the door precisely here? The Western note seems to have been written by a military rather than a diplomatic pen."

A publication as pro-Western in its estimates of the German situation as the Swiss *National Zeitung* in Basel had this to say on the Western note: "The answer of the West did not turn out as hoped and expected by the majority of the German people and even perhaps of the Cabinet in Bonn. This is obvious in the reactions of the West German press. One gets the impression that the Western note is tantamount to a rejection of the Russian proposals."

IT WAS not only the press and the people who were disappointed at the West's answer. Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was hard put to heal rifts within his government and the conservative ruling parties. He finally managed to do so in a dramatic parliamentary debate only because the bourgeois parties were held together by their class interest against concerted attacks of the Social Democratic opposition. The threat of a future all-German government under Social Democratic leadership was enough to overrule the better judgment of Adenauer's rebellious adherents. The Socialist opposition this time had a well-founded case; it asked for the resignation of State Secretary Walter Hallstein, who in Washington had labeled the Soviet note "uninteresting" and spoke of the West's integration of Europe "all the way to the Urals." Although the Chancellor in open session reprimanded his first lieutenant for "erroneous verbal thrusts," he backed his general position. And what else could he do? After all, only a few days after Hallstein's appearance in Washington Adenauer himself said that Germany had a mission to perform in the "renaissance of Eastern Europe."

The foreign-policy debate forced by the Social Democrats was marked by eloquent appeals to Adenauer, the government parties, and the Western powers. The Big Four conference proposed by Moscow probably offers the last chance for German unity and world peace, opposition deputies urged. Don't slam the door in the face of the Soviet Union by any move toward rearmament and integration with the West; these are moves designed to kill Moscow's interest in further negotiations and concessions. Don't force the Soviet Union into a final No. Germany's status, they said, can be determined only by discussions between East and West.

But Adenauer wants to see remilitarization and Western integration a *fait accompli*, for he believes that German unity can be obtained only through Western strength. In his eyes, peace depends on the deployment of NATO troops along the Elbe River.

When a second Soviet note was delivered a fortnight ago, again opening the way to all-German elections under four-power supervision, Adenauer's reaction was, in effect: We must act even faster now. He was referring to negotiations that are proceeding with the three Western High Commissioners on a contractual agreement which

is to replace the current occupation statute. Talks on the new agreement are being rushed almost frantically. Western Germany has to be "integrated" with the West and a military alliance safely concluded before the current East-West question-and-answer game is completed.

An authoritarian regime like that of Bonn is not concerned with what the majority thinks. Bonn does not care what the people are saying about rearmament; it is not troubled by its lack of a parliamentary majority on the integration issue. The Chancellor and his clique govern with the consent and backing of the High Commissioners. Therein lies their future, therein the source of their power. From the Petersberg—official residence of the High Commissioners—flow their profits and privileges. They are not likely to offend the Western guarantors of their preeminence.

Even the conservative Catholic organ *Süddeutsche Zeitung* wrote on April 4:

Chancellor Adenauer was never before as Western in his views, as self-assured and certain of victory as he is now in his determined pursuit of the goal of integration for the federal republic. Because of this, his statements on the desirability of German unification can be dismissed as nothing more than tactical moves. . . . His main worry is not even the possible reaction of the German public—he is concerned only with the result of the coming elections for the Presidency of the United States. His dominant thought: Eisenhower.

The Swiss also are uneasy. The *National Zeitung* warns:

The Western answer to the Soviet note shows clearly that the West rejects armed or unarmed neutrality for a unified Germany. The note insists that a reunited Germany must have free choice to join groupings like the European army and the Atlantic pact. The Western powers are thus demanding an unconditional Soviet surrender on the question of Germany.

Strife in the Textile Union

BY RALPH LOWENSTEIN

WHEN delegates to the biennial convention of the Textile Workers Union of America (C. I. O.) meet in Cleveland on April 28, they will have an opportunity to vote an end to one of the longest, but least clearly defined, struggles for power ever to plague an American labor union. The T. W. U. A., still reeling from the effects of the unsuccessful strikes in Southern factories last year, has been riven by the prolonged fight between its own top administrators.

Just what are the issues that divide its president, Emil Rieve, and its executive vice-president, George Baldanzi? Both men are avowed anti-Communists; both have held their present positions since 1939; and both have been on the C. I. O.'s Executive Board for the past thirteen years.

Baldanzi, a former Pennsylvania coal miner and union organizer, says he is trying to bring "democratization" to a union that too long has been under the "dictatorial" thumb of Rieve and his "hand-picked" twenty-man Executive Council. Rieve partisans, however, charge that Baldanzi is a "lone wolf" who has always made his own decisions without consulting Rieve or the council. They further contend that Baldanzi's attacks, coming at a time when thousands of Southern union members are working without contracts, sabotage unity in the T. W. U. A.

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If "democracy" is Baldanzi's main cause for attacking the union administration, he has some further explaining to do. He did not urge democracy until after his open split with Rieve had developed. Previously he had favored a strongly centralized union.

Probably the issue of democracy is an effect rather than a cause of Baldanzi's clash with Rieve. "Democratization," for the executive vice-president, is another word for decentralization. In a union where the power is stacked against him, decentralization is the most important issue that Baldanzi can raise. Not only is "democracy" an effective fighting slogan, but decentralization would ensure the jobs of the officials who support Baldanzi.

The T. W. U. A. is highly centralized. Unlike most of the C. I. O.'s international unions, its three top executives and twenty vice-presidents, who compose the Executive Council, are elected by delegates to the biennial conventions, not by popular vote of the rank and file. The vice-presidents serve without pay, but most of them have been appointed by Rieve to union jobs as regional, state or industry directors. Therefore, Rieve can relieve any member of the Executive Council from his wage-earning post, although he cannot dismiss him from his elected position on the council. This is the ground for Baldanzi's charge that the council is "hand-picked."

Rieve claims that centralization is necessary to organize efficiently the more than 500,000 unorganized textile workers in the South. If the T. W. U. A. could add these

to its present membership of more than 400,000, it could rival the C. I. O.'s giant United Auto Workers and United Steelworkers in size and power.

Some explain the Rieve-Baldanzi split as a struggle between youth and age (Baldanzi is forty-five; Rieve is fifty-nine) for leadership of the T. W. U. A., but many high union officials say that a rift between men of their temperaments was inevitable. Both Rieve and Baldanzi are strong personalities. Rieve is the in-fighter, the man who, as union president, can pull the influential strings; Baldanzi is the emotional platform speaker who can sway the crowd.

Since the union's 1950 convention in Boston, where their smoldering conflict burst into flame, the two men have been at loggerheads. At Boston, Rieve publicly supported Baldanzi's rival for the position of executive vice-president. In the four-hour debate that preceded the secret balloting, Rieve and Baldanzi supporters hurled accusations at one another. Rieve bluntly told the 2,000 delegates that he could no longer work with his executive vice-president. William Pollock, secretary-treasurer, and fourteen members of the Executive Council sided with Rieve. Baldanzi told the delegates that if he were reelected a new unity in the T. W. U. A.'s administration would be achieved because it would be the wish of the membership.

The delegates reelected Baldanzi by a ten-to-seven ratio, Rieve by a unanimous vote.

After the election, the two leaders promised to try to work together and "reestablish the team." Their efforts were short-lived. Within a few months an irrevocable split developed. Rieve, Pollock, and sixteen vice-presidents were lined up on one side; Baldanzi and the other four council members were on the other. The conflict was further high-lighted in March, 1951, when Rieve fired Samuel Baron, the T. W. U. A.'s Canadian director and one of Baldanzi's chief supporters.

Rieve charged the Canadian director with attacking the union administration in the press at a moment when crucial contract negotiations were under way. Baldanzi, supporting Baron, counter-charged that Rieve was "purging" the union of Baldanzi supporters.

Last July, 400 Baldanzi followers held a two-day convention in New York City and pledged more than \$100,000 to finance their revolt against Rieve and to make the T. W. U. A. more "democratic." The caucus set up a seventy-man committee, called the "Pre-Convention Committee for a Democratic T. W. U. A.," and established a five-man steering committee headed by Baldanzi.

In line with Baldanzi's call for democratization, the caucus demanded that (1) the Executive Council be made the supreme governing body of the union in fact as well as theory, and (2) all representatives be elected by the membership. Since July both sides have been con-

solidating their forces for an all-out fight at Cleveland.

The major piece of legislation to come before the convention delegates is a constitutional amendment subjecting state and area directors, who will continue to be appointed by the president, to biennial votes of "disapproval" by the membership in their districts.

Although this is essentially the same amendment that Baldanzi proposed at the 1950 convention, he now opposes it on the ground that the "situation has changed." The Baldanzi group advocates, instead, the election of local, state, and regional directors by secret ballot of the district membership—a proposal that the Executive Council previously rejected.

Even though both men draw support from all geographical sections of the textile industry, the fact that Baldanzi has a powerful following in the South indicates that their differences may go beyond personalities. Baldanzi's long experience as an organizational director in the South explains some of his support there. Many Southern union officials say that Rieve, accustomed to dealing with situations among more experienced labor in the North, has never understood the peculiar problems of organization and negotiation in the large Southern factories.

Despite the fact that Baldanzi approved of the union's decision to strike the Southern mills, Southern officials tend to blame Rieve for the reversals the T. W. U. A. suffered. (The timing was poor, for the workers struck when the mills had one of the largest inventories in their history.) They say that Rieve, realizing his power was waning in the South, took personal charge of the strike and did not call for Baldanzi's aid. Mill employers did not know many of the union negotiators that Rieve brought down and got along badly with them.

AS THE delegates set out for Cleveland, the big question mark is Baldanzi. Will he oppose Rieve for the presidency of the T. W. U. A.? Although he has committed himself to a fight against the Rieve forces, Baldanzi has never run for the top union position. Since a man can be a candidate for only one position, he would be taking an "all or nothing" gamble if he ran for the post.

Rieve's supporters hope he takes the risk. They are confident that the president, who has been elected by unanimous votes at all six union conventions, could defeat him.

If either antagonist wins a clear victory at the convention, officials on both sides believe that heads will roll in the ensuing union reorganization. If neither wins a decisive victory, the frustrating situation whereby chief administrators spend as much time in internecine warfare as on union duties will continue, and one of the great unions of the country—and the labor movement as a whole—will suffer thereby.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Heat without Light

BLOOD, OIL, AND SAND. By Ray Brock. The World Publishing Company. \$3.50.

THE dramatic collapse of British hegemony in the Middle East and the spread of the solvent of Arab nationalism to the French-controlled territories of the southern Mediterranean littoral have posed problems for American policymakers every whit as cogent as those of the Far East. The scope and complexity of American political, economic, and military involvement in the area have increased to the point of requiring an urgent but clear and cool-headed appraisal of American interests, which often parallel but sometimes conflict with those of other external powers longer established in the region.

New American bases projected or already in existence from Morocco to Saudi Arabia, an American battle-fleet in the Levant, American military aid to Turkey, American support for the establishment of Israel, American Point Four missions, American intervention in the British-Iranian oil dispute, all conspicuously illustrate a piecemeal and erratic entry forced by events into this crucial center of affairs. Many of these measures, seemingly unplanned and incoherent, spring from the general policy of containment of the Soviet Union by strategic and economic means. A conflict between contradictory military and civilian policies is in the making and is likely to become acute. How far can the United States go in support of Arab nationalism, say in Tunis, without undermining French confidence? Which is to have priority—the military build-up or the creation of social and economic conditions which will effectively bar the road to Communist expansion?

The rapid growth of American commitments in Western Europe and Eastern Asia has led to a natural reluctance to undertake initiatives in other quarters. Winston Churchill's appeal for the dispatch of token American forces to Suez had a chilly reception in Washington last January. But in the absence of a sustained and consistent American policy

in the Middle East the chances are that further initiatives will be undertaken as events dictate them.

At the present time a reasoned, dispassionate survey and critique of American interests in the Middle East would be an invaluable contribution toward the formulation of a national policy for the region. Unhappily Mr. Brock, in other respects an experienced foreign correspondent who knows the Middle East at first-hand, brings little clarity to his subject. "Blood, Oil, and Sand" is a heated and lurid oversize pamphlet that hastily scans the Middle East and the Moslem world with a lengthy excursion into the Balkans in general and Yugoslavia in particular.

Mr. Brock has for long been deeply emotionally involved in the fate of Mihailovich, whom the Allies jettisoned during the war in favor of Tito and his partisans. It is highly questionable whether this ample digression has any bearing at all on the problems of the Middle East which the author attempts to appraise. For Mr. Brock Mihailovich is Europe's Chiang Kai-shek, betrayed and abandoned by his former allies. The parallel will convey some idea of the tone and temper of his book.

"Blood, Oil, and Sand" is a notable example of the literature of Armageddon which in its current form often makes the outside world wonder where their nightmares are likely to lead some American publicists. Its apocalyptic theme is the inevitability of war with Russia in the Middle East timed to break out more likely than not during 1952. "War with Russia," Mr. Brock observes in one of his gloomiest passages, "is the ineluctable fate of the West, now that United States power and influence in the Middle East have been so seriously undermined."

"Harp Gelorum?" ("Is war coming?") a group of trusting Turkish laborers asked their pessimistic foreign visitor during his stay in Ankara. Mr. Brock nodded slowly, which is about the only thing he does at that pace in the course of his helter-skelter travels. At times the speed of his journey and writing leads him into some strange bypaths.

He aspires a former British proconsul in Egypt as "Ghorst," pre-dates the Islamic invasion of India to 200 B. C., only 800-odd years before the rise of the Prophet, and, most curious blunder of all, which seriously undermines the reader's faith in his claim to be regarded as an "expert" on his subject, refers to Mohammed Zahir Shah as "Pakistan's king." The Afghans may have something to say about that.

After illiteracies of this kind it is difficult to take Mr. Brock seriously. The steps he envisages for a clarification of American foreign policy as the result of review by a joint Congressional subcommittee ("Subcommittee of what?" the reader sighs) are thoroughly and perhaps purposely confused. Mr. Brock asks for an examination of "the issue of Palestine," "American intrusion in and mishandling of the Iranian oil crisis," "the open scandal of continued arms and financial disbursements to the Communist regime of Marshal Tito," "a prompt investigation of the USIS" (United States Information Services). Mr. Brock does not indicate whether any of these investigations could be adequately concluded before the war, which he appears to anticipate with Cassandra-like relish, breaks out.

Mr. Brock finds no shortage of windmills at which to tilt. They include "pressure groups, lobbies, and special interests, at home and abroad" like "Zionist organizations, the Arab League, oil companies, Bulgarian and Croatian irredentists" (!) and naturally the long-suffering State Department. In the Middle East everyone is out of step except Mr. Brock.

JACK WINOCOUR

The Complete Actor

HENRY IRVING: THE ACTOR AND HIS WORLD. By His Grandson Laurence Irving. The Macmillan Company. \$10.

IN AN amiable mood Dr. Johnson once maintained that, all things considered, David Garrick was a remarkably modest man. Most celebrities "have their applause at a distance; but Garrick had it dashed in his face, sounded in his ears,

and went home every night with the plaudits of a thousand in his cranium." The penalty of course is that no actor can be really famous after his death and that what he leaves behind him is, at best, merely a legend. For all we can know, Garrick might seem ridiculous to us; it is hard to imagine that Salvini would not have seemed absurd playing Othello with a mustache; and though there are many who at least think that they remember what Irving was like, even they, accustomed by now to different methods, might get a shock if they saw him. I would give a good deal to hear Nell Gwyn delivering an epilogue by Dryden but I am not sure that I would think her especially good.

Here nevertheless is pretty much all that remains of Henry Irving, collected by his grandson into an extremely solid and able book of more than seven hundred pages. Here are the facts; here are the opinions, favorable and unfavorable, of his contemporaries; here are the photographs which show how he dressed and stood. According to the author, there also survives a single wax phonograph cylinder from which the ghost of a voice can still be coaxed, but it would probably not tell much since even the best modern discs give a very inadequate idea of what an actor on the stage is like. From the book we can learn *that* Irving acted and was famous; we can get very little idea *why* he was famous or whether, by our standards, he ought to have been. This is not to say that the book is not very interesting to read. It is. But inevitably it is an account of a reputation not of an achievement.

Unlike Garrick, Irving did not gain the heights at a single leap and stay there unchallenged through a long career. But like Garrick he seems to have been born only to be an actor and his career followed a standard pattern. Born John Brodribb—no wonder he changed his name—he had the usual strict non-conformist parents, the usual brief education, and the usual youthful love for declamation. As an adolescent he was put as clerk into the office of a firm of East India merchants, found time to take lessons in elocution, and saved enough from his salary to patronize that odd Victorian institution familiar to readers of Dickens, the public theater where amateurs paid for the privilege of acting roles—so much for Hamlet, a

good deal less for Laertes, etc. By the time he reached eighteen he had a job in a provincial company, in due time made his London debut, in due time became his own manager, in due time found in Ellen Terry his perfect leading lady, in due time became the official interpreter of The Bard, and in due time also reached that ultimate goal of the English actor, a knighthood. These seven ages of the player are a typical as the seven ages of man and Irving interpreted each role with classic propriety.

Even in his heyday there were some dissenters. A few thought his pronunciation affected, his postures too actory. A few commented unfavorably on his obvious delight in melodrama and his great success in "The Bells" and "Eugene Aram." Mr. Ruskin embarrassingly insisted upon protesting to the public that his approval of Irving's Shylock was not as unqualified as it had been made to appear. But these dissenting voices were not important and it was only after he had lived into a new age that his claim to greatness was seriously questioned. The dreadful shadow of Ibsen and Ibsenism fell upon him. Irving, his methods, and the plays he acted in were perfect targets for the impudence of Shaw and all the proponents of the New Drama and the New Theater. Understandably enough the eminent survivor from a past age wrote Shaw a letter which said in effect, will you please

lay off me? And to add insult to injury, Shaw was at the same time undermining him with Ellen Terry. At this distance we can perhaps say that what Shaw stood for was not as wholly right or what Irving stood for as wholly wrong as the advanced thinkers thought. But their day was coming and his was passing.

In a sense the present biography—which is certainly one of the most thorough and balanced ever written of an actor—is also unpretentious since it makes no attempt to be "brilliant," but its very thoroughness and competence emphasize the fact that its subject seems to have been completely undistinguished and uninteresting except as an actor. Like many eminent in his profession he was not much concerned with anything except that profession and was without other intellectual interests. In his early days he liked smoking and drinking and eating with other professionals. He was not very happily married and women seem to have played little part in his life. Once he had got above the lowest rungs of his ladder his chief ambition outside the theater seems to have been to become an Eminent Victorian—to know other famous men, to be elected to the right clubs, to be accepted into that Good Society to which in that day only the greatest and most indubitably respectable actors could possibly aspire. Ellen Terry had more than a touch of the bohemian in her character; Irving was careful to do nothing which could

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raise an eyebrow. Two caricatures by Max Beerbohm are titled, respectively, "Henry Irving: Man of Distinction" and "Bernard Shaw: Man of Destiny" and that no doubt hit the nail on the head. If, as seems to be the case, this biography really gives a complete portrait one can only say that Irving hardly had a personality. What he did have was a career.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Masefield Looks Back

SO LONG TO LEARN. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

IT SHOULD be made clear at the outset that, in "So Long to Learn," Mr. Masefield has not concerned himself much with the purely physical events of his life, dealt with in other books, but rather with the emotional effect of some of these experiences as well as with the impact of various personalities upon his own poetic development. The English Poet Laureate has ripened mellowly, like a fine Worcestershire apple, and there is enough of a bite left in the flavor of the juice to make the taste a memorable one. One could never accuse him of resembling one of these glowing red Washington State apples which turns out to be stuffed with pink and cloying cotton-wadding. While he displays rather a surprising tolerance of his juniors, born perhaps of an inner conviction of his own essential rightness, he does not kowtow as if seeking their plaudits. Bluntly, he claims, "It is not possible to persuade the living that the late Victorian time was in all intellectual ways immeasurably ahead of any time that has succeeded. Those who knew that time, know the truth about it, and are the first to admit its defects. Those who did not know the time seem incapable of perceiving anything else. . . . It would startle the young of today to know what enormous appetite for thought Victorian London shewed; what dozens of papers fostered delight in writing, what pages of comment upon thought came daily, what fervour this or that movement caused, what excellence was being achieved." This comes as a much needed reminder that the period was not all one of greenery-yallery young men walking down Piccadilly with a poppy or a lily in their medieval hands.

But "So Long to Learn" is much more than a mere reminder that we should be careful how we pigeonhole our literary history. Mr. Masefield casts his memory back nearly to the day when, almost seventy-four years ago, he was born in Herefordshire, and tries to recall the little things, as well as the large, which have gone to the making of a poet.

Intermingled with the memories of the world which must have appeared to

him "apparelled in celestial light," and which are recaptured with a startling clarity, are the stories, of Roundheads and Cavaliers, of Robin Hood, and of St. Katherine Audley of Ledbury, which became a part of him and determined him to be a story-teller. After the legends passed by word of mouth there came the penny-dreadfuls and the more expensive, though not less bloodthirsty, serials, which led the boy and youth to Mallory and a copy of the Welsh "Mabinogion," from which he took the Triad which helped him as a kind of motto: "The three foundations of judgment:—Bold Design, Constant Practice, and Frequent Mistakes." Then, in contact with his contemporaries and elders, we get a smattering of memories, not of the personal or physical impact of such a writer as W. B. Yeats but of his effect upon an impressionable young man. Mr. Masefield remains throughout stressful of the fact that poetry makes its greatest impression when read, and the recent success of such a poet as Dylan Thomas in this country would seem to show that the great public bears him out.

Whatever one's opinion of the poems of John Masefield, it cannot be denied that his book is an important document of the process that goes to turn a small boy, interested in stories and the world around him, into a poet and spinner of stories. Nor can the book fail to deserve its place on the shelf alongside the more treasured autobiographies of our time, such as W. Graham Robertson's "Those Were the Days," as a picture of a man whom one would like to have known, to have watched develop.

RUTHVEN TODD

Books in Brief

LAUGHING TO KEEP FROM CRYING. By Langston Hughes. Holt. \$2.75. When Mr. Hughes is good, he is very very good, and when he is bad he is either insincere or superficial. Both extremes are represented in his latest collection of stories and sketches about Negro life, ranging from Shanghai to Havana. At his best, Mr. Hughes manages the nice feat of dragging out into the open a number of unpleasant truths about racial discrimination and presenting them in a playful and extremely engaging manner.

NAKED TO MINE ENEMIES. By Susan Yorke. Harcourt, Brace. \$3. With her second novel Susan Yorke succeeds beyond all expectations in dissipating the favorable impression created by her first, "The Widow." This one tells the story of an incredible cad as he is seen by three women, his sister and two of his many mistresses. They are fascinated by his life, particularly by his rutting in Argentinian high society, and so is the author, for reasons that are never made clear—but it is hardly likely that many readers will be.

THE TUNNEL. By Eric Williams. Coward-McCann. \$3. In "The Wooden Horse" Eric Williams described the escape of two English officers from a German prison camp. In "The Tunnel" he recounts their preceding experiences as prisoners of war. The author has a knack for lively, vivid narrative but the material of the new book is of a much lower order of interest, dealing, as it does, with the everyday life of a prison camp, whereas its predecessor told the success story of a single episode which had the unity and tension of a first-rate thriller.

in this movie probably thought the camera-wielder was a stray citizen having trouble with the lock of a small black case that could contain anything from a piccolo to a tiny machine gun. For dramatic action, the film deals with one of the toughest slum areas extant: an uptown neighborhood where the adults look like badly repaired Humpty Dumpties who have lived a thousand years in some subway restroom, and where the kids have a wild gypsy charm and evidently spend most of their day savagely spoofing the dress and manners of their elders. The movie, to be shown around the 16-millimeter circuit, has been beautifully edited (by Miss Levitt) into a somber study of the American figure, from childhood to old age, growing stiffer, uglier, and lonelier with the passage of years.

Let me say that changing one's identity and acting like a spy, or a private eye, are more a part of the American make-up than I'd ever imagined before seeing this picture. This not only holds for Levitt, Inc., who had to disguise their role of film-makers to get the naked truth, but also goes for the slum

people who are being photographed. The film is mostly concerned with kids who are trying to lose themselves in fake adulthood by wearing their parents' clothes and aping grown-ups' expressions; even the comparatively few adults (at a war-time bond rally) go in for disguises—Legionnaire uniforms, etc.—and seem afraid to be themselves. The chief sensation is of people zestfully involved in making themselves ugly and surrealistic, as though everything Goya's lithographs indicated about the human race had come true. This mood is established right off in a wonderful shot of a Negro tot mashing her tongue and face out of shape against a windowpane. This private bit of facemaking is followed soon by a shot of a fat man leaping up and down and chortling with glee at the sight of a neighborhood kid carrying another one on his shoulders, solemnly impersonating a new two-bodied grown-up. And this scene gives way to a macabre game of gypsy kids making like maniacs by clubbing each other with flour-filled stockings swiped from their mudders.

Every Hollywood Hitchcock-type di-

Films

MANNY
FARBER

MY LIST of top pictures made in the last five years ("Red River," "He Walks by Night," "Act of Violence") has now been expanded to include a titleless documentary of street life in Spanish Harlem, shot entirely with a 16-millimeter sneak camera by Janice Loeb, Helen Levitt, and James Agee. The technique of documenting life in the raw with a concealed camera has often been tried out, in Hollywood and in experimental films, but never with much success until this small masterwork turned up. One problem was finding a camera either small enough to be hidden or made in such a way that it could be focused directly on the scene without being held to the operator's eye. The "Film Documents" group used an old model Cine-Kodak which records the action at a right angle to the operator who gazes into his scene-finder much as was done with the old-fashioned "Brownie." The people who wound up

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rector should study this picture if he wants to see really stealthy, queer-looking, odd-acting, foreboding people. Even the kids, whose antics make their elders look like a lost tribe of frozen zombies, act a bit like spies from the underground. Enigmatic and distrustful, a small boy watches the little colored girl (mentioned above) smear her features on the window; an older smart-alecky one slyly bats a flour stocking against the back of a teen-aged princess—the Mary Pickford of the neighborhood—carefully watching her every move to see if she's getting erotically excited. It is this very watchfulness which makes one part of the picture so

brilliant: these kids must jeweler's-eye everything, and when the camera man (Agee) reveals himself, the space in front of the camera fills up with every kid in the neighborhood staring at the now bared camera like one Huge Eye.

To see what these kids will be like when they grow up, all we have to do is look at the shots of their parents. The watchfulness of youth has now become a total preoccupation—an evil-faced pimp, a Grant Wood spinster, a blowsy Irish dame picking at her teeth, are all forever staring at the world as though it were a dangerous, puzzling place filled with hidden traps. The great American outdoors, once a wide-open prairie for adventurers, is here, in one shrunken pocket of New York City, a place of possible terror to people who spend their time looking at it with 100-per-cent distrust.

"High Noon." A deftly fouled-up Western, starring Gary Cooper as a disillusioned marshal enforcing law and order in Hadleyville where everyone else is happily barricaded within his own avarice and cowardice. Carl Foreman's attempt to do an original cowboy script consists in starting the story at 10:40 a.m., ending it just after noon, and limiting the dramatic action to one situation: Gary Cooper walking silently and alone down the deserted streets looking for volunteer deputies. The con-

trived result: a movie which does take you into every part of the town and features Cooper's beautiful rolling gait, but which reveals that someone spent too much time over the drawing board conceiving dramatic camera shots to cover up the lack of story. Moral: the Kramer gang ("Champion," "The Men") is making too many films for its own good.

"The Marrying Kind." The story behind a sad little divorce suit told by the cut-back method, with the director (Cukor) using a sneak camera without putting any heart or belief into it. Cukor is a fine technician who has lately been imagining himself as an American Rossellini. The actors make Anna Magnani seem soft-spoken and even-tempered. Every camera set-up indoors shows you a person in a bathrobe, brassiere, or long underwear, poking his or her behind into the camera lens to prove that this is a candid movie. And there is the uncomfortable spectacle of Judy Holliday, a cautious and intelligent highbrow, squeezing herself into the dumb role of a Bronx yenta.

"The Fighter." Herbert Kline's romantic fight drama about an unpolished Mexican bolo-puncher, who earns five dollars a day as a sparring partner and works feverishly at night for the revolutionary cause of Zapata and Villa. An inept mixture of politics and hokum, set in the Rio Grande towns of 1910, which look as unreal as the backdrops on the old Keith circuit. Conte, the silky Italian star of bare-chest films, is a Mexican fizzle.

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Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE New York City Opera Company, which has repeatedly undertaken to produce works that one would have thought beyond its resources and powers and has carried them off with sufficient, even when not complete, success, has now achieved its most remarkable feat of that kind with Alban Berg's "Wozzeck." After the performance I could agree with Virgil Thomson about the inadequacy of the single set and the inconsistency of the naturalistic staging with the expressionistic music; but during the performance I was not aware of

them. Scenery and stage direction have been the weaknesses of almost all the City Center opera productions; by now I treat them as mere token frameworks on which are hung the musical performances that are usually very good; and in this instance too it was the performance of the formidable score that was the remarkable achievement. It was not a performance of the caliber and force of the New York Philharmonic's a year ago, and it was not without flaws—such as the excessive volume of sound that Rosenstock produced with the orchestra, which often made it impossible to hear the singers; or Patricia Neway's forced and strident high notes. But Marko Rothmüller's singing was effective, even without the beauty and varied expressive coloring of Mack Harrell's a year ago; the other singers were good; the orchestra had the competence required by its difficult task; and Rosenstock too proved able to produce a performance in which the music had a compelling expressive power undiminished for me by what I saw on the stage.

The other new opera produced by the company was Menotti's "Amahl and the Night Visitors." The mail has just brought me a sumptuous brochure from N. B. C. about the television premiere of the work, in which I read quotations not only of Toscanini telling Menotti "I think it is the best opera you have ever done," but of experts like Philip Hamburger writing "Musically, 'Amahl' struck me as being Menotti's finest work," and John Crosby pronouncing Menotti "a magnificent composer" and speaking of the "rare melodic sweetness" of the music—to say nothing of some gaudier products of other professional word-slingers. After all this dare I say that I listened to "Amahl," as I have listened to Menotti's other operas, with incredulous amazement—finding it difficult to believe I was really hearing these sugary, trashy tunes, that they could even have occurred to anyone operating as a serious composer today, that he could not have been too embarrassed by the mere thought of them to let anyone else hear them, and that other people could have considered them worth publishing to the world. At one time I would have felt the same incredulous amazement as I read the critical estimates I have quoted; but now I think I can account for them: once again

Menotti has used a dramatic idea whose development has so powerfully engaged the interest and emotions of his audience as to mislead even its professional members into thinking their interest and emotions were being powerfully engaged by the music. Moreover, his dramatic gifts don't stop with choice of subject, but extend to every detail of staging—which is to say that the audience's emotions have been engaged, and its musical judgment confused, by young Chet Allen. But one would expect the professional's ear to be proof against this sleight-of-hand.

Two friends have expressed to me their anger at the misrepresentation of the Sadler's Wells Theater Ballet to the American public; and one of them told me of seeing people walk out after the first piece and others besides himself and his family leave after the second; but my own depressing experience at the three performances I attended was to see everything, good and bad, indiscriminately applauded and cheered—from which I conclude that most of the American public didn't even know it had been fooled. The fact nevertheless is that this company is not even comparable in competence or achievement with the one that was here before, and that one wouldn't suspect from looking at it that it had even been trained in the same school. The leading dancers have a lot of raw technique which they haven't yet learned to use with the elegance that was the outstanding characteristic of the older company; some of the lesser dancers and the corps haven't even sufficient technique; and all this makes for poor performance of classical ballets. Elaine Fifeild, for example, is a vivacious, pert soubrette who can carry off the lively episodes of "Coppelia" successfully, but can do nothing in the great adagios beyond executing the movements; and her performance in "Swan Lake," together with the insipid choreography and the lifeless dancing of the corps, made this unquestionably the worst in my experience.

What the company danced well was its modern ballets; and of those I saw I liked best some early works of Frederick Ashton—the simple "Capriol Suite" (1930), the more richly textured "Rendezvous" (1933), and his comic masterpiece, "Façade" (1931). His divertissements to music of Act 2 of "The

Nutcracker"—with the exception of the amusing Chinese dance—I cared less for. As for John Cranko, I liked best his comedy "Pineapple Poll," and least his compulsion to daring explicitness. As April."

This is a convenient point at which to speak briefly of the remaining two new works presented by the New York City Ballet. Ashton's "Picnic at Tintagel" I found uninteresting in invention except for a few details—the movements of the caretaker (Robert Barnett), the exquisite first part of the pas de deux of the lovers (Diana Adams and Jacques d'Amboise), before Ashton yields to his compulsion to daring explicitness. As for Tudor's "La Gloire," if even John Martin found it "impossible to report very happily upon it," I can dispense with comment altogether.

CONTRIBUTORS

JACK WINOCOUR has spent much time in the Middle East as a correspondent of various London newspapers and magazines. He has also contributed articles to a number of American magazines.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Was It a Witch Hunt . . .

Dear Sirs: Since you devoted so much space in the February 9 *Nation* to Mary Mostert's emotional account of the Memphis "witch hunt" against the Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers' Union, will you devote a little more to a few unadorned facts?

1. The D. P. O. was formed in October, 1950, through the fusion of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers' Union and the United Office and Professional Workers' Union, both expelled from the C. I. O. for following the Communist Party line, with a number of New York department-store locals which seceded from the C. I. O.'s Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union in 1948.

2. The head of the old F. T. A., now active in the D. P. O., is Donald Henderson, a long-time Communist who publicly resigned from the party on August 13, 1949, in order to comply with the Taft-Hartley law.

3. The leaders of the old department-store locals and now of the D. P. O. are Arthur Osman, president, and David Livingston, vice-president. On March 1, 1941, during the Hitler-Stalin pact, Osman wrote in the magazine *New Voices* that "President Roosevelt . . . is now sending your sons to war"; the following July 29, after Russia had been invaded, he did an about-face and exhorted the union's members to be "ready to lay down their lives so that Hitler . . . will be crushed." Livingston, according to the *Daily Worker* of October 18, 1943, was chairman of the meeting at which the Young Communist League reorganized as American Youth for Democracy. . . .

I think these facts suggest that the Memphis hearings may not have been so much of a "witch hunt" after all.
New York **LAWRENCE SMITH**

. . . Or Wasn't It?

Dear Sirs: I'm afraid Mr. Smith missed the point of my letter, which was not to prove that the D. P. O. was not Communist-dominated but simply to draw attention to the fact that the committee was denying the D. P. O. a fair and impartial hearing. Witnesses were denied legal counsel, and Negro witnesses were insulted. Senator Eastland made the hearings into a sounding board for his preconceived ideas about the D. P. O.

The fact that 1,400 members of the D. P. O. were threatened with "indictment" was an obvious attempt to intimidate them. There was nothing to indict them for. Not once was anyone accused of breaking a law. Senator Eastland, at the end of the hearings, promised to seek laws curbing "groups like the D. P. O.," but even if he had carried out his threat, constitutional provisions against ex-post-facto laws would prevent prosecution of the D. P. O. for past activities.

Mr. Smith points out that the leaders of the D. P. O. asked its members to "lay down their lives" to stop Hitler, after Russia entered the war. But what does this mean? Some people in this country changed their mind about Hitler's intentions after Poland was invaded, some after Czechoslovakia, some after Russia. It seems a bit ridiculous to condemn a man for a matter of timing.

It appears to me that since the D. P. O. won control of the two Memphis plants by a democratic, N. L. R. B.-controlled election, and since they were not accused of breaking any existing law, the hearings were, to say the least, a little silly. We may question the judgment of the 1,400 members of the D. P. O., but under a democratic system we have to accept it.

However, the important question is not the political affiliations of one small, relatively unimportant union but the precedent the Eastland subcommittee and others have been setting. In the hysterical times in which we live few of us realize the extent of the dictatorial power Congressional committees have assumed and the dangerous example they set. Once we allow Congress absolute power to "make or break" without regard for procedural safeguards, all our rights may be destroyed.

Memphis, Tenn. **MARY MOSTERT**

Douglas Headquarters

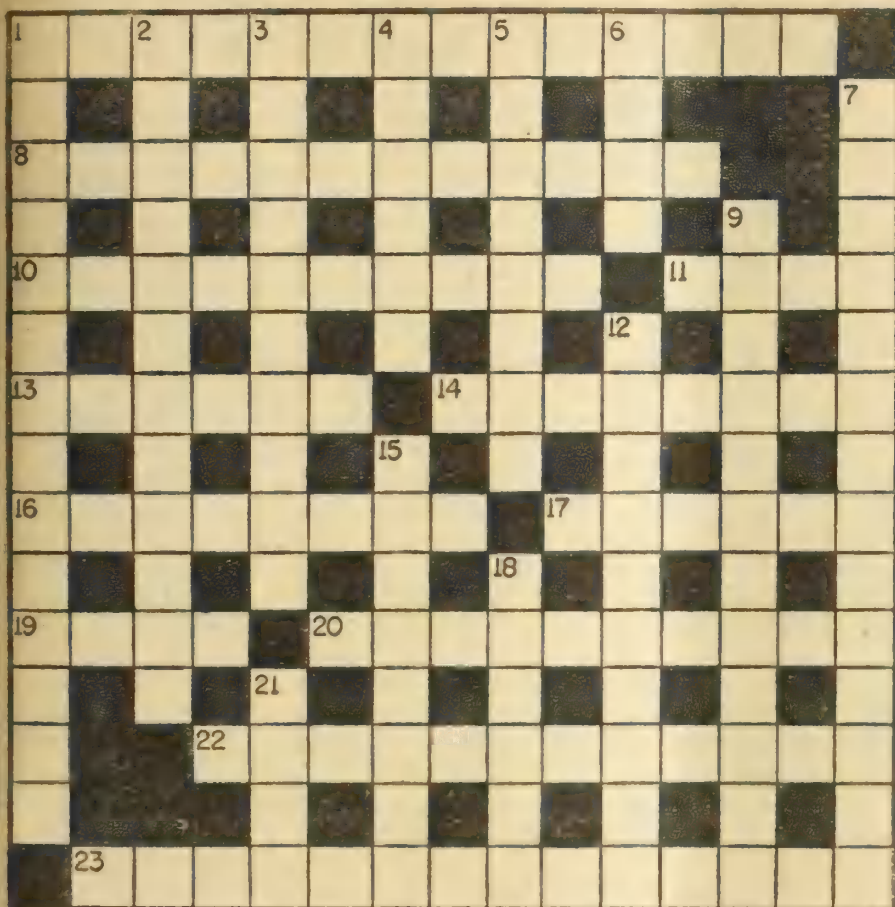
Dear Sirs: A committee is being formed in Massachusetts in connection with the nationwide movement to nominate Justice William O. Douglas for President on the Democratic ticket.

Nation readers who reside in Massachusetts and are interested in this project should communicate with the writer at 97 Elm Hill Avenue, Roxbury 21, Massachusetts.

ALLAN SIDD, Interim Coordinator
Roxbury

Crossword Puzzle No. 462

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The way the Caliphs got in, it seems as though it's checking swell. (14)
- 8 One can't say it isn't done! (4, 8)
- 10 Threateningly. (10)
- 11 Split character role? (4)
- 13 Such a sort of trip is bad for the soul. (6)
- 14 Necessary to make war, or can end it. (8)
- 16 With 22, a common name for copper. (8)
- 17 Nothing final with the sort of scene a rhapsodist might make. (6)
- 19 Are they on the track? Quite the opposite, but there's no winning with them. (4)
- 20 Apt assignment for a prospective Plebe. (2, 3, 5)
- 22 Physical disability found in the ruins of Rome? (6, 6)
- 23 Implying the letters match? (14)

DOWN

- 1 What Casanova might carry on in pompous style? (7, 2, 5)
- 2 Those who handled 1 down for Rome must arrive, it seems, out of sorts. (12)
- 8 Not fancy arguments in court. (10)

- 4 One might be coffee with 13; others keep the tongue under it. (6)
- 5 Mrs. Gable, found at table. (8)
- 6 Found at the bottom of the list. (4)
- 7 Toast after meat is, whether you like it or not. (1, 6, 2, 5)
- 9 What to expect in heaven, improperly divided, but his day ushers in 40 like it. (5, 7)
- 12 Without 13, perhaps (not necessarily breathless). (10)
- 15 One glass is enough for each of them! (8)
- 18 You might find this on turning to religion. (6)
- 21 Just light. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 461

ACROSS:—1 and 17 BETTER LATE THAN NEVER; 10 ESCORTS; 12 SHUTTERS; 14 SIT DOWN; 15 BASES; 19 IGNITER; 21 DATE PALM; 23 SLAVERS; 20 DECIDED; 27 LEAST SANDPIPER.

DOWN:—1 BANDWAGON; 2 TATTERS; 3 and 23 ESCALATOR CLAUSE; 4 LAST; 5 TREPHINING; 6 TACIT; 7 AIRLESS; 8 ASKS; 13 SOCIALISTS; 15 BOTTLE CAP; 16 SUSPENDER; 18 VITIATE; 20 ROUND-UP; 21 and 11 DISK WHEELS; 22 and 9 PRESS NOTICES; 24 ADEN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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WHY I BELIEVE

all real liberals should be for TAFT

IN THE light of present events and changing comparative values how should we measure the stature of Robert A. Taft?

As a reader of *The Nation* for more than twenty-five years, and having been part of many liberal movements long before they found acceptance, I believe we should expand our perspective and reexamine the views of the present day Taft.

Much of the objection to Taft is an inheritance of former days for reasons which, by today's values, are petty and inapplicable. The opposition stems largely from unprincipled politicians, war mongers, and so-called labor leaders. They see the chaos their policies have created. In envy or in malice they have joined together to down a better man. First they say that Taft can't win. His wonderful showing in New Hampshire followed by his victories in other states show how weak their claim is. The results prove that Taft's vote is not a negative one, but an unswerving vote by a worried people. The results also deflate the Eisenhower myth of vote getting indispensability. By the way, what does Eisenhower stand for? Does anybody know? A man who has been in the military thirty years keeping his mouth shut and walking on eggs doesn't figure to change overnight into an able and courageous political leader. Some say he will blossom out after victory and will surprise us all. I truly hope that this will be the case, but let's be sensible. Why rely on a blind long shot in the Presidential derby when you can have a "man-of-war" running for you for the same price? Many who voted for Eisenhower in the primary are only carpet-bagger Republicans on loan from and will return to the Democratic fold in the fall, but the vote for Taft will stay Republican when it counts.

To vote for an Eisenhower or MacArthur or any all-out professional soldier flies in the face of American tradition. Staff-officer generals just cannot think of civilians in terms of equality, let alone superiority. Their ingrained extravagance and ignorance of the civilian is too much for a free people. Eisenhower himself decried the desirability of a military man for President, including himself. Although he is among the best of the lot, yet he figures to tighten the military noose around the neck of the American people. We often fail to see where we are going until after arrival, and then, it is too late. We are headed in the direction of making the military top dogs never to be unseated. Crisis, inflation, sacrifice, and war will become traditional to the American way of life, like apple pie. This condition is already here, with the possible exception that maybe Taft can stop and somewhat reverse the process. This to me is the main issue. There are other substantial issues, too, which Taft alone shows a willingness to tackle.

The Truth About the Taft-Hartley Law

The false hue and cry that Taft-Hartley is a slave-labor law is one of the big lies of all times. This act is the greatest boon to freedom since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. I have heard many discussions of the act by liberals, politicians, and labor leaders. Not one, including Senator Douglas and Mr. Goldberg, Counsel for the C. I. O., analyzed the law in detail. The reason is they don't dare. The acts that result in slave labor today are unions with their closed shops, their jurisdictional strikes, their unreasonable secondary boycotts, their lack of democratic process, their strong-arm lifetime elections to office, their feather-bedding, their limiting the number of workers, their misuse of

union funds, and their exemption of judicial review over many of their arbitrary acts. The heart of the Taft-Hartley law is the union shop and against the closed shop. All other parts are secondary. The union shop guarantees to everybody the right to work without fawning before or bribing a labor boss which unfortunately has been all too much the practice. There is something wrong with the law, and that is, it does not go far enough. It should also be extended to every bottleneck and restraint in business, the trades, and the professions. I have never heard a politician or liberal who had the nerve to state that the American people have no right to a job in any chosen field, and that the labor leaders had a right to say who works and where. Labor leaders want that right and would have it but for the Taft-Hartley Law. I speak with some special experience on the subject. For years I was a special attorney for the Chicago Federation of Labor and Labor's Radio Station WCFL when Ed Neckels was secretary and John Fitzpatrick was president. During this time I handled court litigation of considerable importance. I also represented labor before the Illinois Appellate Court. I volunteered my services for free because labor needed help. As it became rich, powerful, and arrogant, some leaders showed an increasing contempt for the worker and the American people. All labor leaders were not like that, but many dared not talk. There is more support among the rank and file of labor and in their intelligent leaders for this law than the ruling labor bureaucracy has awakened to.

Inflation is Confiscation Without Compensation

On the problem of inflation it is impossible to find language descriptive enough to fit the crime. Inflation has dealt a more mortal and lasting blow than did Pearl Harbor. Inflation is nothing but outright robbery. It is cannibalism in the economic field. It is a combination of aggressive and speculative elements to devour the aged, young, frugal, white-collared, and unorganized groups. If inflation to enrich and empower the speculator, the military, and the bureaucracy is right, then so were Hitler and Stalin who did the same. Those in this country who so gleefully join in robbing one group through inflation, will yet be the victims of being robbed in turn by other groups which are a-coming.

Taft has a respect for constitutional law. To some peace holds more terror than war, but not for Taft. He lacks the itch for war especially the illegal kind we now have. He would not treat the constitutional limitations as another scrap of paper. Taft does not figure to follow the primrose path of perpetual war for perpetual peace and prosperity resulting in perpetuity in office. I press his case on liberals because as a class they have no vested interest to foster. Historically, they were identified with the right and wrong by conviction. Liberals carry a tremendous influence. Today all too many are prisoners of their own prejudices, prior vested thoughts; and some new-found fat.

Taft stands out as the one most indispensable man, without a competitor on the American scene. These views are not political puffs; they are not the results of huckster exaggerations. I sincerely believe I understate the man's worth. Taft is not everything each one of us wants, but let's be rewarded, that in his honesty there is hope, in his frankness there is confidence, in his modesty there is comfort, in his native courage there is leadership and in peace there is life.

All comments from readers are of course welcomed.

475 52
A Time to Bargain—*Freda Kirchwey*

THE *Nation*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Cedars of Lebanon

Los Angeles

THE first in a series of full-page advertisements published January 23 in the Hollywood trade papers announced, with a dignity rarely matched in the bombastic movieland press, the beginning of the fund-raising campaign for the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital. Under the legend, "Keep This Door Open," the hospital was likened to "the sheltering groves of cedars of ancient Lebanon," where a helping hand, peace, and comfort awaited the sick and troubled "no matter whence they came, over what road they traveled."

But the doors which, according to the advertisement, were "open wide to the sick, regardless of ability to pay and irrespective of race or creed," have been closed for political reasons to three staff doctors since the beginning of the year.

The chairman of the board of trustees, Ben R. Meyer, who is also president of the Union Bank and Trust Company, is credited with instigating the removal of the three prominent doctors. At least no one else is willing to claim the honor, and the influence of "Uncle Ben"—as he is called in banking circles—over the hospital trustees is such that the institution is frequently referred to as "Mr. Meyer's hospital."

All three of the banned physicians were recently involved in publicity which "Uncle Ben" would certainly regard as unfavorable. Dr. Murray Abowitz, a specialist in internal medicine and former head of the Cedars arthritis clinic, was front-page news last fall when he appeared as an "unfriendly witness" at the House Un-American Activities subcommittee hearings in Los Angeles; Dr. Alexander Pennes, a radiologist, was also mentioned in testimony at that time and has been subpoenaed for a future hearing in Los Angeles; and Dr. Richard W. Lippman, founder of the kidney-disease clinic and a Guggenheim Fellow, briefly made the news columns when he confirmed the diagnosis of a prison doctor attending a defendant in the current trial of fifteen Communist leaders. Since his dismissal Dr. Lippman has been honored by the United States Public Health Service, which awarded him a

\$12,000 grant for two years' research in his special field, and by his colleagues, who elected him chairman of the Southern California chapter of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine.

The three men had participated in a vigorous and successful fight against the Burns-Tenney bills introduced in the state legislature last year to extend loyalty oaths to dozens of professions licensed by the state. They had protested also the issuance of subpoenas to doctors and lawyers summoned by the House committee and were on record against other invasions of personal freedom.

At the end of last year—with the House committee headed back to Los Angeles and the Cedars building-fund campaign in prospect—the three doctors were simply not reappointed. Hospital authorities insisted that the action was "routine." They said that staff members were dropped every year for a variety of reasons which, out of solicitude for the doctors concerned, were never revealed or made the subject of hearings. Any grievance, they announced, could be taken up with the County Medical Association. In February, after a joint lay-medical committee recommended approval of the "routine" action of the trustees, the hospital's Medical Executive Committee endorsed it as "legal."

Patients, community leaders, organizations of many kinds, and the generally conservative Anglo-Jewish press have entered a vehement protest based, in many instances, not on a defense of the trio's politics, but on the irrelevance of a doctor's political opinions to his right to practice his profession. But the hospital has remained firm. Board members refused to accept registered mail from the dismissed physicians, ignored all pleas for a hearing, and failed to answer requests for factual information.

While continuing to deny that political motives exist, the hospital authorities are showing just how political a medical institution can become. At a meeting called by two of the institution's most eminent physicians, about 200 staff members heard the ousted trio present their case, and agreed to press the medical executive committee for a staff hearing. The next day a doc-

tor who had spoken on behalf of the dismissed doctors was severely rebuked by the chief of staff. Another sympathetic doctor, refused a bed for a patient, was reminded that his first "loyalty" should be to the hospital. A recently promoted staff member explained he could not sign the doctors' petition for reinstatement for fear of his appointment being canceled. Others expressed fear of reprisals and intimidation, either in denial of bed privileges for their patients or dismissal from the staff.

The hospital's devotion to its mission was underscored when Dr. Lippman, summoned for consultations on two cases by attending physicians, was refused admittance to the patients' rooms. It is impossible, of course, to know whether Dr. Lippman might have saved the patients; the fact is that they died.

The Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, representing more than sixty member agencies, some of which directly support the Cedars of Lebanon clinical program, has attempted a reconciliation between the dismissed doctors and the hospital. Since February 21 a committee of eight leading citizens, charged with investigating the facts of the eviction, has diligently applied itself to its serious task. It is the only group which has succeeded in meeting with the hospital's lay and medical executives, which is no small accomplishment in itself.

Last week the Community Council recommended that the trustees grant the three doctors a hearing. In the face of the hospital's previous insistence that the County Medical Association offered adequate grievance procedure, the recommendation has been hailed as a significant victory by supporters of the ousted trio.

As the Cedars experiment in political anesthesia may drag on through many more months of debate and possible court action, the Community Council might meanwhile get from the trustees an indication of the extent to which political standards will guide future admittances to the hospital. Will the "sick and troubled" be the next victims?

HANNAH BLOOM

[Hannah Bloom is Los Angeles correspondent of The Nation.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 18

The Shape of Things

PREMIER DE GASPERI'S UNDISPUTED SKILL IN political maneuver is being put to a severe test by the approaching provincial and municipal elections in central and southern Italy. His position is much more difficult than in last summer's vote in the north, which gave the Christian Democrats the full benefit of an amended electoral law aimed, as in France, at cutting down the representation of the Left. There the rival group on the Right, the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement, was not a real competitor and De Gasperi's party could easily absorb its votes and obtain the two-thirds majority of the councils insured under the new law. In the south and center, on the contrary, he finds himself without allies on the Right and facing a strong Communist-Left-Socialist coalition. De Gasperi could not ally himself with the extreme Right without provoking a storm in his own party ranks. In any case, the neo-Fascists, whose strength has increased in accordance with the general trend in Europe, want to demonstrate their power as a separate party. So De Gasperi was forced to try to patch up the coalition of Christian Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, and right-wing Socialists, but the effort collapsed as the result of Republican and Socialist opposition. Now the government party faces an electoral battle on two fronts, without effective allies, against the obstacle of public disappointment over De Gasperi's failure on Trieste and his equally embarrassing failure to produce the \$680,000,000 he was supposed to have brought back from Washington.

✱

A PERCEPTIVE AND COURAGEOUS ADDRESS on the State of the Church was presented last week at the opening session of the quadrennial general conference of the Methodist Church, meeting in San Francisco. Most noteworthy is the manner in which the seventy bishops, who gave their unanimous approval to the document, relate foreign and domestic issues. "It is not Russia," reads the statement, "that is our real enemy but the evils in modern society which Russia falsely offers to eradicate." Emphatic in its renunciation of communism, the message boldly asserts that "our real problem turns out to be not communism but revolution"; everywhere humanity is in revolt against poverty,

famine, and exploitation. And the right conclusion is unhesitatingly drawn: a policy of military containment is "morally fallacious" and should be rejected. The message then points out the domestic consequences of this policy: "concerted and often vicious efforts to regiment thought and curb freedom of speech" in politics, education, and religion. Not at all intimidated by a recent report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the message contains an unapologetic defense of the Methodist Federation for Social Action and takes to task those who seek to declare "out of bounds" any Methodist, layman or minister, who dares to think independently on issues concerning the current social and economic order. Delivered by Bishop Paul B. Kern of Nashville, the message should encourage all those who resent current efforts to restrict traditional American freedoms.

✱

BRITAIN'S ANNUAL ECONOMIC SURVEY WAS originated by the Labor Government as an important part of the machinery of planning. Its purpose was to assess total national resources and to budget their distribution. In the beginning, perhaps, the blueprints were too detailed and too rigid, making insufficient allowance for changing conditions. Now the first Tory contribution, the work of reluctant converts to planning, goes to the other extreme, being designed to do no more than explain the facts of the economic situation as a "background" to consideration of government policies. A final section does, however, set forth an attenuated balance sheet showing that even if the "hope" of a \$700,000,000 increase in national output is realized, total resources available for personal consumption and investment will decline by a similar figure owing to increased government expenditure on defense, larger exports, and diminished imports. Since total personal consumption is expected to remain at the 1951 level, there must be a cut of \$700,000,000 in investment. The survey states that this cut will be divided between fixed capital and inventories but provides no detailed information about the industries that will be affected. Again, while properly putting great emphasis on Britain's need for redressing its trade balance, the survey is surprisingly vague about ways and means. As the London *Daily Mirror* of April 23 comments: "The survey admits that exports will be

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CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 463

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 440

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very hard to increase but does not suggest that there is any real government plan to see that industries forge ahead and get the exports. The government must do more than sit and wait." *

THE APPOINTMENT OF GAEL SULLIVAN AS Kefauver's campaign manager lends added interest to the Tennessean's vigorous try for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Mr. Sullivan brings to the undertaking a sure knowledge of how political machines are run—indispensable to the chances of any would-be nominee—and much besides. It is an open secret that he broke with Mr. Truman and resigned as acting chairman of the Democratic National Committee because of his preference for Justice William O. Douglas as the 1948 candidate. Four years later Justice Douglas still represents Mr. Sullivan's ideal choice for the Presidency. Imaginative, dynamic, a strong civil libertarian committed by temperament and conviction to the Roosevelt concepts, Gael Sullivan has taken a leave of absence from his post as Executive Director of Theater Owners of America to back Kefauver in a fight for the return of the country to democratic principles and practices. If, together, they will work out a program that offers a real challenge to the Republicans, they have a unique opportunity to rally behind them the independent vote. The basic danger today is that, given little to choose between the platforms of the parties, people will decide not to use their franchise at all.

*

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, WHO DIED LAST week after a long and characteristically courageous struggle against a combination of painful maladies, brought to British politics one of the finest minds of the generation. Superficial observers, indeed, were sometimes so impressed by his mental capacity that they saw him as a kind of mechanical brain, efficient but soulless. Actually, the scope of his intellect and the clarity of his thought were matched by an unshakable integrity and a passionate concern for social justice. Cripps had, it is true, a full share of British reserve: he was not an easy man to know. Yet beneath the rather frosty exterior there was real warmth, a fact attested by his popularity in his constituency—a Bristol working-class district—and the kind of devotion he won from the very able group of M.P.'s and civil servants he gathered about him at the Treasury. If Cripps never commanded the easy affection of the crowd, he did gain an unusual measure of public respect. When he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1947, the British recovery effort was faltering. He took vigorous steps to speed up production and exports while warding off inflation by the austerity measures which will always be associated with his name. Such measures were bound to be unpopular. Neverthe-

less, Cripps's sincerity, together with his lucid expositions of economic necessities, carried conviction and he won an amazing degree of cooperation. Trade unionists in particular responded to his appeals for restraint in wage demands because they realized that his policies were genuinely designed to achieve equality of sacrifice and that his aim was to strengthen the economy so it could bear the weight of the welfare state. His strength failed before he could complete the task, but the foundations he laid are likely to prove a durable monument to his ideals.

★

ENGLEWOOD, NEW JERSEY, CONTINUES TO be "our town in turmoil" (see *The Nation*, June 16, 1951). Mary McLeod Bethune, president emeritus of Bethune-Cookman College, president of the National Council of Negro Women, vice-president of the N. A. A. C. P. and the Urban League, was scheduled to speak in the local junior high school at a meeting sponsored by the women's auxiliary of the Henry Douglas Post of the American Legion. In response to protests filed by the Englewood Anti-Communist League, the Board of Education notified the sponsors that permission to hold the meeting would be revoked unless within forty-eight hours Mrs. Bethune refuted the charge that she had been a member of several "front" organizations. The sponsors "indefinitely postponed" the meeting, and Mrs. Bethune spoke in a local church instead. Of the current batch of free-speech incidents, this is perhaps, the most significant. Ever since 1947, the chief minority-defense organizations have insisted on differentiating between "civil rights" and "civil liberties." In an editorial on Rights and Liberties (July 22, 1950), we pointed to this distinction as unrealistic and dangerous. Mrs. Bethune's concern for "civil rights" has precipitated still another "civil liberties" issue. Will the important minority-defense organizations now join with the American Civil Liberties Union in an effort to induce Englewood's Board of Education to rescind, as utterly un-American, a policy of automatically banning speakers whose names have been listed in the index of the various state and federal committees investigating so-called un-American activities? This is the crux of the matter.

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THIS YEAR THE UNITED NATIONS WAS MADE the major target of the 61st Continental Congress of the D. A. R. With virtually no debate, the 5,000 beribboned delegates demanded that Congress keep tight pursestrings on all specialized agencies of the United Nations; called for an investigation of the affront to the Stars and Stripes implicit in the hoisting at Atlantic Fleet Headquarters of "an international flag"; reiterated their opposition to any effort to bring about even partial world government through the United

Nations; charged that the safety of the United States was endangered by "the futile policy of appeasement by the United Nations in Korea"; and denounced the use of UNESCO booklets in the public schools. The delegates cheered to the echo violent denunciations of the United Nations by Senator William E. Jenner and Representative John T. Wood, to whom the U. N. Charter is a "crime perpetrated against us by a coterie composed of out-and-out minions of Soviet Russia, pro-British Fabian Socialists, Rhodes Scholars, and just plain traitors to America." D. A. R. resolutions are traditionally ritualistic; but this year's batch is alarming evidence of the growth of the campaign, launched a year or so ago in the know-nothing press, to "get the U. S. out of the U. N. and the U. N. out of the U. S." A portion of the \$20,000 appropriated to carry on its campaign against subversive activities might well be used by the D. A. R. to find out who is subverting its own policies and by what means. Mrs. Roosevelt's comment is also to the point: "I know that many fine people are members of the D. A. R. . . . but I believe that we are living in an era too dangerous for any group . . . to pass resolutions without careful study."

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GENERAL HOYT S. VANDENBERG, AIR FORCE Chief of Staff, has dismissed the "sitdown strike" of reserve officers at Randolph and Mather Air Bases as "a tempest in a teapot." Nevertheless, there is reason to suppose that the Pentagon is seriously disturbed by this development which involves several hundred men, many of them with distinguished combat records, who have asked to be relieved from flying duties. The trouble seems to have varied roots—nervous wives, reductions in "hazard pay," a high accident rate (eight B-29's have crashed at Randolph since August, 1950). But there also appears to be tension between the regular officers in charge of the Air Training Program and the reservists, some of whom complain that they are shipped off to Korea while "incompetent" regulars, many of whom have never gone overseas, enjoy safe jobs at home. For the air force to yield to the "strikers" would, as Vandenberg has said, be unfair to those on duty in Korea. Moreover, no military organization can tolerate flat refusal to obey orders. On the other hand, an unwilling pilot can hardly inspire confidence in the crew for whose lives he is responsible. Immediately, the air force is trying to stop the rot by severe measures. One officer was sentenced to two years' imprisonment after the prosecutor told the court martial: "If you don't sentence this man there will be a general exodus from the service." It is doubtful whether such steps will check an obvious deterioration in morale and the air force will be well advised to supplement them with a sympathetic inquiry into grievances. Unless it does so, it may find its whole expansion program threatened by lack of pilots.

THE BAN AGAINST THE BUILDING OF NEW television stations that has been in force for the past three and a half years (see *The Nation*, February 16, 1952) has finally been lifted by the Federal Communications Commission. The order provides for the opening of 2,053 new stations in 1,291 communities and sets aside 242 channels—an increase of 33 over the figure tentatively established in 1951—for the exclusive use of non-commercial, educational interests. Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock, who played a key role in the fight to reserve channels for educational television, filed a partial dissent on the ground that the number of outlets reserved for educational use is inadequate. No educational channels, she points out, have been reserved for about one-fourth of the metropolitan communities, including Youngstown, Ohio, with a population of 325,000. On the other hand, the Joint Committee on Educational Television, representing seven national educational groups, is apparently satisfied with the order. Actually, because 162 of the channels cannot be picked up on Very High Frequency sets, which make up all but a small fraction of the 17 million instruments now in use, the number of channels allocated for educational purposes will be reduced to a third until Ultra High Frequency owners can afford a converter or a VHF set. All things considered, however, the number of outlets reserved for educational use is probably as large as could be expected at this time. It is now up to the educators to take advantage of the opportunity to acquire TV outlets. If the 242 channels reserved for educational use are not allocated within the year, the pressure to reclassify them for commercial use will be very great indeed.

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LAST YEAR UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI students decided to hold a mock political convention—without consulting Senator Taft. An emissary from the Taft forces immediately notified the student committee, and the administration, that the convention would be "political dynamite" unless some assurance could be given in advance that the Senator would receive a sizable majority in the popularity poll. The students explained, with patience and tact, that although Republican conventions might be fixed in this way, mock student conventions could not be so easily manipulated. The unidentified politician thereupon declared that he would speak to Ben Tate, treasurer of the Taft campaign, who is a member of the board of directors of the university. Later the administration announced that the value of the convention would not justify the amount of time and work it would require. For nearly a year the student committee loyally acquiesced to the president's request that they should not explain why the convention had been abandoned. But William Smart, retiring president of the campus Y. M. C. A. group, recently decided to

tell the student body what had happened. "All year," he said, "this question has bothered me. . . . After much consideration I felt an open statement should be made. . . . This sort of thing should not have happened. Maybe it can be prevented in the future. . . . It is up to the students to prepare for this fight for democracy right now." Senator Taft, we feel sure, was not aware of what happened a year ago; but he should find some way, even at this late date, of making his position clear—as by requesting that the students be given a chance to express their preferences in a campus poll.

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IT IS NO LONGER NEWS THAT BOOKS BY Protestants criticizing the Catholic Church for its more worldly activities are handled gingerly by editors, who subscribe to a distressing degree to the Hollywood cult of NOA, or Not Offending Anybody—its negative sound is all too appropriate. One might expect that they would be braver about a book by a Catholic criticizing the church on the same grounds, namely Thomas Sugrue's "A Catholic Speaks His Mind on America's Religious Conflict," especially since it criticizes Protestants as well. But No—or rather NOA. Both the *Herald Tribune Books* and the *New York Times Book Review* not only gave the book to Catholics for review—in itself unexceptionable—but selected reviewers who seemed more concerned with Mr. Sugrue's subjective state of mind than with the objective issues his book was obviously designed to raise. Mr. Sugrue himself was referring to these two reviews, among others, when in a rather bitter speech the other day he said, "They had to eject me from the group in the eyes of that group." Certainly the reviews we have cited were designed to ground his criticisms, not to confront them or further their discussion.

A Time to Bargain

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

ONE can safely assume that the swift rise of military power in the West was responsible for Moscow's latest proposals for the unification of Germany. It may have been responsible, too, for the sudden crisis in the truce talks at Panmunjom. Moscow undoubtedly fears above everything else the creation of an integrated, armed, Atlantic coalition embracing Western Germany. To prevent this by every available means would appear to be the chief object of Soviet diplomacy, justifying in their eyes even such extreme expedients as support for a German national army; justifying also, perhaps, the risk of a revived and expanded war in Korea to divert American material, men, and attention from Europe to Asia. Secretary Acheson's description of the Soviet offers on

Germany as "apples of discord" thrown among the Allies therefore was apt. But when he and President Truman and other Western leaders go on to argue that because the Kremlin is doing its best to delay and obstruct Allied military plans its offers are "phony," their logic goes haywire and their own intentions become suspect. Under what circumstances, we wonder, is an offer more likely to be genuine than when made under pressure of well-founded fear? And what is all this Western integration and rearmament about if not to stimulate proposals for the negotiated settlement of outstanding issues?

The real Western objection to the Moscow offers is not that they are phony but that they are almost certainly sincere—that Russia, in order to demolish the grand strategy of the Atlantic alliance, is actually ready to permit the reunion of Germany under a freely elected central authority. And this is something that the West will not tolerate for it would mean shifting the whole emphasis of Atlantic policy from military containment to diplomatic negotiation. For such a change, the American leaders of the Western coalition are not ready.

But since they are none the less committed to the principle of German unity, they cannot be frank in their comments on, or answers to, the Russian notes. They must pretend to favor what they actually oppose and limit themselves to detailed objections which, under the circumstances, are without interest or validity. And this is most unfortunate, for if the Allied leaders were not trapped in their own contradictions they could say some pertinent things about the proper means of securing free elections and also about Moscow's dangerous plan to revive German military power. As it is, their words carry a false echo and their position has been seriously undermined, as Moscow obviously intended. The results are apparent both to Bonn and the Atlantic alliance itself.

In Germany the anti-Adenauer elements, increasing in number and influence, have been given new proof that integration in the NATO structure will end the prospect of German unity for the foreseeable future. In Western Europe as a whole, fear of armed Russian attack has largely disappeared; even top Allied military leaders discount an early invasion. So the view that every Moscow overture must be automatically rebuffed—never popular among our allies—and the further view that Germany's inclusion in the defense system is an overriding necessity have suffered severe deflation. Europeans are more and more inclined to believe that Moscow is ready to pay a real price in return for real concessions. Even assuming the Kremlin's purposes to be unalterably hostile, if it has resigned itself to achieving them through political and social struggle rather than atom war most Europeans would gladly gamble on the chance of defeating them the same way. And

meanwhile an easing of tension would permit economic improvements and a consequently firmer political fabric.

While Mr. Acheson signals full speed ahead in the talks with Bonn, so that the Contractual Agreement can be signed by May 15, complications multiply. The new strength of the opposition, even in his own party, drove Chancellor Adenauer to point out last week that the agreement would be subject to change if unification were to be achieved—a statement that revived every French doubt about the security of a German alliance. The collapse of Paris-Bonn negotiations on the Saar further threatened the whole relationship, in spite of frantic intervention by Britain and the United States. And in the Pentagon, as this week began, anxious talks were going on in an effort to prevent a showdown at Panmunjom which might mean the renewal of active fighting—with consequences beyond calculation.

THERE is only one sane answer to this series of events, and it must come from Washington. America should accept the logic of its power and its professed philosophy. If the President and Secretary honestly regard the defense program as an instrument to force Moscow into making concessions rather than threats, they should treat the German-unity proposals as a victory, a step along the road we say we want to go. They should agree to negotiate—which is to say, bargain—on Germany, knowing they have high cards and need not be outmaneuvered. They should keep their fingers crossed but shed their inferiority complex. They should never find the moment inopportune for talk; what they might lose in the momentum of war preparation they would gain in the equally vital asset of human confidence. To go on rejecting every new chance of contact or conciliation is to create an impression unjustly favorable to Moscow, spreading the Kremlin's gospel that the United States wants to overthrow Soviet power, rather than merely to check it, and by military and economic might to dominate the world.

An election year is a poor time to ask for common sense. Any hint that the Administration intended to examine Russian offers soberly or to initiate peace moves itself would certainly be seized by the jingo lunatics and turned to their own destructive ends. But we continue to believe that such people are few, though well heeled and able to make much trouble in proportion to their numbers. We believe the mood of the ordinary citizens of this country—each with one vote—is better expressed by the Methodist declaration quoted on page 413. If any real break in the world deadlock could be brought about between now and November, the power of the McCarthyite fringe would vanish overnight and the men responsible would be hailed as peacemakers, not appeasers.

The Moscow Trade Conference

BY JOHN BOYD-ORR

[Lord Boyd-Orr, former head of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and a Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1949, played a leading role at the International Economic Conference in Moscow as a member of the British delegation. His story, written exclusively for The Nation, was dispatched from Moscow on the day after the conference closed.]

Moscow, April 13

THERE are two different views on the origin of the International Economic Conference which closed here yesterday. According to one, it was promoted by a Communist-dominated Peace Council as an instrument of propaganda. In support of this view are the facts that the council did propose such a conference and that Moscow was chosen as its site. According to the other view, the conference was promoted primarily by economists with no political ax to grind. Supporting this is the fact that the initiating committee, which met at Copenhagen, refused to permit Peace Council representatives to participate in organizing the conference and that the Rules of Procedure, as finally adopted, forbade any reference to the relative merits of different economic and political systems (a prohibition which was rigidly enforced). As for the choice of Moscow as the site, the initiating committee explains that Russia was the only country which guaranteed visas to delegates from all countries.

The conference was attended by 470 delegates. The British delegation of thirty-two consisted of about half a dozen members of Parliament, another half-dozen academic economists from Oxford, Cambridge, Birmingham, and Glasgow universities, two or three representatives of trade unions, about a dozen business men, and three or four people accompanying delegates. So far as I could make out, the delegations from other Western countries comprised a similar mixture of economists and business men. Politically they were also mixed, though the British delegation had no Communists. The French, for instance, included De Gaullists, Radicals, and Communists. The delegates from the Communist countries were either representatives of official trade organizations or university professors of economics. The leader of the Russian delegation is chairman of the Moscow Chamber of Commerce.

The speeches at the plenary and in the various panels were non-political, dealing mainly with economic conditions in the country of the speaker—the extent of unemployment and the reasons for it, shortages of raw materials or the lack of orders for export, inflation and

the rising cost of living, the goods which the country could export and the goods which it wished to import.

A good deal of business was done. The meetings had to be adjourned for two days to leave the business men free to make their deals. The British delegation made agreements for the export of goods, mainly textiles and footwear, to the extent of £16,000,000 (\$44,800,000) against the import of goods of approximately equal value consisting mainly of food, livestock feed, glassware, and other consumer goods. Other transactions of about an equal amount were discussed, but on the last day of the conference agreement had not been reached on prices or was delayed because samples were not available. The biggest British transactions were with Russia and China.

If the direct contact of business men and representatives of trade organizations had the same result with other delegations as it had with the British, the conference must have substantially increased international trade. All transactions were negotiated within the existing framework of political and economic restrictions so that nothing should prevent their successful completion.

The export of goods, especially textiles, from Britain will help to reduce the rising unemployment which has been causing alarm to manufacturing firms and trade unions, and the imports will help to prevent the deterior-

A British Reaction

Many interpretations of the [Moscow trade] conference are possible. It can be seen as an attempt to drive a wedge between the United States and her allies, or as a means of organizing fairly large business deals that might otherwise have encountered technical difficulties. It is possible also to see in it a gesture of conciliation. Within the U. S. S. R., as in other countries, there are many different strands of policy; and at the same time as the most violent propaganda is launched against the United States and her allies a more constructive effort may be made to improve relations by expanding trade. The conference could easily have been used to pass resolutions against strategic trade restrictions, and such resolutions might have found vociferous supporters in the west. . . . The fact that no such resolution was put was some indication that the object of the conference was not to score a point or to sow dissension but to keep open the road to a better understanding.—*The Times of London.*

ration in the food position which has been causing discontent among housewives. If similar benefits are obtained for the other participants, the conference will have helped both business and the standard of living.

The political significance of the conference is difficult to assess. Though politics did not enter into the discussions, the fact that delegates from more than forty countries met in Moscow is a political factor of some importance. Further, the conversations not only between delegates outside the conference but also with Russian citizens in the subways, in the shops, and in the hotels, when one could find a Russian interpreter, offered some opportunity to correct the wrong impression most of the people seemed to have about conditions in Britain and America. On the other hand, delegates from Western countries got a better idea of life in Russia. Such direct contact of people from countries with different cultures and historical backgrounds should help to bring about a better understanding. I suggested to the leader of the Russian delegation that his government should adjust the present absurd rate of exchange of four rubles to the dollar to twenty, and offer visas to 100,000 British and American visitors, and send an equal number of Russians to Western countries to see for themselves.

The conference resolved to set up a permanent committee to make arrangements for another meeting next year to be held in a country willing to give visas to all delegates. India was suggested by some. The expenses of the committee are to be met by voluntary contributions, the largest being expected from firms which have done most business. It also resolved to ask the General Assembly of the United Nations to convene a conference of government-appointed business men and economists, with the addition of private citizens, for a free discus-

sion of how to bring about a rapidly expanding universal economy which could deal with the greatly increased industrial potential of the world. [According to *France Presse*, the permanent committee includes Paul Bastid, former French Minister of Commerce and for many years editor of the ultra-conservative Paris daily, *L'Aurore*; Felipe Florencia Freyre of Argentina; Jack Perry, director of a British textile firm, and Oliver Vickery, San Francisco industrialist.]

The general impression of the British delegates is that the conference succeeded far beyond their expectations. Some of the business done might eventually have passed through normal channels but other transactions would never have taken place without the direct meeting and bargaining of representatives of business firms and organizations. The contacts established are being maintained and extended so that the trade done at the conference itself may be only the first fruits of expanding international trade, which is good for business and good for the people of all countries.

President Truman is reported to have said some time ago that if we of the West could discuss with the Russians our mutual interest in agriculture it would be easier to discuss some of the other questions which divide us. But it is difficult for discussions on business to take place at government level without politics entering in. The success of this conference suggests that if in all countries the politicians who deal with foreign affairs were given a well-earned long holiday, and business men were given more freedom to develop international trade on business lines, the resulting increase in economic prosperity and rise in the standard of living throughout the world would help to lessen the present dangerous political tension.

Knight of the Crescent

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IF TRAGEDY had not cast its shadow over everything connected with the Spain of today, one could enjoy the spectacle of Generalissimo Dictator Franco stepping onto the world stage costumed as the Knight of the Crescent. For this newly emerged friend of the Arabs spent most of his military career slaughtering Moors, in training for his later occupation of slaughtering Spaniards.

It was in 1921, when the military disaster of Melilla had led the commanding general Fernandez Silvestre to blow his brains out, that the "Tercio Extranjero" was created—a kind of Spanish Foreign Legion which attracted to its ranks the toughest sort of adventurers from every country. Major Franco was chosen to head the

Tercio. Throughout the following years of struggle against Abd-el Krim, the fierce chieftain of the bellicose tribe of the Beniurriagel who had proclaimed himself Sultan, Franco became notorious for his barbaric cruelty. Abd-el Krim himself was hardly a model military leader and the freedom of such Spanish war prisoners as escaped death had to be "bought" in a famous transaction carried out by the Basque banker Echevarrieta on behalf of the Spanish government. But the Spanish atrocities in Morocco, in large part the work of Franco's legion, were denounced by the Arabs in horrifying postcards showing the heads of Moors being carried on the bayonets of the soldiers of "El Tercio." They were denounced with equal bitterness by courageous Spaniards,

both in Parliament and in memorable writings such as the open letter to the King by the great Miguel de Unamuno. In fact the chief motive behind the coup d'état which established General Primo de Rivera as dictator in 1923 was to prevent the discussion by Parliament of General Picasso's sensational report exposing—with severe damage to Alfonso's reputation—the shame of the Moroccan campaign. The fact that this report was written by an active general shows that the army as a whole did not identify itself with the behavior of officers like Franco.

As the result of the coup, the King won eight years' respite only to fall, together with his dynasty, in 1931. Franco, on the contrary, was spared by a soft Republican regime, even though in October, 1934, he had brought Moorish troops to Asturias to smash the miners' revolt. Now he emerges as the "friend of Islam" and is accepted as such by Arab politicians—although there must be some Moslems who still recall the day Franco insulted all Islam by riding his horse into the mosque of Xauen.

SEVERAL events during the last United Nations Assembly confirmed the trend inaugurated by the 1949 visit to Spain of the late King Abdullah of Jordan. There was the interview with the Secretary General of the Arab League, Azzam Pasha, in the falangist paper *El Pueblo*, which stressed the fact that "the Arab countries and Spain together hold the greater part of the Mediterranean coast" and that consequently Spain was an important factor in any project looking toward a Mediterranean Pact. And it was in the course of a lavish reception at the Franco Embassy in Paris for the Arab delegates that French diplomats discovered, not without concern, the seriousness with which Franco took his role as mediator between the Moslem world and the West.

When it became evident at the NATO conference in Lisbon that, in spite of secret promises of American support for a tighter integration of Spain into the Atlantic community the doors of NATO remained firmly closed to the Spanish regime—mainly because of the opposition of France and the Scandinavian countries—Franco's plans to cement and exploit Arab-Spanish friendship were pushed ahead with all possible speed. The diplomacy of Madrid, which had previously concentrated on gaining acceptance of Spain as a permanent Western ally and not simply an auxiliary aid in the anti-Russian strategy, was now directed by a single thought—to increase its bargaining power with Washington.

This became essential for several reasons. One of these was Madrid's preoccupation with the morale of the army. No matter what tales are told to Americans by their various services in Spain, the truth is that disaffection in the army is mounting. One of the most effective weapons of the opposition is the argument that

Franco is ready to sell the country to the United States for the hundreds of millions of dollars needed to repair the damage done to Spain's economy by his regime's incompetence and corruption. The army has lately proved very sensitive to that suggestion. Generals who after thirteen years are tired of having Franco as absolute master, generals who have failed to enrich themselves like the big *estraperlistas* in uniform, honorable officers who put Spain first, not to mention the great number of Republicans serving as simple conscripts—all these constitute a menace to the regime if the army comes to regard the arrangements with America as a mercenary deal compromising the sovereignty of Spain rather than as an alliance between equals.

It is true that Franco's prestige—and consequently his price—had been inflated by the attentions showered upon him by over-generous Americans. Those innumerable pilgrimages of Senators, Representatives, generals, admirals, and newspaper editors to the Palacio del Pardo had persuaded the Spanish dictator that the United States considered him its most valuable potential ally. This belief was reinforced by all the talk in the American press about Spanish divisions and bases, widely reproduced in the falangist press. Today Franco doubtless considers himself the most important European chieftain in the crusade against communism. But in order to maintain that role, his claims had to be substantiated by something more than pure bluff. For this purpose he depended upon two cards—Portugal and the Arab world.

At their joint meeting on the Spanish-Portuguese border on April 14, the two dictators, Francisco Franco and Oliveira Salazar, stated "their perfect agreement" as to the proper concept of Western policy. Taking as their point of departure "the strategic unity of the Iberian Peninsula," the lines were laid down for "a common defensive action within the general framework of the Western defense." In plain words this meant: If you want Portugal and the Azores, you must also take Franco. Madrid also requested and obtained Lisbon's support for a revision of the status of Tangier, aimed at giving back to Spain the control of that strategic international city which Franco seized by force during World War II to embarrass the Allies and please Hitler. Franco's agents, according to French intelligence, had been actively involved in the anti-French riots of March 30, which gave Madrid its pretext for raising the Tangier issue in direct defiance of the agreement on the policing and administration of the city made after the war by the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union.

But a still higher card in Franco's hand is his plan to become mediator in the Western effort to integrate the Arab states into the Atlantic strategy through a Mediterranean pact. Before his meeting with Salazar,

Franco had already dispatched his Foreign Minister, Martin Artajo, on a mission to the six countries, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, and Egypt. Under the Iberian Pact Franco was in any case obligated to consult Portugal before making any new international arrangements, but he gladly used the occasion of his meeting with Salazar to underline before the world his mission to bring Moslems and Christians into a holy brotherhood against the Russians.

For that a consistent effort to attract the feudal Arab leaders and politicians had to be launched. Franco missed no opportunity of assuring the Arabs of his support when the day should come for wiping out the state of Israel; at the same time he identified himself with their anti-French moves in North Africa. He also had the problem of his own Morocco. Thanks to the collaboration of opportunist leaders like Abd-el Khalek Torres and Benalua, a surprising calm reigns in Spanish Morocco at the very moment when French diplomacy is losing its head in Tunisia and the rest of North Africa. A wide variety of "political parties" have suddenly been authorized in Spanish Morocco, while in

Spain itself not a single party except the Falange is tolerated: freedom for the colonies and slavery for the master race! Of course the whole thing is a farce. The walls that since the fifteenth century have surrounded Melilla, separating the city with its military Spanish aristocracy from the miserable lands on which the Arabs vegetate, are as impenetrable as ever. They will fall only on the day an enlightened Spanish Republic recognizes the march of time in Africa. But Franco's pretense of democracy in Morocco serves the dictator's present purposes.

When Martin Artajo returns from his Arabian trip, which has been hailed as a triumph in the Cairo press, Franco will turn to the Americans and say, "Now that we have tightened our bonds with Portugal and made Spain and the Arab world one, what have you to offer? Only through me can your dreams of a Mediterranean pact be realized; only through me can Islam be kept out of the clutches of communism. Agreement can be had on my terms—take them or leave them." This may turn out to be the most audacious blackmail operation since the war.

Perón Through in '52?

BY FERMIN GONZALEZ

Buenos Aires
THERE are no Gallup polls in Argentina but even the most cursory survey of public opinion in Buenos Aires today would reveal that many Argentines are convinced that a military coup will overthrow Juan Perón before the end of this year.

The credibility of this prediction must be judged in the light of Argentina's history and of the crisis, deepening from day to day, which now has the country in its grip.

Argentina enacted its democratic constitution in 1853 and for seventy-seven years was ruled by a succession of constitutional civilian regimes. But in 1930 the Conservative Party, which had been out of power since 1916, sought military help to overthrow the government of Hipólito Yrigoyen, leader of the centrist Unión Cívica Radical, whose program for nationalizing oil had the support of the people. The *putsch* was engineered by General Uriburu with the support of the Right and of several American oil companies. A group of students and writers said at the time: "The coup is tantamount to making the army the judge of elections and governments." Certainly the event marked the end

of normal constitutional government. The army has since been the decisive element in the role played by the conservative political factions in Argentina.

A second military coup occurred in 1943. It was supported by avowed Fascist groups and by Hitler's agents in Latin America who were determined to prevent Argentina from lining up with the Allies against the Axis powers. One of the most active plotters was Colonel Juan Domingo Perón, who had spent several years in Italy and had personally witnessed many of the Axis *blitzkrieg* triumphs. Thus Perón's rise to power was the result of a combination of international Nazi-Fascist intrigue and the plotting of some of the same imperialist and reactionary factions which had maneuvered the Uriburu coup thirteen years earlier. The roots of Argentina's troubles go much deeper than the present dictatorship.

When Germany's defeat deprived Perón of the continued international backing he had expected, he put forward a domestic program, modeled on Fascist lines, designed to win him the support of the industrial bourgeoisie and the urban and rural proletariat. His Five Year Plan, announced in 1946, had the following over-all objectives: the mechanization of agriculture to increase production; the establishment of the government as the sole exporter of agricultural products, the

FERMIN GONZALEZ is the pseudonym of a distinguished Argentine journalist and former political leader.

profits from this foreign trade to be used to promote domestic industry through the increase of fuel production, the building of hydroelectric plants, the improvement of transport, and the purchase from abroad of raw materials and machinery.

Here was a program which, if honestly and efficiently executed, could have meant a genuine progressive revolution. Everything favored Perón: in 1946 Argentina was still a rich and solvent country. It was one of the world's greatest exporters of meat and grain, ranking first in corn, linseed and chilled beef, second in mutton, and third in wool. At war's end, Argentina's gold and foreign-exchange reserves amounted to \$1,700,000,000; Perón himself boasted that there were not enough safes in Buenos Aires to hold all the government's gold. The country's light industry had developed enormously since 1935; it was producing foodstuffs, textiles, leather goods, glassware, and hundreds of other consumer items. Between 1935 and 1941 the number of industrial concerns had risen from 40,000 to 58,000.

What has happened since the Five Year Plan was proclaimed?

TODAY not a cent remains of Argentina's \$1,700,000,000 gold and foreign-exchange reserves. The huge sum has been dissipated in buying arms, in the expropriation of the British-owned railways under conditions which netted the foreign shareholders \$600,000,000 for material not worth half that amount, and—above all—in graft which has gone to line the pockets of the ruling clique. Most of this graft was skimmed off the prices paid the United States, Britain, and Canada for surplus war material.

None of the plan's principal features have been executed. Not a single hydroelectric plant has been built; industrial machinery has not been renewed; the railroads have not been modernized; fuel production has not been increased. As for agriculture, the country which less than six years ago was one of the world's great exporters of grain and beef is now going meatless two days a week while white bread has disappeared altogether. In 1908 Argentina's cultivated area amounted to 19,000,000 hectares (approximately 47,000,000 acres); today it totals barely 16,000,000 hectares (about 40,000,000 acres). Perón has "encouraged" Argentine agriculture to the extent that this year and next the export surplus of grain will be practically nothing and that of meat very small. This can mean the economic ruin of the country in a very short time.

The effects of Argentina's industrial stagnation are

apparent in the closing of numerous factories because of lack of fuel and machinery. Electric power is rationed; unemployment has increased by 30,000 since 1950; the cost of living is five to six times higher than it was in 1946. There are long lines before stores selling bread, meat, butter, wine, potatoes, and fuel, on which speculators are making enormous sums. Small business is being strangled by the imposition of government controls.

So far Perón has managed to ward off major trouble through inflation. Paper money has been printed at a mad rate to cover government expenses and maintain labor support through nominal wage increases. Currency in circulation, amounting to two billion pesos in 1943, rose to fourteen billion pesos in 1951—an increase of 66 per cent in eight years.

The outlook for the immediate future is indeed grim. The increase in real wages has not been sufficient for

the workers to maintain their living standards and unemployment continues to rise; these facts spell widespread labor unrest. Argentina's foreign-exchange position is deteriorating steadily. Not only have its foreign reserves disappeared, but the normally favorable trade balance has turned into a deficit which last year amounted to more than \$33,000,000.

There can be only one explanation for the situation in which Argentina finds itself today: the incompetence and corruption of the Perón regime. Agriculture was sacrificed for an uneconomical and chaotic industrialization plan; foreign exchange and public funds were wasted on military installations and obsolete armaments bought at prices which left wide margins for graft. The high-wage inflationist policy drew farmers and agricultural workers to the cities—a situation which the government is now trying to remedy through measures that fail to strike at the heart of the agricultural problem. Despite repeated promises, Perón has not touched the *latifundia*, the immense properties of the wealthy landowners who are the government's staunchest supporters. Instead he is telling the people: "Eat less and produce more."

Many Argentines wonder whether this slogan applies also to some of the people most intimate with the Peróns. Juan Duarte, the dictator's brother-in-law, gives sumptuous parties at which he boasts that he is "the wealthiest bachelor in the world." Actress friends of Eva Perón have been granted monopolies on certain foodstuffs and other scarce products: Tita Merello, an actress, is Argentina's only authorized importer of Chinese tea. Juana Larrauri, a radio singer, is a National Senator for Entre Rios province who organizes armed assaults on meetings of opposition political parties. Eva



Drawing by Seligson
Juan Perón

Perón's Social Welfare Fund has become internationally notorious. Employers and workers are forced to contribute to it an estimated million pesos daily (more than \$72,000); Mrs. Perón accounts to no one for what she spends.

The atmosphere of corruption and ignorance emanating from the government pervades almost all aspects of public life. At the universities, Peronista professors automatically pass all pro-Perón students; in primary schools, teachers are obliged to praise Perón in the classrooms. The courts have been "purged" to the point where many judges seek daily instructions on the handling of cases from the provincial government or the chief of police.

The opposition no longer enjoys civil rights. Thousands of military men, politicians, students, and workers are today in jail because they disagree with the regime. The horrible tortures inflicted upon political and military prisoners are common knowledge [see Perón Turns to Torture in *The Nation* of April 19]. Among these victims are two former editors of *La Prensa* who refused to continue writing for the paper after it was expropriated by the government. Two army officers, Colonel Suarez and Lieutenant Demichelli, have recently undergone torture, and people still talk about the case of Aguirre, a workman, who died in excruciating pain in the hands of the sadistic police. Women have been thrown into jail for protesting against high prices and the long queues in front of food stores.

Police terror will undoubtedly grow as popular unrest continues to mount. And as Perón feels his position increasingly threatened, he is pinning his hopes on two possibilities: American help in exchange for the alignment of Argentina with the anti-Communist front, and the outbreak of a new war which would enable him to

repress even more ruthlessly his domestic opposition and at the same time ease his financial situation by boosting export prices. Perón himself has been mentioning these possibilities in articles for the newspaper *Democracia* which he writes under the pseudonym "Descartes."

To many Argentine nationalists, Perón's dallying with the "Yanquis" comes as a great shock. All these years he has been attacking "Yanqui imperialism" and denouncing large American concerns. The record shows that not even in this has he been sincere. In 1940 there were only fifty-four American factories; today there are more than 100. Morgan interests control almost all the country's power plants. Foreign oil companies which in 1947 earned a little more than \$1,000,00 in profits, earned sixteen times as much in 1949. Standard Oil, which lost three-quarters of a million dollars in 1945, had profits of more than \$2,500,000 in 1949.

BUT Perón cannot count on America to save him financially, nor can he count on a third world war. The dark days of his dictatorship are numbered. The vast majority of the army is determined to get rid of him in order to salvage what remains of its prestige, and soon one of the many plots being hatched against him will succeed.

In the light of this prospect, the democratic and liberal parties have a great responsibility. Many among their leaders feel that it will be enough to get rid of the Peróns; they look forward with equanimity to the return of a conservative civilian government or even of a mild military regime. But others realize that Argentina's profound crisis can be resolved only through organic and progressive reforms which have popular support. There are some democratic leaders who share with Perón the notion that only war and/or American help can save the country. These conservatives will attempt to shoulder aside all progressive groups such as the so-called Radical Intransigente, which now controls the old moderate party of Hipólito Yrigoyen. This group, led by Balbin and Frondizi, polled more than 2,000,000 votes in the last national election; in effect, it represented the opposition as a whole. Youthful and vigorous, it stands for nationalistic and democratic measures designed to help the masses. Functioning along similar lines are workers' groups and political organizations which include many former Peronistas who have become disillusioned with their hero.

A rightist military coup, carried out with the help of conservative forces, would merely prolong the political crisis. A young Argentine writer sums up the situation this way: "Neither today with Perón, nor yesterday with the conservatives, but tomorrow with the popular progressive forces." The next few months may determine which road Argentina will follow.

Beyond Comment

Certainly our program in Europe seems to me far more likely to produce war with Russia than anything we have done in the East. I am only asking for the same policy in the Far East as in Europe.—From "*A Foreign Policy for Americans*," by Senator Robert Taft.

Relative to a recent letter in your column it has been interesting to note that numerous times though the weather has been stormy the day General MacArthur has addressed the public there seems to be a parting of the clouds and a beam of light just before and continuing until he has finished his speech. . . . This has happened so many times in various parts of the country that it would almost seem prophetic.—From a reader's letter to the *Los Angeles Examiner*.

[The Nation will be glad to pay \$2 for acceptable contributions to Beyond Comment.]

Trouble in Textiles

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

BETWEEN February and March 300,000 hitherto idle workers found jobs, reducing the total number of unemployed to 1,804,000—2.9 per cent of the civilian labor force. A year earlier the total was 343,000, or half a percentage point greater; yet then there was an acknowledged boom while today we hear much uneasy talk about recession. Clearly this talk is exaggerated but nevertheless there are some exceedingly soft spots in the economy, particularly in those sections that cater directly to consumers, and the softest of these are the textile and apparel industries.

The women's-wear section, while not without troubles, is still relatively prosperous, but in men's wear and most branches of the textile industry there is serious unemployment. Moreover, as "spreading the work" is traditional in these trades, thousands of operatives are on short-time, necessitating drastic cuts in their family budgets. In January, according to the March issue of the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, employment in textile-mill products and apparel and other finished textiles totaled 2,138,000 compared to an average of 2,608,000 in 1950. Average weekly hours worked in textile-mill products were 38.7 against 40.6 a year earlier, and 36.1 in apparel and other finished textiles against 39.9.

However, these figures tell only part of the story, for conditions in the industry are by no means uniform. Certain sections—those producing the newer synthetics and manufacturing rayon cord for tires—are still busy. Geographically, too, the weight of the slump has fallen unevenly. The South, although it is feeling the depression, is considerably better off than New England and the Middle Atlantic states, as is shown by the following table, taken from an exhibit presented to the Surplus Manpower Committee by the Textile Workers Union of America (C. I. O.).

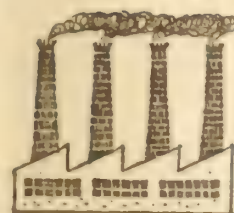
TEXTILE MILL EMPLOYMENT
Percentage of Change
January, 1951, to January, 1952

	Employment	Av. weekly manhours
United States	— 8.9	—13.2
New England	—13.9	—19.2
Middle Atlantic	—16.4	—18.9
South	— 3.5	— 7.7

A little more than a year ago the always mercurial textile and allied industries were on top of the world. Order books were full; mills and shops were working overtime; prices and profits were rising steeply. Today the industry is plunged in gloom and everyone in it is asking, "What

hit us?" There is general agreement that textiles are suffering from an acute case of indigestion, the aftermath of a bout of speculative indulgence which followed the outbreak of the Korean war. But in their present sad and sober state, manufacturers, merchants, and union officials are wondering whether their pains spring partly from a more organic disease.

Before attempting to answer these questions we must review the events of the past twenty-two months. Immediately following the outbreak of the Korean war, the textile market was stimulated by the rush of consumers to stock up on goods of all kinds from sugar to sheets. In



this buying splurge government agencies were well to the fore and in the case of wool at least they bear a major responsibility for the subsequent wild gyrations in prices. Instead of attempting to cover their requirements quietly, they announced grandiose stockpiling plans just before the Australian wool auctions opened in September, 1950, and again during the Christmas holidays. Naturally these plans to corral and sterilize a major fraction of the world's wool supplies spurred buyers everywhere to anticipate their own requirements and gave commodity speculators a field day. Prices mounted steadily until just before Easter, 1951, when Washington pulled the plug by announcing suspension of both stockpile purchases and current procurement. As a result auction prices retreated even more rapidly than they had advanced and by the end of last September had fallen below their pre-Korean level.

During the second half of 1950 quotations for finished textiles followed the inflationary trend of raw materials. The rise in prices was, in fact, steeper than during the period following the price-control bonfire of 1946. Between June and December the advance in cotton goods averaged 32 per cent and that in woolens and worsteds 33 per cent. However, when the Chinese intervened in Korea, starting a new war scare, consumers again overran the stores.

With both military and civilian demands soaring, the textile industry went into high gear. Output of broadwoven fabrics jumped from an annual rate of 12.4 billion linear yards in the second quarter of 1950 to 13.7 billion in the fourth quarter and 14.6 billion in the first quarter of 1951—an all-time record. Huge profits were reaped and leading textile concerns played a prominent role in the bull market.

It was too good to last. Defense procurement authorities, finding their appropriations depleted by high prices, cut back orders. Fear of general war subsided and with the establishment of price ceilings shoppers lost some of their terror of inflation and began to notice that store shelves and racks were amply supplied. At the same time the mounting cost of food and shelter, together with higher tax bills, induced them to reexamine their budgets and postpone the satisfaction of less urgent desires. In the spring of 1951 retail sales of clothing and furnishing fabrics began to sag and before long inventory trouble was a universal complaint in the textile world.

Manufacturers, however, were loath to reduce profit margins so, instead of cutting prices in an effort to stimulate demand, they curtailed operations. By September the Federal Reserve index of textile production (1935-39=100) had fallen to 165, a drop of thirty-two points from October, 1950, and nine points below the pre-Korean level. Thus the first brunt of the depression fell on the workers, 180,000 of whom, or 14 per cent, were released between February and November, 1951. Hundreds of thousands of others went on short-time. Stockholders did better. According to the April *Letter* of the National City Bank of New York, eight woolen concerns actually increased their earnings in 1951 by 11 per cent while thirty-seven cotton companies aggregated \$92,812,000, only about \$150,000 less than in 1950. Rayon and clothing groups did not fare so well but were still able to show a handsome return on their net assets.

In spite of cutbacks in production, reducing inventories proved a slow business and prices began to give ground. By the beginning of this year, cotton and woolen fabrics had lost more than half their post-Korean gains while the price index for synthetics was actually lower than in April, 1950. Further reductions have occurred in the past three months and there have been reports that both yarn and cloth were being "dumped" on the market below cost. On April 7, the *Wall Street Journal* noted that in New York cotton fabrics were selling at from 15 to 35 per cent below OPS ceilings and woolens and worsteds at one-third or more lower. Some men's suits price-fixed last year at \$75 are now ticketed at \$60. It remains to be seen whether this new policy of lower prices, which is being backed by strong retail promotion, will attract enough customers to put the industry back on its feet.

When adversity strikes the Northern textile manufacturer he is apt to kid himself into believing that what his business needs is sunshine and cheap labor, and his thoughts turn southward. Every crisis has increased the South's share in the industry, and the present one is likely to prove no exception. In a speech on January 17, Francis W. White, president of the giant American Woolen Company, declared that Southern cloth could be sold from 30 to 50 cents a yard below New England

prices and hinted that, unless Northern mill workers worked harder and the union stopped "restricting" the use of machinery, the company would join the Southern trek in a big way.

The idealization of the South by Northern mill owners rests partly on fact and partly on myth. Wages are somewhat lower and labor, as one textile man put it to me, is "more complaisant." But growing industrialization is mopping up the South's surplus labor and encouraging unionization, so that differences in wage costs and labor attitudes are unlikely to prove permanent. Even under present conditions most comparisons between Northern and Southern labor efficiency lack validity. The average Northern operative, for instance, works in an obsolete, multi-storied, industrial fortress where a smooth flow of production is impossible and handling costs are absurdly high. In the South the typical plant is newer and better designed and houses far more modern equipment. However, quality grades of cloth, both wool and cotton, are still produced mainly in the North and the per-capita "value added by labor" there is higher than below the Mason-Dixon Line.

One Southern advantage that the Northeast cannot match at present is the lower average cost of power, which is said to provide a differential in favor of Southern woolen and worsted mills of as much as two cents a yard. For this the South can thank, in part, the TVA, a



Courtesy Minneapolis Star

Carpetbagger from the South, Sub!

fact that ought to stir the Northern states to agitate more vigorously for development of the power potentialities of the St. Lawrence and the Connecticut.

In the present tug-of-war between North and South, the latter is being given an important assist by government, national and local. A large percentage of service contracts for both cloth and clothing has been awarded to Southern plants—an important factor contributing to Northern depression. Both the Textile Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have protested this situation and proposed that the present system of open bidding be replaced by preferential negotiation of contracts with plants in distressed areas. In addition, the Clothing Workers are demanding stricter enforcement of "quality clauses." They charge that established concerns are being by-passed in favor of fly-by-night firms which bid at such low prices that they can only make a profit by chiseling on quality or evading wage-and-hour laws.

Naturally proposals to channel more contracts to Northern mills have encountered strenuous Southern opposition. "I am not going to preside here over the liquidation of the textile industry in the South," Senator Maybank (S. C.), chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, declared recently. And he went on to accuse mobilization officials of "trying to keep alive a dying industry in one section when it cannot meet competition from another part."

This denunciation of "sectional favoritism" has its ironic aspects when we consider the success of Southern

legislators in obtaining government support for such commodities as raw cotton. And their pose as defenders of free competition shows not a little gall in view of the way Southern state and local governments have been subsidizing industrial plants, mainly in the textile and clothing fields.

Introducing legislation to check this practice, Representative George M. Rhodes (Pa.) pointed out to the House on February 25 that eight Southern states allow some kind of tax exemption. Not content with this form of bribery, Mississippi supplements it with a plan enabling city and county authorities to sell tax-exempt bonds and use the proceeds to build plants which are then leased cheaply to industrial concerns. Mr. Rhodes was able to give particulars of no less than twenty-five such bond issues, aggregating many millions of dollars, which have been approved since the beginning of 1951. Two of the largest of them will benefit Textron, a large textile combine which has recently closed down several of its New England plants.

This "Southern socialism" gives the North a legitimate grievance. It is a form of government intervention that is as insidiously divisive as would be the erection of tariff barriers by the several states. If long continued it seems bound to lead to retaliatory action by the North and the development of sectional economic warfare with grave consequences not only for textiles but for all industry.

[Next week Keith Hutchison will discuss some of the long-term problems of the textile industry at home and abroad.]

The Crusading Kefauver

BY CHARLES BARTLETT

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER is a man who talks slowly but moves fast and his Presidential candidacy became virtually inevitable last November 6 when Rudolph Halley, the intense young attorney of the Senate Crime Investigating Committee, was elected president of the New York City Council by a surprising margin of 160,000 votes.

Halley's victory, sprung from the fragile catapult of New York's Liberal Party and unforeseen by the most seasoned observers, was a striking manifestation of the popular sentiment for the work of the crime committee. It brought Kefauver face to face with a chance at the Presidency, a challenge which had goaded him for many years.

Although Kefauver's friends concede that his present

position as a prime contender for the Democratic nomination is due in large part to the crime investigation, they maintain that the kleig lights and publicity merely served to hasten a development that was inevitable. As far back as the fall of 1949 his Tennessee supporters were talking seriously of boosting him for the Presidency and in 1940, when he was just a freshman Congressman, Senator McKellar said, "I believe the time will come when he will be one of the great leaders in the state."

To Kefauver himself an ambition for the Presidency comes as one of the most natural things in the world. Leadership is in his blood and throughout his life he has been president, editor, or captain of almost every organization and group with which he has been associated. Asked recently why he aspired to the Presidency, the Tennessean replied, "I suppose it is just a natural desire on the part of every boy to want to be President."

This unflagging ambition is the most striking thing

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about Kefauver. A man of oxlike strength, he appears always to be driving himself relentlessly and to be subordinating every personal interest to the pursuit of greater recognition. His philosophy is the philosophy of those inspirational poems which urge dedication, courage, and perseverance as the keys to great success. Most American boys read this poetry but Kefauver seems to have lived by its precepts. At no time in his life has he been content to sit back and rest on his laurels.

The mystery of Estes Kefauver is the contrast between the powerful drive of his ambition and the elusiveness of his personality. Although a man of good will, he has apparently never felt the need of the easy give and take that for most of us makes up daily living.

Kefauver's strongest point is his genius for assimilation. He is a master at getting experts to advise him. His own mental processes are devoid of emotionalism, prejudice, and indirection. Those nearest to him say they have never seen him either angry or excited. He is a man who trusts his own instincts.

The effect that the Tennessee Senator has upon the people who meet him, see him on television, or hear him at rallies is more reassuring than inspiring. His long, honest face, enormous size, and country-boy manner bespeak good faith and sincerity. His words, attuned to the same bulldog optimism which pervades his life, are full of hope and a passion for reform. He has dignity, an impressive presence, and the appearance of great gentleness. The slight awkwardness of his stance strengthens this concept of a homespun and rather noble human being. His impromptu talks are badly organized and give the impression of trying too hard to indorse everything that is good. More often than not they are boring. His audiences are seldom enthusiastic, but the election records in Tennessee and in the various state primaries show that they go home liking him.

If "Kefauver at long range" is one of the greatest assets of his present campaign, "Kefauver at short range" is one of his greatest handicaps. His lack of small talk and his disposition to sink into a shell of contemplation in the midst of lively conversation have cost him the support of many important political leaders. One such calls it "mysticism"; others term it "aloofness."

Probably no one in the world can claim to be an intimate friend and confidant of Kefauver. He is a man who keeps himself to himself and although he will listen to advice from every quarter, he insists that the final decision be his own. These are unpopular characteristics to party bosses whose stock-in-trade must be an easy intimacy with the officials they help elect. And they do not make him persuasive to his personality-conscious colleagues in Congress or to Washington reporters.

Perhaps because of his coonskin hat there is a mistaken belief that Kefauver was cradled in a log cabin by Indian-shooting parents. The unusual family name

causes further misconceptions. The facts are that the Kefauvers were French Huguenots who settled in Frederick, Maryland, before the Revolution; that both of the Senator's grandfathers were graduates of the University of Virginia and eminent professional men, and that Kefauver's father and he himself were born on one of the finest estates in east Tennessee. His father, Robert Cooke Kefauver, has been for many years a leader in the political and economic life of Madisonville, Tennessee, a small but venerable town in the foothills of the Smoky Mountains, and his mother came from a distinguished Southern family.

Estes Kefauver, born forty-nine years ago, was an exceptionally strong and extremely active youngster of average intelligence. He had an inherent capacity for leadership and although he was described on his arrival at the University of Tennessee as the "countriest-looking" boy who ever came there, as a sophomore he was voted the outstanding member of his class. By his senior year he was in charge of almost every extra-curricular activity on the campus. His marks, perhaps reflecting these preoccupations, were only fair.

After graduation, his father offered to pay his expenses to the Yale Law School. But the boy preferred to be on his own and succeeded in getting a scholarship. He came home in 1927 and practiced law in a cousin's firm in Chattanooga. In 1935 he married Nancy Pigott, a Scottish redhead who had the imagination and vivid personality that he lacked. She is a portrait painter who has never been able to get her husband to sit still long enough for painting. The Kefauvers have four children.

It is ironic that the most flashy and least thorough of the many reform movements that Kefauver has headed should have brought him his greatest reward. His entire success in politics has been achieved through his advocacy of reforms.

As a young lawyer in Chattanooga in the thirties, he worked for reform of the city and county government and for county planning. On the basis of these efforts and of an anti-poll-tax platform he ran in 1938 for the state Senate. In the only loss of his political career he



Estes Kefauver

was beaten by sixty votes by a veteran politician. Undaunted, he demanded reform in the state government and was invited into the Governor's Cabinet in 1939 to reorganize the finance and taxation department.

He took leave of his law office, then netting him close to \$30,000 a year, to accept this post but had been in Nashville for only four months when the Congressman from Chattanooga died and he was offered a chance to run for his seat. He went to Congress in the fall of 1939 and by 1947 had collaborated on a scholarly and detailed master plan for a sweeping reformation of that august body. Practically none of his proposed changes has been adopted, but the volume, entitled "Twentieth Century Congress," is used as a textbook at a number of educational institutions.

When he was elected to the Senate in 1949 Kefauver embarked on a program of reform that included equal rights for women, home rule for the District of Columbia, establishment of a world calendar, revision of the military-justice code, and extension of the Atlantic Pact. He was forced to abandon his crusade for the distaff side when his colleagues amended his bill into a form that he felt would penalize women rather than help them. He pressed home rule for the District of Columbia through the Senate twice, both times over the bitter opposition of Southern Senators who saw in the proposal an end to segregation in the District. The revision of the military-justice code occupied two years of detailed work and Kefauver piloted it into law. The Atlantic Union proposal, a basic plank in his 1948 race for the Senate, involved the convocation of an exploratory convention of the Atlantic Pact countries to examine the possibilities of a closer federation. Although Kefauver and such sponsors of the plan as former Justice Owen Roberts and Clarence Streit have been able to align some twenty-eight Senators and one hundred and ten Representatives on their side, the project has never been seriously considered by the State Department.

IT WAS against this background of activity that Kefauver was approached late in 1949 by some reformers who wanted him to launch a probe into the crime syndicates. He shied away at first because it was not the type of technical, non-vindictive reform in which he was experienced. Thoroughly naive about the ways of the underworld, he took some time to decide that such a probe would really be a matter of public interest. The picture of a mild-mannered man poking reservedly and with dignity into something that he abhorred but did not quite comprehend won him the cheers of the nation, but the crime investigation was certainly not his most deserving reform effort.

Another irony of the present situation is the fact that Kefauver, who has several times risked his political position in Tennessee to stand with the leadership of the

party, should now be cast in the role of a Democratic "irregular." He was the only member of the Tennessee delegation at the convention in 1944 to urge indorsement of Franklin D. Roosevelt before the party's civil-rights platform had been written, and he was the only member of that delegation in the vice-presidential balloting to urge that Tennessee's twenty-four votes be cast for Harry S. Truman.

He has been considerably less of a battler of party bosses than his current reputation would indicate. He was elected to Congress with the amiable support of the bosses in Chattanooga and Polk County. When he started running for the Senate, he resolutely declined to make Boss Crump a campaign issue until the Memphis leader lambasted him in newspaper advertisements throughout the state. It was in answer to Crump's charge that he was a 'coon fiddling with communism that he donned his coonskin hat and declared, "I may be a pet 'coon but I ain't Mr. Crump's pet 'coon."

His Congressional voting record has been highly regular and on several occasions in the Senate he has stood for the views of the Administration against the opposition of the majority leader. The most daring of these votes was the one he cast in opposition to the McCarran internal-security bill in 1950. Saying he could not "stomach" the measure, he declined to join the liberals who had accepted the Lucas compromise as an excuse for supporting the bill. He was the only Southerner among the seven Senators who stood against it except Frank Graham of North Carolina, whose political career had already been terminated in a spring primary. President Truman vetoed the bill, but it was passed over the veto. Kefauver also opposed the Kerr natural-gas bill in 1950 (which was also vetoed by the President). He has fought hard for anti-monopoly measures. On F. E. P. C., he said recently that he would support any civil-rights program adopted by the Democratic Party.

During his nine years in the House he voted with the Democratic leadership 403 times out of 471 roll-call votes. In the Senate he has voted with the Democratic majority approximately 91 per cent of the time.

The most serious charge leveled by those who now dub him an "irregular" is that he declined to protect the Democratic Party in the fall of 1950 when it was clear that his crime committee could exert an explosive influence on the elections. Kefauver was asked to keep the committee out of Chicago until after the election; he refused on the ground that any gesture that smacked of partisan politics would destroy the committee's work. The fact that there has never been a claim of partisanship from any respectable source is high tribute to the impartiality with which he conducted the probe.

Kefauver and President Truman have had a friendly but not close relationship for a number of years. They have remained outwardly amicable despite numerous

signs from the White House that the Tennessean fell from favor as the result of the crime investigation. Kefauver has scrupulously abstained, even in the heat of the New Hampshire primary, from attacks on the President and his hope is clearly that Mr. Truman, who has declared that the Democratic Party should have the strongest possible contender in the coming campaign, will refrain from opposing his candidacy.

There is little in the record or in Kefauver's campaign talks thus far to show that if he were elected President his program would differ much from that of the present Administration. He has been a constant liberal, an internationalist, and something of a crusader. He is committed to the concept that the federal government should endeavor to correct the ills that beset the populace while at the same time exerting as little control as possible over their personal lives. Although there is nothing in his voting record to establish him as an advocate of govern-

ment economy, his recent campaign speeches heartily indorse a balanced budget. Since he has been either a lawyer or in Congress all of his adult life, there is no true gauge of his capabilities as an administrator, but in the affairs of his own office he has shown himself to favor the delegation of power that is now an essential function of the Presidency. Labor leaders contributed heavily to his campaign in 1948 but there is no evidence that Kefauver has ever been dominated by them or any other group.

One of Kefauver's copybook maxims is that opportunity is "not a gift but the reward of preparation and tireless research." His Tennessee friends have long regarded him as one of the luckiest men alive, as a person who seems always to get the right break at the right time. Whether luck is actually fate or "preparation and tireless research," it is certainly an indispensable qualification for a President in these trying times.

Miracles in Rome

Rome
COMPARED with France, Italy seems a happier country. France cannot make up its mind whether it lost or won the war; Italy has no doubt about having lost it. Nor has Italy any illusions about being a Great Power; it has cheerfully renounced all colonial ambitions and feels no envy of the French in Tunisia and Indo-China. After a useless and ruinous war which few Italians wanted, Italy today is poorer and wiser; and if some middle-aged housewives think back on fascism merely as "the time when things were normal—and didn't cost so much," only a handful of Italians would like to try the Fascist experiment all over again.

To me, the most striking thing about Italy, compared with France, is the better humor and calmer mood, and the greater spirit of mutual tolerance. The extreme Left has accepted as inevitable that there should be, for many years to come, a large clerical Right and Center in Italy; similarly the Demo-Christians (though not the extreme Right) find it natural that there should be a very large extreme Left. So below the surface of the genuine class struggle there is a kind of *modus vivendi* between the main political forces. The feeling that "we are all Italians"—Communists included—is deep-seated, and it is considered one of the virtues of the De Gasperi regime to have encouraged this attitude. Personal relations between De Gasperi and Nenni are excellent, and the Nenni Socialists, acting as buffer between the Communists and the government parties, receive great credit

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

even from business men and industrialists for the relative social peace that exists here today. There is much less hysteria in Italy about either Russia or America than in most European countries, and that also helps.

I had a long talk with Signor Saragat, one of the leaders of the Italian Social Democrats (right-wing Socialists), who can count on barely two million votes compared with the Demo-Christians' twelve million and the four and one-half million each that the Communists and Nenni Socialists received in 1948. I asked Saragat why social democracy was so weak in Italy and whether he considered the Nenni Socialists very different from the Communists. He said:

The social and economic structure of Italy makes it historically inevitable that socialism should be extremist. There is no use talking social democracy in the British sense to millions of unemployed and millions of landless peasants and slum-dwellers who think of change not in terms of social reform but of revolution. This does not mean that Nenni is in the pocket of the Communists even though he considers it tactically correct to do nothing to weaken the extreme Left, half of which is represented by the Communists, who have great drive, a demagogic appeal for the poor, and an infernal amount of money. As for social democracy, it has little chance in explosive central Italy or in southern Italy; only in northern Italy, with its relatively high living standards, its industrialization, and its greater political culture, has it any chance at all.

To expect more than this from Italian social democracy, Saragat added with an air of discouragement, is to be politically illiterate. "You're not in England, damn it," he said. "You are in one of the poorest countries in Europe!"

ONE need not go outside Rome to see Italy's poverty. In the matter of housing, this city is somewhat better off than Naples, but much worse off than many other Italian cities. Its relative immunity from bombing brought in hundreds of thousands of refugees during the war, and the glamour of the capital has since attracted many others. From a pre-war population of 1,200,000, Rome has grown to 1,600,000. Counting museums, palaces, government offices, and everything else, there is one room here for every two persons, which means that in most homes more than two people live in one room. Many luxury flats have been built, but there is little new low-cost housing. So some people live in caves and others in the *borgate*—those suburban Hoovervilles familiar to anyone who has seen the film "Miracle in Milan." About one-tenth of Rome's population lives in these *borgate*, and to me the real miracle is how people can live in such conditions and yet keep their dignity and humor. Some of the women are even house-proud!

One Sunday night I visited three *borgate*, one of them on municipal land that abutted the untouchable vegetable gardens of some prince. The houses were mostly shacks built during the war for bombed-out people; but this was a relatively prosperous place, with electric lights in the tiny stone hovels and five water pumps. The sanitation was extremely primitive, and the place stank in summer, but in cooler weather it wasn't so bad. Some families had improved their hovels to the point where they were willing to sell them for a half-million lire (about \$1,000).

The next *borgata*, set up "by private initiative" alongside the ruins of an old aqueduct, was a different story. The people here were "squatters"—unemployed from the south and Romans who couldn't afford city rents. The shacks were of brick, tile, and tin (much of it stolen); there was a single pump for the entire community and only candles and oil lamps for lighting. Yet these pitiful huts were clean. A Roman worker with five children invited me to his home for a glass of wine; there were flowers on the table. He could be happy here, he said, except for the fact the building society which owned the land had started an eviction process against the whole community, intending to build apartments renting at 40,000 lire a month. The *borgata* people had countered with an offer to pay 3,000 lire monthly as ground rent, but the offer had not been accepted. My host told me that he and his neighbors would not yield even if the law suit went against them; the police would

have to evict them, and they would fight the police, just as in "Miracle in Milan." But they were under no illusion that they could save their homes.

But the real nightmare was the *borgata* Cordiana, built by Mussolini to "clear the paupers out of Rome." Here were mostly unemployed with large families (six or seven children were not unusual), living on a dole sufficient only to provide the very minimum subsistence—if that. I entered a hovel one evening. It was clean and there was no smell of cooking: there was nothing to cook and nothing to cook with. The family of eight lived on bread and a few vegetables; four of the children were asleep in a big bed. Then a strange figure appeared—a tall woman with an aquiline nose, tidy white hair, and an incongruously smart jacket. She had lost three of her eight children in the war; she was hard and bitter, and cursed De Gasperi. She took me to her own home, where three of her grandchildren were asleep in the communal bed. A picture of the Madonna hung on one wall; on the other, a portrait of Lenin. She roughly awoke one of the children, a boy of six, by tugging at his bare feet, screaming: "How can he go to school if he has no shoes? . . . And do you know about tuberculosis in the *borgate*? The government says only 3 per cent of us have it—I tell you, there's 40 per cent at least!"

She led me to another ill-lit hovel, with large pictures of Marx and Nenni and small pictures of Lenin and Stalin on the walls. Here some of the villagers gathered and talked of the hospital four miles away, and of the single doctor available to the 13,000 people of the community, who came for nothing if you were employed and insured but charged 600 lira if you were unemployed and therefore not insured. It was simpler for the unemployed to die! And the priest got plenty of things from America but he wouldn't give a child a pair of shoes if the parents weren't churchgoers or if he thought they were Communists or Socialists.

The villagers pointed out that their youngsters had no opportunity to train for jobs—if they couldn't earn anything, they stole; and some of the girls and women, with the consent of their menfolk, went to Rome to make money as prostitutes. One could hardly blame them. The villagers said that the Socialist "head-quarters"—that was the room in which we were now sitting—was the social center for the community, and that the Socialists and Communists were "the only friends of the poor." It was only during election time, they said, that the grand ladies came in cars to distribute food parcels and olive oil and clothes. . . .

But it would be unfair to dwell exclusively on this aspect of Italy.

[This is the first of two articles on Italy by Alexander Werth, a Nation staff contributor.]

BOOKS and the ARTS

Bevan States His Case

IN PLACE OF FEAR. By Aneurin Bevan. Simon and Schuster. \$3.

IN DECEMBER, 1950, the London *Economist* welcomed the disappearance at last of "a certain tendency . . . to take Mr. Aneurin Bevan seriously." "He is not the statesman," it said, "but the sorcerer's apprentice." In its slim issue of March 22, 1952, the *Economist* devoted no less than four separate articles to Bevan and his views. And its editor had recently returned from a lecture trip to the United States, where he mouthed the same criticisms of Britain's rearmament program that Bevan had expressed a year ago. Also on March 22, Britain's most popular picture magazine carried a long essay on "Bevan the Man." A host of other publications devoted column after column of rationed space to a politician whose party is not governing Britain and who would not himself hold office if it were. Across the Atlantic, Bevan had lately stalked through the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post*, billed as "The One Man Churchill Fears" and winning far more praise than that journal usually accords to left-wingers of any nationality.

The tendency which the *Economist* found so deplorable has clearly reappeared. With the publication of his "political testament," Aneurin Bevan is bidding to be taken more seriously than ever. His less responsible critics, both British and American, will be confounded. Seldom in either country has an active politician produced a more restrained or impersonal testament. It is free not only of the "personal bitterness" so often ascribed to Bevan, but also of any reference whatever to the conflict going on in the Labor Party. Clement Attlee, for instance, is never mentioned; even his successor is only briefly chided for "a marked illiteracy about all things economic"—an elementary observation from which Mr. Churchill would be among the last to dissent.

No, Mr. Bevan is honestly trying to sell his ideas rather than his personality. Many of them will prove immensely attractive, even outside the ranks of his

Socialist followers and even outside Britain. Others will be rejected out of hand. And some—some of the cardinal points in Bevan's program—are left hanging, so vague and obscure that no final judgment will be possible.

His best-known contention, which prompted his resignation from Attlee's Cabinet last year, is that present Western rearmament expenditure is needlessly and dangerously large. It is needlessly large, he believes, because Russia has no intention of direct aggression. Bevan dwells on the comparative figures for Western and Soviet steel production, implying that the result of a new war is as obvious to the men in the Kremlin as it is to himself. And if they contemplated aggression, he asks, why did they wait until North Atlantic rearmament became a formidable reality?

Both the inspiration and the timing of the Western program are cogently questioned. The decision, he says, was made in near panic after the early losses in Korea eighteen months ago. As for the contention that 1953 will be the critical year in the East-West power balance:

In no discussion have I heard the slightest justification for that date. It appears to bear the same relationship to scientific prediction as astrology . . . to astronomy.

As for the size of the respective national-defense budgets:

Military experts have no easier task than to advise their government on the level of defense expenditure. All they have to do is to advise a larger sum than they know their government is prepared to concede and they are quite safe. . . . The real burden of anxiety falls on the civilian Ministers who have to set the general needs of the national economy against the clamor of the military experts.

In normal times this passage would commend itself to American Congressmen as well as to European Socialists. But it does confer upon Bevan a responsibility which he shirks. Just how much *should* America and Britain spend on rearmament, and how does he arrive at *his* figures? These questions are not answered, nor have they been in any of Bevan's speeches.

The book does advance one positive recommendation:

Suppose we fix a date—towards which we should at once begin to work—when a definite percentage of what we are now spending on arms shall be set aside for the peaceful development of backward parts of the world.

Such a declaration, he believes, would electrify Asian opinion as did Britain's naming of a date for its withdrawal from India and Pakistan. The West's task is to accommodate Eastern revolutions in a general pattern of world co-operation, its goal "the defeat of hunger in the most literal sense."

Most of the book, however, is devoted to Bevan's rationale as a British Socialist. If many of his arguments are old and tired, they have seldom been better stated in the past twenty years. To his generation of young miners in the coal valleys of South Wales, "society presented itself . . . as an arena of conflicting social forces and not as a plexus of individual striving." It follows rather naturally that "in so far as I can be said to have had a political training at all, it has been in Marxism." Yet, for all its acceptance of Marxist analysis, Bevan's collectivist philosophy is motivated by an almost passionate concern for the individual. It recalls the Christian Socialism of his friend Sir Stafford Cripps, and conforms to that generally empirical philosophy of the British Labor movement which so vexes its Continental friends. Capitalism, he says,

failed in the one function by which any social system must be judged. It failed to produce a tolerable home and a reputable order of values for the individual man and woman. . . . Efficiency was its final arbiter—as though loving, laughing, eating, the deep serenity of a happy home, the warmth of friends, the astringent revelation of new beauty, and the earth tug of local roots will ever yield to such a test.

His socialism is not necessarily for export to North America:

It is possible that in the United States of America the argument still holds good that private economic adventure offers the best means for the development of industrial techniques.

Even in the case of Britain, Bevan's remedies are less impressive than his diagnosis. Government savings bonds, and many social-welfare benefits, would be tied to the cost-of-living index and rise accordingly. Recognizing an upper limit to direct taxation, he would raise a large part of the national revenue from the profits of nationalized industries. The number of such industries would be greatly increased, though Bevan does not list his candidates for state ownership. Neither does he analyze with any clarity the disappointments experienced by Labor in its past enterprises. He remarks that nationalization is only a step toward socialization, but does not illumine the path ahead. "Industrial democracy" is defined about as precisely here as it has been in high-toned Conservative Party pamphlets.

There is a chapter on the neglected problem of raw materials, and an excellent one on the British National Health Service. Here Mr. Bevan is in serene and familiar territory, able to claim that the Service "has now become a part of the texture of our national life. No political party would survive that tried to destroy it." And no better answer to critics of the British plan has ever appeared.

"In Place of Fear" is entirely free from the small-minded anti-Americanism to which some Laborites are susceptible, and from the general intemperance of expression which ruins some of Bevan's speeches. To those Britons and Americans who think of him as a demagogic careerist, it will come as a revelation. In a period characterized by the intellectual poverty of its political leadership, Bevan stands immense.

But those who have glimpsed already beyond his fascinating, turbulent exterior will, in many cases, find disappointments. This is not "Socialism up-to-date"; perhaps it is not intended to be. The central challenge to British Labor in the present decade, far more important than differences of degree over rearmament, is the question, "Where are you going, and why?" Here and there, in the pages of Mr. Bevan's book, is part of an answer. But the question is not wholly answered, or even wholly posed.

PAUL NIVEN

The "Shtetl"

LIFE IS WITH PEOPLE. By Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog. International Universities Press. \$5.

IF THIS is anthropology, let's have more of it. Such, at any rate, is the unqualified enthusiasm of one reviewer upon reading this superb study of the *shtetl*, the Jewish East European "Little-Town" now destroyed as an entity. This reconstruction of a vanished way of life manages to evoke its mood as well as describe its mores. The book is a triumph of art and a substantial scientific work, though perhaps the scientist would resent the distinction. Only in fiction of a high order does the atmosphere of the *shtetl* become as poignantly vivid as in "Life Is With People." This has been achieved without sacrificing clarity of structure or accuracy of detail.

In her foreword, Margaret Mead states that the book is an attempt to bring anthropological disciplines to the task of recording "something of the form and content, the texture and beauty" of Jewish life in the small towns

of Eastern Europe before their final annihilation by Hitler. The realization that a rich contemporary culture on the verge of dissolution was being disregarded by anthropologists came to Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead in the course of World War II. Originally, they had discounted the existence of a specific Jewish culture: a Polish Jew was a Pole who was Jewish by religion. In the course of their work, they began to speculate on the possibility of making a systematic study of the "Jewish cultural element which distinguished the perception of a Hungarian or Polish Jew from a Hungarian or a Pole whose antecedents were Christian." The project was undertaken as part of the Columbia University Research in Contemporary Cultures. Using the techniques of anthropology, the scientists reached the, for them, revolutionary conclusion that they were dealing "with a living whole, that the Eastern European Jews had in fact a living culture, which was essentially all of a piece. . . . We realized this with growing excitement, for while all anthropologists have the experience of working out the essential form of the cultures which they study, we seldom have the experience of discovering the existence of a whole at which we had not guessed."

Since some Jews still vociferously denounce the concept of a "Jewish culture" as the evil invention of chauvinistic Zionists, the conclusion reached by a group of scientists with no ideological axe to grind is potential dynamite. I don't know in what measure those associated with the Columbia project anticipate the detonations which their academic delight in their discovery will probably set off in such circles as the Council for Judaism, whose recent conference was energetically devoted to issuing formidable blasts against the very theses the anthropologists innocently propound. Most Jewish readers, however, are not likely to be startled by the news that the Jews of Eastern Europe had a specific culture marked by the characteristics of a culture: "a language, a religion, a set of values, a specific constellation of social mechanisms and institutions, and the feeling of its members that they belong to one group." Nor need one limit the finding to the Jews of Eastern Europe. The history of all Jewish communities since the dis-

THE MARE

The mare lies down in the grass where the nest of the skylark is hidden.
Her eyes drink the delicate horizon moving behind the song.
Deep sink the skies, a well of voices. Her sleep is the vessel of summer
That climbing music requires the hidden music at rest.

Her body is utterly given to the light, surrendered in perfect abandon
To the heaven above her shadow, still as her first-born day.
Softly the wind runs over her. Circling the meadow, her hooves
Rest in a race of daisies, halted where butterflies stand.

Do not pass her too close. It is easy to break the circle
And lose that indolent fullness rounded under the ray
Falling on light-eared grasses your footstep must not yet wake.
It is easy to darken the sun of her unborn foal at play.

VERNON WATKINS

persion illustrates the validity of the criterion used.

Much that is told of the *shtetl*, a term denoting the life of the inhabitants rather than the town, might be true of orthodox Jews anywhere. The authors know this. The virtue of their account consists in its concentration on an artistically coherent unit. This enables them to transform the book from an informative study to a creative depiction of an informing spirit. Much more, of course, than religious customs is examined. The sociology of the *shtetl*, the role of women, the values of the *shtetl*, such as its devotion to learning or its attitude to philanthropy, are studied both as expressions of Jewish tradition and as reactions to a particular environment. The result, consequently, is more than an analysis of Judaism; it becomes rather a synthesis of the constituents of "Jewishness," its outward manifestations and inner implications.

The authors have not been guilty of artificially isolating the *shtetl*. They describe an "island culture" within an "ocean culture," a minority constantly affected by the majority and often subject to it: the relationship, for instance, of the *shtetl* Jew to the village peasant, the "Goy" who mysteriously turns into a murderous "pogromchik" overnight and just as suddenly reverts to the role of friendly neighbor. The recurrent terror at the heart of the *shtetl* is as much a part of its climate as its piety or ingenuity.

"Life Is With People" is not only a memorial to something which in its completeness and purity is gone. It provides an understanding of what remains. Distillations of the culture whose essence was in the *shtetl* are to be found wherever Jewish communities continue to exist. The differences are superficial; the likenesses often profound. The raw dread of the cowering child in a pogrom and the muffled sensitiveness of an American Jew before the blow of discrimination are part of a related experience. In the Bronx, in Israel, or in Mexico City, no matter how great the local variations, fundamental resemblances in attitudes and values appear. Yet the authors note that the only area in which concerted action among Jews may be expected is that of relief. The reaction to the Hitler catastrophe certainly demonstrated this. But the very

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nature of the response indicates an awareness of a common fate not only in the past but in the present and future. The knowledge that "what happens to Israel happens to Mr. Israel" springs not only from an alert and well-functioning defense mechanism but from a responsiveness to visions and hopes held in common as well as fears. All this "Life Is With People" helps one to perceive—magnificently. If I may be permitted one sour note, why should a book composed with such felicity and grace be afflicted with a cute title and equally cute chapter headings?

MARIE SYRKIN

Hindemith on Music

A COMPOSER'S WORLD. By Paul Hindemith. Harvard University Press. \$3.75.

THIS book tells us what one of our great composers thinks about, what his mind is like. And meeting Paul Hindemith's spirited and learned mind is a real pleasure, not only for the intellectual stimulation it offers, but even more for the infectious enjoyment it takes in its own operation, in finding rational explanations, in "philosophizing." Less pleasant though is a recurrent fondness for forcing these meditations together into systems. Again and again, though you are enjoying the brisk intellectual work-out, you wish that Hindemith wouldn't take himself so hard. The sheer range of his thinking, from metaphysics to economics, asks for a lighter touch. Hindemith would be more tactful to try for a tone of easy suggestiveness when he writes as a layman.

In the fields where he has the authority of an expert, as it happens, he shows a becoming modesty. In music history his learning is relaxed and imaginative without loss of precision. His educational theories work with what is, for the most part, a sensibly practical ideal of musical culture, and we are willingly convinced. But in psychology, ethics, aesthetics, he is no more an expert than we should expect a practicing composer to be, and here the systematizing gets to be frankly disturbing. The first four chapters of this book are so many constricted thinking boxes, strong in rigor and self-assurance, weak in insight and authority. What we learn

about "perceiving music intellectually" is what we already know, in spite of the illusion of new precision in words like "coconstruction." The third chapter advances lively (though, to this reviewer, dubious) speculations about the way music touches the emotions, but Hindemith's truculent, "let's-have-no-nonsense-here" attitude toward the emotions reminds one unhappily of the village atheist on the subject of God. And this provincial realism jabs with the highly unrealistic over-estimation of music that goes along with it. A serious claim is made that music can touch an infinitely larger range of emotions than the other arts, that its "tempo of consecutive emotions is unbelievably fast." (To cite Shakespeare seems adequate refutation.) There are distinctions between the arts, to be sure, but these don't seem helpful ones; they seem, in fact, defensively boastful. Nor does Hindemith's brusque contempt for less philosophical colleagues seem entirely modest when his own philosophizing yields so dim an illumination.

Again, in the first chapter where Hindemith speaks of converting the musical experience into moral power, you would like some concrete, perhaps personal suggestions about how this might happen. But out come all the tired old metaphors about the power of music. You hear about a "fermenting" quality that turns "our souls to everything noble, superhuman, and ideal"; about music the "catalytic agent" (chemistry's great gift to the tonguetied humanities). Lacking more energetic guesswork about this mysterious process of conversion, Hindemith's loftiness sounds sanctimonious.

The great virtue of the book, and of Hindemith's whole intellectual position, lies in his conception of the ideal musical culture. The health of the body musical, for him, depends on there being a large group, not of passive listeners, but of active amateurs, with professional musicians moving among them as friendly and immediately useful guides and teachers. Hindemith simply wants more people who listen to music to play and sing it too, and with an everyday unpretentiousness—not a new idea, but uncommonly well argued here. The aim is, by linking music once more to modest and intimate social events, to reestablish it as one of the natural bents

of the mind, as one of the things a human being does as a part of his nature. Hindemith's picture of this sort of culture in the Renaissance is attractive, and his projection of it into the realizable present is inviting and seems practical. What the listener is promised is a more active pleasure in the musical experience, and a pleasure that comes easily and every day.

The plan is a good one, but what seems its very best feature is something Hindemith is too much of a systematizer to be interested in: the possibility that if music comes to be an active part of our everyday life, we will be able to distinguish more subtly between different kinds of musical experiences, to respond more variously to them, and finally to come to masterpieces with a greater excitement. Hindemith, however, in his eagerness to sell us family part-singing, seems frankly hostile to the more intense musical experiences, even to masterpieces, particularly to anything that smacks of glamour or of the special occasion. All these he has systematized into the present sad degeneration of our musical life, along with Muzak, Hollywood, Bach transcriptions for the Lewisohn Stadium, and the virtuoso's egotism—all must go. But to the realist the loss of Toscanini, Flagstad, and *Mathis der Maler* is too great a price to pay even for more madrigals.

ROBERT E. GARIS

The Real, Right Victorian

WILKIE COLLINS. By Kenneth Robinson. The Macmillan Company. \$4.50.

THE farther away we get from him, the more clearly we can see that the poor Victorian, whose mere inanities and pomposities we have been so zealous to expose, was a deeply split man whom we need to understand more than we need to indict. The most desperately self-made effigy on record, he represents the final attempt to hold onto the image of man which began with the Renaissance and crystallized by 1700: the image in which the conscious, rational faculties are not only dominant, but self-sufficient and potentially exclusive. The full flower of this point of view, as far as its manifestation in English literature is concerned, was Samuel Johnson. The first reaction to it was

what now appears to have been the shrewdly functional madness of Christopher Smart (how else, except under the cover of dementia, could he have written anything but his prize poems?). But by the nineteenth century every real poet, from Coleridge to Beddoes, and Swinburne to Lear, knew the truth: that man does not live by Awareness alone, that at best he is a biped, and advances stepwise, by consciousness and unconsciousness, by living and being-lived.

At the same time that he believed in the Crystal Palace and endorsed Tennyson's singsong ideal of "household happiness, gracious children, debtless competence, golden mean," the Victorian man on the street knew this too. He wouldn't acknowledge it, of course, but he was haunted by the most harrowing sense of the demoniac that Western man had known for five hundred years. What else could have impelled him to surround himself with such implacably material extremes as he did? Look at his furniture. Look at his tombstones. Look at his wife's clothes. Look at his reading matter. Plenty of pap, yes; his anxiety needed as much furbelowed assurance as possible. But beyond this, look at his compulsive fascination for the terrible, the unfathomable, the ghoulis, the mysterious. As Chesterton pointed out, the two most popular story tellers of their day, Dickens and Wilkie Collins, combined "a modern and Cockney and even commonplace opinion about things with a huge elemental sympathy with strange oracles and spirits and old night. . . . There were no two men in mid-Victorian England more typical of its rationality and dull reform; and there were no two men who could touch them at a ghost story." Of the two, Dickens, with the more ramifying, personal genius, makes the less pure case. But after reading Kenneth Robinson's new biography, we can safely call Collins the true, the model Victorian.

To begin with, he was neurotically industrious. He never missed a deadline in his life, and when he was dying and handed over his current serial to Walter Besant to be finished, his notes had worked the plot out to its minutest details. He left almost thirty long novels, and dozens of plays and shorter stories, the best of which, apart from their sheer capacity to hold the reader's interest, are

chiefly notable for the intricate, painstaking architecture they brought to the careless sprawl of the mid-century "nuv-ve" as practiced by Dickens. More than anyone else, it was Collins who instigated the well-made serial to which James later adapted his own industry, refinement, and vision. In a Collins novel, not only were the plot details meticulously synchronized, but much of the effectiveness of the story derived from the ingenious use of shifting narrators. Now this explicit, rigorous, and quite gratuitous concern with an orderly shape and progress is no less significant in Collins's case than it is in Poe's, or Baudelaire's, or Tennyson's. Auden once suggested, in connection with Tennyson, that "the more a writer is conscious of an inner disorder and dread, the more value he will place on tidiness in his work as a *defence*." I don't think it's infractious to find a novel like "Armada," which is Collins's most ambitious, a case in point. For here we have not only a bravura job of plot complication, but in the story itself a sustained image of a man's helplessness before his sense of the uncontrollably fated in human experience and of the inefficacy of mere consciousness. It was Collins, too, who practiced for the first time in England that acutely symptomatic genre, the detective story, which is not only as "closed" a form as the novel admits, but in which, a priori, everything that happens must do so for the sake of unraveling neatly and securely in the end and in which the hero is a rational all-father who sees that it does.

In his private life, Collins was no less Victorian. By way of skeletons in his closet, he used opium; made periodic forays into the unmentionable nightlife of Paris; and though he was a nominal bachelor all his life, kept, simultaneously, both a mistress and what he called a "morganatic wife," by whom his will acknowledged three children. The son of a prominent Royal Academy painter who did sea-scapes for George IV, Collins grew up in the well-heeled (and well brought-to-heel) Bohemian society which James's stories of artists rather improbably portray. He discovered his vocation before he was twenty-one, beginning with an official biography of his father and moving on to a Bulwer-Lytton romance. In a few years, he had

become a regular contributor to Dickens' *Household Words*, and after the publication in 1860 of "The Woman in White," he was almost as famous as his editor. He made a fortune; grew a beard; indulged himself with sailboats and French cooking; suffered agonies from the gout; and died in 1889, promulgating a furore over whether or not he should be buried in Westminster Abbey (he wasn't).

Since then a number of illustrious writers—Swinburne, Walter de la Mare, Dorothy Sayers, Eliot—have praised his novels (each of them, by the way, being significant for his own flair for the demoniac). But Kenneth Robinson has been the first to offer a full biography. Working with scant materials—for there is actually very little known of Collins's personal life—he has given us as thorough and serviceable a portrait as we need. (Though he might, I think, have made some mention of Edgar Poe, whose stories Collins surely knew, if only through Dickens, who had been in

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correspondence with Poe as early as 1842, over a review of "Barnaby Rudge" which Poe had criticized precisely in point of its loose construction.)

What we could use now, if there is a publisher in the house, is a cheap, unscholarly reprint of "Armadale," and maybe a selection of the shorter tales. For though in themselves Collins's stories are not of even secondary value, they remain not only magnetically readable, but their total image is a far more revealing index to the nineteenth-century consciousness than the works of many a more touted writer: say Trollope, or Thackeray, or even Meredith.

ROBERT PHELPS

CONTRIBUTORS

PAUL NIVEN is a staff correspondent in London of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

VERNON WATKINS is a Welsh poet. His latest book is "North Sea," a translation from Heine.

MARIE SYRKIN is the author of "Blessed Is the Match. The Story of Jewish Resistance."

ROBERT E. GARIS, music critic, is in the Department of English at Wellesley College.

ROBERT PHELPS contributes to various magazines, including the *New Republic* and the *Progressive*.

Books in Brief

THE ELLEN KNAUFF STORY. By Ellen Raphael Knauff. Norton. \$3.50. A first-person story by the German war bride who was barred from this country in the erroneous belief that she had acted as a spy while employed by the American Army of Occupation, and who won admission only after a three-year battle with the Immigration Department. The crux of the case was the fact that the alien has no rights but only privileges and that his admission is in the hands of Immigration officials who often act on the basis of hearsay or confidential information that the accused has little or no chance to controvert. Under the circumstances and in view of the apparent strength of the case made against Mrs. Knauff by informers who were either prejudiced or mistaken, it is amazing and, on the whole, encouraging that Mrs. Knauff was able to fight her case through to victory even with the aid of a devoted husband, an excellent lawyer, and the support of influential newspapers.

GLORY ROAD. By Bruce Catton. Doubleday. \$4.50. This history of the Army of the Potomac from Fredericksburg to Gettysburg can be recommended without qualification. Mr. Cat-

ton's preceding volume, "Mr. Lincoln's Army," was called in these pages "a splendid example of popular interpretative history." His new book is at least as interesting in its material and equally graphic in its presentation. Based on letters, diaries, regimental histories, reminiscences, and reports, it has the great merit of immediacy; of forcing the reader, as it were, to participate in the stupidities and heroisms of these campaigns and the experiences of the men who did the fighting.

THE GREAT GOD PAN. By Robert Payne. Hermitage House. \$3.75. A lyrical analysis and appreciation of Chaplin as the modern reincarnation of Pan and inheritor of the art of Pierrot, Punch, Harlequin, and the great mimes and clowns of history. After thus tracing his artistic ancestry, the author describes his development, film by film, from "Kid Auto Races at Venice," the first farce in which he appeared "wearing his strange, subtle and faintly terrifying mask," down through "Monsieur Verdoux." One of the best of the forty-five books of which this assiduous young man is the author.

THE EXTRAORDINARY MR. MORRIS. By Howard Swiggett. Doubleday. \$5. The publication some years ago of the Gouverneur Morris Diaries revealed this aristocrat of the Revolution to have been a brisk, exuberant lover and a complex and fascinating man. As a writer Mr. Swiggett is no great shakes, but by leaning heavily on the diaries and on letters he has produced a biography filled with lively incidents and illuminating characterizations and observations, particularly of the Reign of Terror which Morris witnessed at first hand as Minister to France.

POEMS OF MR. JOHN MILTON. The 1645 Edition. Edited, with Essays in Analysis, by Cleanth Brooks and John Edward Hardy. Harcourt, Brace. \$5. The student of Milton—it would have to be a student—who applies himself to this volume will be confronted with serious business, both in the matter and the manner. Feeling that previous Miltonian scholarship has been too little concerned with the poems as poems, the editors here direct the student by close reading to arrive at evaluation; they offer in the end not final judgment but

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only "preliminary scaffolding, or, to change the metaphor . . . rough contour maps of the poems." Yes, but. The trouble is that a tractable temperament might well be completely satisfied with what he has been told; the maps are so detailed, the lines so firmly drawn, that it would take a resilient and hardy spirit to insist on further exploration.

THE CHATTANOOGA COUNTRY, 1840-1951. By Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood. Dutton. \$5. An excellent addition to the growing list of American regional histories. As frontier territory, as the scene of one of the bloodiest campaigns of the Civil War, as an early industrial center of the South, and as TVA country, the Chattanooga region has had an exceptionally picturesque history which the authors describe in a book of somewhat more than local interest.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

THE CHASE (Playhouse Theater) is the latest offering to be directed by the currently indefatigable José Ferrer. By now the earmarks of his product are beginning to be recognizable and "The Chase," like "The Shrike," might be described as topical melodrama. My colleague of the *Herald Tribune* called it "a Western with ethical commercials," which is more picturesque as well as more unkind and also raises the grave question whether or not the best interests of either melodrama or ethics are served by the combination. Certainly the total effect of the present work is no better than so-so.

The scene is a small Texas town which happens to have elected a very upright and somewhat introverted sheriff. A local bad boy who had graduated from youthful delinquent to full-fledged killer has just escaped from the penitentiary and is momentarily expected back to kill the sheriff who caught him last time. The town is up in arms. It wants the killer killed, not captured again, and it has begun to organize a lynching mob. But the sheriff hates violence; he has some vague feeling that that the community may just possibly be partly responsible for the criminal; and

he is determined at all events to take the killer alive. Then, at the last moment, he himself loses his head and shoots the victim down. Next morning he is back in his office convinced that he has somehow failed in his duty and ready to make a fresh start. He will have a talk with a twelve-year-old whose mother has phoned in that she can no longer control him.

The principal difficulty seems to be not so much that ethical considerations interfere with melodrama as that no one is much disposed to thought while murderers are peeping through windows and revolvers are being flourished in all directions. In art as in life it tends to be true that passion and violence get the attention when they have an opportunity to bid for it and that only when they are recollected in tranquillity can they themselves be thought about. Melodrama accepts this fact frankly and generally simplifies a given situation very much as passion and violence simplify it. The villain is a villain, the hero is a hero, and when the right man gets killed we have no doubt that he should have been.

"The Chase," on the other hand, is content with nothing so simple. It asks us to think clearly in the midst of excitement and in asking that it asks the impossible. In fact it seems to have asked the impossible of the author himself since it can hardly be argued that he makes any important contribution to the solution of the questions he raises. Melodrama wins if anything does and the principal effect of the "ethical commercials" is, first, to slow the action down, second, to deprive the audience of an important part of melodrama's simple satisfactions by preventing that perfect identification with the hero upon which those satisfactions depend. Perhaps in this particular case there are commercial justifications. Perhaps an audience a little ashamed of melodrama will assure itself that what it is seeing is a sort of problem play. But commercial justifications are not necessarily artistic ones and "The Chase" is not thoughtful enough to be a play of social significance, not simple enough to be a first-class melodrama.

John Hodiak gives an effective, straightforward performance as the sheriff and Kim Hunter a pleasant one as his troubled wife.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

COMING barely a week after the shrewdly contrived trash of Menotti's "Amahl," the ANTA revival of Gertrude Stein's and Virgil Thomson's "Four Saints in Three Acts" provided a refreshing experience of real and distinguished theater art. The album of the Victor recording of "Four Saints" quotes a statement by Thomson about "the poet's liberties with logic and the composer's constant use of the simplest elements in our musical vernacular" to evoke "something . . . of the childlike gaiety and mystical strength of lives devoted in common to a non-materialistic end. . . ." And it is true that one hears only "the simplest elements in our musical vernacular"; but it is also true that one hears a "constant use of them"—that is, a mind constantly at work with them for its purposes; and this activity produces something complex and origi-

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nal which achieves brilliantly the "childlike gaiety and mystical strength" of its objective.

Concerning the method of the activity and its results I can say nothing more than what I said ten years ago: "By separating and differentiating the repetitions of ■ Gertrude Stein verbal sequence Thomson's music articulates them, gives them point and even sense; the music also imparts to them its own structure and climax; and its effect is often the most delightful humor. Some of the humor consists in skilful musical pointing up—by the high-lighting of a group of words, the placing of it in relation to its context—of Miss Stein's surprises and irrelevances of juxtaposition; and to these Thomson adds occasional incongruities of his contriving between words and music—words of little or no sense or weight, musical style and structure of great emotional import and weight. But when such music is given to words like the 'led, said, wed, dead' sequence the result is very moving."

As for the production, it has the superb singing of Inez Matthews, Martha Flowers, Rawn Spearman, Edward Matthews, and some of the other principals and the chorus (prepared by William Jonson) of the Negro cast; and their charming acting and stylized movement in which they were directed by William

Dollar. I have a recollection, however, of scenery and costumes in the 1934 production handsomer than the new ones by Paul Morrison "after the original models by Florine Stettheimer," according to the program (Stark Young's 1934 review attributes the original costumes to Kate Lawson). My recollection is of a backdrop of a delicate tint, instead of the almost garish blue of the new one; of costumes for the dancers that were in harmony with the rest, instead of their obtrusive—and, in the tango number, ugly—present costumes. And my recollection is of movements devised for the dancers by Frederick Ashton which also were in harmony with the others, instead of the present dance movements devised by Mr. Dollar whose style and tone are ■ recurrent unpleasant false note in the occasion of childlike gaiety and innocence.

But even with its defects the new production gives us something outstanding and distinguished in our theater.

Rubinstein's newly recorded performances of Chopin's Polonaises on a 12-inch and a 10-inch RCA Victor LP are more grandiosely proclamatory than the ones on the old 78 s—which means that they distend and even distort the music that is treated with quieter sensitiveness and elegance on the old records. And in addition there is the difference between the clanging sound of his American Steinway piano and the sound of the Hamburg Steinway (the most beautiful in the world) in the old performances. The best of the works are all on the 12-inch record.

There is some interest in following the operation of Haydn's mind in the Piano Sonatas Nos. 23 and 32 on a Haydn Society record; and perhaps the operation would be more impressive and exciting if Robert Wallenborn pointed up the detail that is so uneventful in his fluent performances. As he plays the works only the slow movement of No. 23 is outstanding.

Debussy's "En blanc et noir" for two pianos, played this time by Vronsky and Babin, I again find uninteresting. The performance seems good; and the Columbia record also offers a two-piano arrangement of music from Stravinsky's "Petrouchka."

Rachmaninov's superb performance of Schumann's "Carnaval" has been

dubbed onto a Victor LP which reproduces it excellently.

Less valuable are most of the performances on Victor's LP record Great Pianists of the Past Play Chopin. De Pachmann's and Rosenthal's playing is as mannered as most of the singing of their time; Paderewski is more straightforward—but only for a time; Levitzki is fluent but without any force; Cortot plays the Berceuse with constant changes of pace, whereas the character of the piece requires a single tempo to be maintained throughout; Rachmaninov indulges in distortions; and only Lhévinne plays with simplicity and continuity of phrase outline in what I consider an effective performance of the Polonaise in A flat.

Columbia has dubbed onto LP all the old Weingartner recordings of Beethoven's symphonies; and I have heard the "Eroica," the Eighth, and the Ninth. I feel ■ need for more intensity in the "Eroica"; but in its unemphatic way the performance is good, except for some changes of pace in the first two movements; the recorded sound suffers from excessive reverberation, excessive bass, stridency of the violins, and distortion near the ends of sides. The first two movements of the Eighth are well done; the third is a little deliberate but acceptable; the slow tempo deprives the finale of its mercurial quality, and the pauses before the fortissimo bumps spoil their effect; the recorded sound gets muffled at the end. The placid first movement of the Ninth is something strictly for the Weingartnerites; the second movement is well done, as is the third (the violin figuration in variation 2 is inaudible) up to the coda, where I find the slower pace unconvincing (the sound is distorted here); the performance of the finale is good except for the fast tempos which destroy the effect of the wonderful Andante maestoso and Adagio divoto sections; the vocal soloists are unusually good, though the soprano breaks her last formidable ascent to high B both before and after the A sharp; the recorded sound is muffled at the end.

CORRECTION: In my comment last week on the Sadler's Wells Theater Ballet a sentence was misprinted. It should have read: As for John Cranko, I liked best his comedy "Pineapple Poll," and least his philosophical piece "Harlequin in April."

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Letters to the Editors

Is the Issue Congress . . .

Dear Sirs: I do not think that Willard Shelton should be allowed to get away with his weird and irresponsible review of Blair Bolles's book "How to Get Rich in Washington" [*The Nation*, April 12]. The review is characterized by a clear disregard of the facts, violent prejudice, and, apparently, deliberate distortion.

For example, Mr. Shelton says: "Nor does he [Bolles] seem to realize that some of the RFC's most harshly criticized loans were at least vaguely justified under a Congressional injunction that 'small business' should be helped." It is too bad that Mr. Shelton did not read the book as far as pp. 131-32 where this section of the 1948 RFC act is quoted and discussed in detail.

Mr. Shelton states that "even half-way smart financiers" avoid upper-bracket tax rates by manipulating the capital-gains provision. This is no doubt true to some extent, but it in no way contradicts the plain facts Bolles quotes on pp. 24-25 to substantiate the occurrence of a "tax revolution" since 1944. Whatever Mr. Shelton may imagine smart financiers are doing, the fact remains that in 1929 internal-revenue collections took 2.8 per cent of the value of all the goods the country produced and in 1949 took 15.6 per cent.

The review scoffs at the statement that regulatory agencies "tend to become prisoners of the interests they are supposed to regulate" which one would have supposed had become accepted by everyone as a truism. Mr. Shelton points to the pallid renaissance of the Federal Trade Commission as proof of his thesis although this can scarcely offset the devastating material the author assembles to prove his case against the FPC, the CAB, and the old Maritime Commission.

Mr. Shelton naively suggests that Senator Kerr's friendship with President Truman had nothing to do with the FPC's ruling in favor of the natural-gas interests. Mr. Shelton blames Congress, which had given "warning signs that any timid commissioner could read." The fact, of course, is that the key vote in the three-to-two decision was cast by Mon Wallgren, who had already announced his decision to retire and who did so some two months later. What terrors could Congress hold

for him if he was going out anyway?

A doctrinaire prejudice against Congress runs through this review. No one is going to praise the recent Congresses very much, but how can their sins exonerate Mr. Truman for appointing Boyle, Caudle, Nunan, Tom Clark, *et al.* in the first place?

Indeed, the whole thesis of Mr. Bolles's book is that the present corruption is a broad, complex, political question and not one of simple moral black-and-whites or of Congress vs. the Executive.

But then any reviewer who could compare this urbane and careful study to the nonsense of Lait and Mortimer is suspect in any case.

Washington WILLIAM V. SHANNON

. . . Versus the President?

Dear Sirs: "Getting away" with a review expressing doubt of the virtues of Mr. Bolles's book is not so much of a trick as Mr. Shannon thinks. Otherwise he might have been able to stick to specifics instead of slipping into a peroration impugning my motives and integrity.

My disagreement with Mr. Bolles involves the question of cures rather than of the diseases he describes. Even in handling the diseases, in my opinion, his diagnosis errs. "Washington itself

has become J. P. Morgan." This is no better than a half-truth. Is speculative investment dead in our country? Do oilmen get rich primarily from RFC loans or from tax favors from Congress—as well as, no doubt, some drive, ambition, and skill on their own part? I don't think that one paragraph on pp. 131-132 of what Mr. Shannon calls "discussion in detail," in which Mr. Bolles quotes part of the 1948 RFC statute, substitutes for adequate consideration of the social values of the RFC.

I naively shrink from imputations unsupported by evidence in what purports to be a documented political study. I said I doubted—and I still doubt—the insinuation that the Phillips Petroleum case—in which Senator Kerr was interested—was decided as it was because Truman told Mon Wallgren (or because Truman's desires somehow seeped to Wallgren) to vote for Kerr, as a specific result of Kerr's support of Truman in the MacArthur fight. The

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insinuation is there—clear and unmistakable—on pp. 19-20. Has Mr. Bolles any evidence other than his juxtaposition of separate facts? Has Mr. Shannon?

The Phillips case was not decided three to two by the FPC, as Mr. Shannon thinks, but four to one, with Commissioner Draper concurring in the decision but dissenting in part from Wallgren's majority opinion. So three commissioners who were *not* on their way out, who had *not* announced their forthcoming resignations, voted with Wallgren. How did Truman give *them* their orders and tell them to pay off politically to good old Bob Kerr? Neither Mr. Bolles nor Mr. Shannon vouchsafes. To me it seems possible that their decision was dictated by their honest judgment, and that Kerr's and the Senate's belief about what was likely to be their honest judgment was responsible for their confirmation. To me it also seems possible that they also observed the Senate witch-burning of Leland Olds when Olds was up for another term after fighting for regulation of the Phillips company.

A "doctrinaire prejudice against Congress" indeed! I suppose I should now call Mr. Shannon guilty of a "doctrinaire prejudice against the Presidency" because he—as I have done many times—criticizes some Truman appointments. I see no *lèse majesté* against the legislature in suggesting that the performance of the administrative agencies would be improved by a better Congress, one less scandalously gerrymandered in favor of rural districts and against urban interests, one more accurately representative of our people, one more responsive to what I consider the general welfare (non-doctrinaire variety). I cling to my weird notion that a shift in the political pressures in Congress would do more to improve the tone of the administrative agencies than any change Mr. Bolles suggests.

If Mr. Shannon wants to add a better President, all right. But I assume he knows that the long deterioration of the New Deal began when the conservative coalition captured Congress in 1938.

I consider many of Mr. Bolles's proposed remedies for evils disclosed by Congressional committees ill considered or scarcely considered at all. I do not think he has placed his scene accurately in the context of American history and political institutions.

For example, he writes on p. 218 that "independence" of the administra-

tive agencies "will be a mirage" so long as the President appoints their members, and suggests that "some system" be worked out so that the President and Congress "can collaborate" in choosing key men. What gibberish is this? Does he comprehend the function of the Presidency and the "collaboration" already existing in the form of Senate confirmation? I am wary of vague prescriptions for "some system" the nature of which in our constitutional order is left undefined. Also, wisecracking subtitles such as the one that conveys the spirit of Bolles's book: "Rich Man's Division of the Welfare State."

Washington

WILLARD SHELTON

Fair-Trade Legislation

Dear Sirs: Your March 22 editorial on Fair Trade relies on something less than thorough reporting to reach its conclusion, with which I agree.

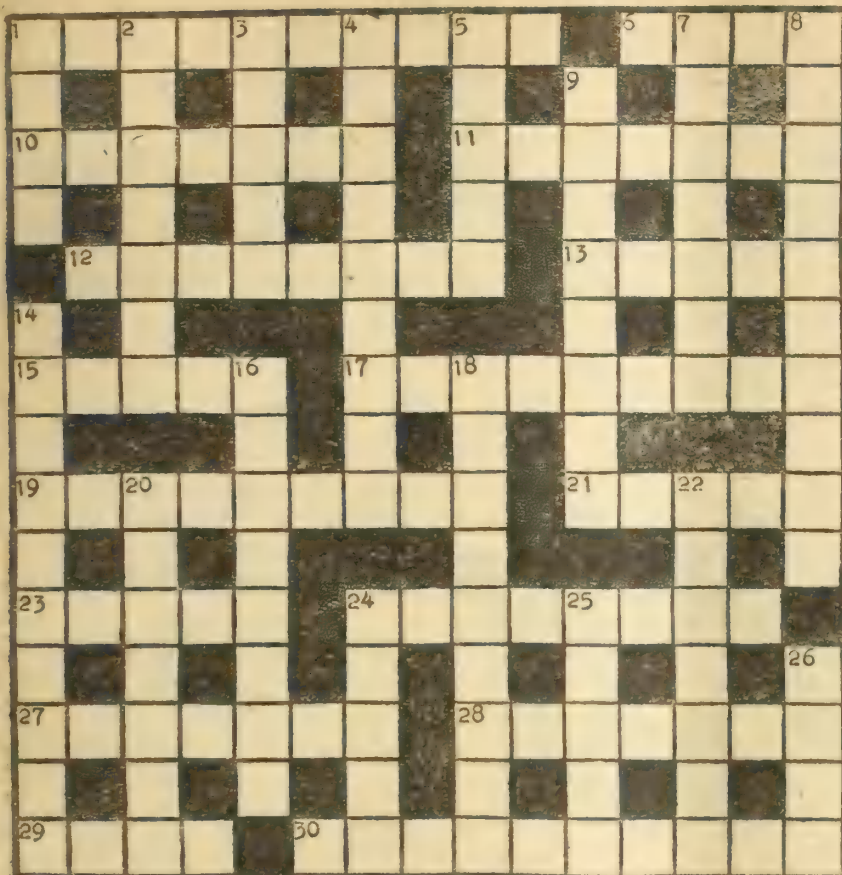
The House Judiciary subcommittee on monopoly power considered not only HR 4365, which would repeal the Miller-Tydings amendment to the Sherman act, but also HR 4592, HR 4662, and HR 6367. The last-named (known as the Keogh bill) would amend the Sherman act to get around not only the Schwegmann decision, voiding the non-signer clause, but also the Wentling decision, which weakened fair-trade laws as they apply to mail-order sales across state lines. The other two would amend the Miller-Tydings amendment simply to validate the non-signer clause.

Following open hearings, the full Judiciary Committee accepted the subcommittee recommendation of HR 6925, a rewritten Keogh bill, reporting it to the House on March 13, which you do not mention. Mr. Celler, chairman of both sub- and full committee, deserves commendation for his dissent, in which Mr. Jonas and Mr. Bakewell concurred.

It was not the I. C. C., as you stated, but the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, to which the McGuire bill (HR 5767) was referred. This aimed at the same end as the Keogh bill, but by amending the Federal Trade Commission act. It also provided criminal penalties, but after hearings (February 4-20) an ad hoc subcommittee, under Mr. Priest, dropped them before endorsing the bill. The full committee (with one opposed and two voting "present," but with no dissenting report) reported the bill favorably on February 27, which seems soon enough for mention on March 22. . . . Washington JOHN P. MANWELL

Crossword Puzzle No. 463

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Its possessors might love ■ product from Vermont, Louisiana, etc., and from the west, too. (5, 5)
- 6 How *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* begins. (4)
- 10, 24 across, 9, down. A complete span from rock to stone, perhaps. (4, 3, 6, 2, 3, 5)
- 11 Josef Strauss' music belonged to them. (7)
- 12 You could hardly be in the driver's seat in one of them. (8)
- 13 Steps taken by Hitler's minions. (5)
- 15 In the breast of Burns' fieldmouse. (5)
- 17 They have their points at Land's End. (9)
- 19 Hinders, in making ■ cherished variation. (9)
- 21 Tree an exceptional violinist springs from. (9)
- 23 In arriving at understanding, you'll find water. (5)
- 24 See 10.
- 27 Responsible for inflation, at times. (7)
- 28 and 29. The 17 type aren't what a fellow gets for breaking an engagement. (11)
- 30 Give the girls the air --- they'll take their turn! (10)

DOWN

- 1 Strain to make a fist. (4)
- 2 You might find noise or its equivalent wearing. (7)

- 3 Aggregate. (5)
- 4 and 9. A ruler in the serious condition of moribundity. (3, 4, 2, 3, 5)
- 5 "In thy higher sphere Thy spirit bends itself to loving—" (Lowell) (5)
- 7 Inventor of Romanic origin. (7)
- 8 What's the object of reading the riot act? (10)
- 9 See 10 and 4.
- 14 How to get Elia out of incarceration? (6, 4)
- 16 ALO, represented by the extremes of SiC. (8)
- 18 How to catch ■ criminal with a heart flush? (9)
- 20 You might think it scary --- in fact only half-human. (7)
- 22 Ran most of the way to get the ladies. (7)
- 24 Isle where the goat doesn't have foot trouble. (5)
- 25 Animal one might see coming up a shaded walk. (5)
- 26 Gets 3 like ■ dentist. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 462

ACROSS:—1 ANTIPHLOGISTIC; 8 FAIT ACCOMPLI; 10 IMMINENT; 11 PART; 13 SPIRIT; 14 ORDINANCE; 16 PLATEFOOT; 17 ENESCO; 19 TIES; 20 TO THE POINT; 22 FALLEN ARCHES; 23 CORRESPONDENCE.

DOWN:—1 AFFAIRS OF STATE; 2 TRIUMVIRATES; 3 PLAINTIFFS; 4 LACING; 5 GAMBLERS; ■ SILT; 7 A MATTER OF TASTE; 9 SAINT SWITHIN; 12 UNINSPIRED; 15 MONOCLES; 18 SHINTO; 21 FAIR.

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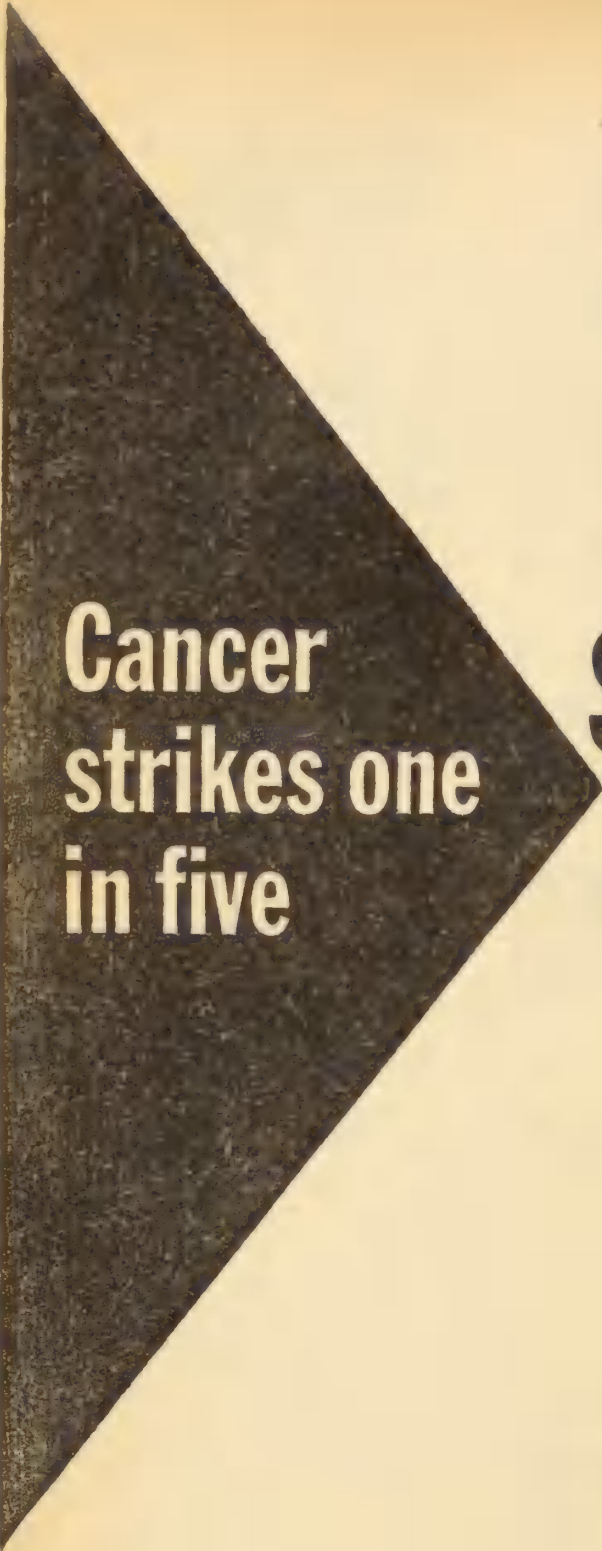
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THE *Nation*



May 10, 1952

Presidential Poll Results *Analysis of The Nation's Ballot*

Labor Views the Campaigns

BY HUGO ERNST

*

Italy, the Vatican, and American Catholics

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

Groupthink on Groupthink *by* Dawn Powell

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Operation Albacore

San Francisco

LAST September, while the Japanese peace treaty was being signed in San Francisco, hundreds of albacore (tuna) fishing boats, bedecked in gala bunting and with loud-speakers blaring, paraded in the bay publicizing what they charged was the first result of Secretary Acheson's "soft peace"—ruin of the American tuna industry. The fishermen demanded a tariff on the frozen fish from Japan—and Peru—that was flooding the home market at \$225 a ton. Actually \$225 would not cover the bare cost of operation of American boats.

Tuna fishermen have engaged in a perennial running battle with the big canners over price, though as late as 1949 they were able to get \$750 a ton for their fish. The price had dropped to less than half that by the beginning of the 1951 season, and then the duty-free imported tuna knocked the bottom out.

The Fishermen's Union, since 1949 an affiliate of Harry Bridges's International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (I. L. W. U.), had for years tried through organization to equalize the bargaining relationship between the small boat-owners and the packers. Its efforts were blocked several years ago when the federal government pressed a damaging restraint-of-trade case against the union, which it accused of fixing the selling price to canners.

At the start of the 1951 season John Pastorino, secretary of Fishermen's Local 3-34 (I. L. W. U.) of San Francisco, got the idea of going out on the run himself that summer. All tuna boats are equipped with two-way radio telephones. As Pastorino followed the warm stream up the coast from Mexico with the rest of the fleet, he engaged in long dialogues with other fishermen about their common grievances, plugging the union whenever he could. It was an unusual kind of organizing campaign.

Early in October the boats hit a solid run of tuna around Morro Bay, but before they completed their catch a squall drove them into port. The dealers on shore would not touch the fish at the price asked. The men held a council of war and agreed they would let the fish

rot rather than sell at the ruinous price offered. "I tell you what we ought to do," one fisherman pitched in. "We ought to try and sell that fish directly to the public."

Albacore fishermen had made other attempts to sell their fish directly, but they had always run into official red tape. However, with the I. L. W. U. backing them, they figured maybe they could succeed this time. A couple of crab stands were rented on the famous Fisherman's Wharf. In two days the albacore catch was being sold to the public at 25 cents a pound by the whole fish, less than half the current price.

The idea caught fire swiftly. After a day or two markets were opened in Oakland and other towns across the bay, in Sacramento and Stockton, in Santa Clara and Salinas, and finally in Los Angeles, where sales soon totaled as much as at all the other outlets combined.

Some advertising was done by the union at first, but it soon became unnecessary as newspapers and radios gave the novel idea spectacular treatment. Since most people had never tasted tuna before it was confined in its "tin prison," the union hired television time and put on demonstration-cooking programs. Mimeographed recipes were given out with every purchase; variety was stressed, since tuna comes big, averaging twelve to fifteen pounds, enough meat for a family for several meals. Buyers came from all walks of life. "Where has this fish been all our lives?" the Stockton *Record* demanded.

But it was the middle-income consumer who was most appreciative. Protein-conscious housewives found this the best buy on the market. Neighbors teamed up and bought a fish between them. Meanwhile, most people seemed to be getting the point the union kept making indefatigably: that by supporting its selling campaign the consumer was helping to beat the monopolies as well as making it possible for the fishermen to earn a decent living. Everybody benefits, was the common feeling. One buyer demanded: "Why don't you go out and organize the cowboys, so we can get the same deal on beef?"

Nearly two million pounds of fish were disposed of in this manner, involv-

ing some 150,000 individual sales. The fishermen received \$300 a ton for their catch—enough to guarantee a modest profit. Encouraged by this experience, the union opened a crab market on the wharf and sold the shellfish for 25 cents a pound live, 30 cents cooked, the lowest prices in years.

Does this indicate a new course for the ailing West Coast fishing industry? The I. L. W. U. itself is doubtful about the project, which it does not consider a legitimate long-term trade-union activity. Nor does it believe that the tariff, which it has supported in solidarity with other fishermen, strikes at the root of the trouble. Japanese tuna, I. L. W. U. leaders maintain, can be sold here so cheaply because the earnings of Japanese fishermen are so low. A decent wage for these workers would eliminate the pressure to sell abroad, whereas a tariff might have the effect of driving down still farther the miserable Japanese pay.

Yet it is difficult to rule out the tariff solution. Other proposals appear far-fetched in comparison. The Northwest's salmon industry is in as bad a state as tuna fishing as the result of a cut of from 25 to 15 per cent in the duty on Canadian-caught fish. The campaign for higher duties on both salmon and tuna will undoubtedly increase. The House adopted a \$60-a-ton duty on imported tuna shortly before adjourning last December. Pressure is now being put on the Senate to follow suit.

But use of the "new market" discovered by the I. L. W. U. seems too tempting to resist. The Fishermen's Union (A. F. of L.) in San Diego, "the tuna capital of the world," has asked the big packers to share the expense of a great promotion campaign to develop this market and get the tuna industry out of its deep depression.

Is there a lesson in all of this for other industries which may soon be confronted with similar competition from our economic wards, the Japanese?

HENRY KRAUS

[Henry Kraus is the author of "The Many and the Few," a history of the labor movement, and of "In the City Was a Garden," a novel.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 19

The Shape of Things

The Meaning of Israel

The fourth birthday of the state of Israel calls for more than the outpouring of admiration, wonder, and congratulations with which it was greeted in last week's celebration. The event was an affirmation, much needed today, that, given faith in its principles and purposes, a democratic cause can overcome great odds and survive. Israel provides dramatic proof of the vitality of that faith. Born out of a struggle against invading forces, faced with the staggering problem of creating a government in the midst of war, Israel might have been excused if it had suspended some of its democratic principles in deference to the "emergency." But it did not; and as a result it has achieved an amazing degree of integration and security—in spite of the immense financial difficulties that burden it—without forfeiting one atom of its integrity. The existence of Israel in the oppressed and backward region of the Middle East will prove of immense significance to that area in the years to come. It has almost as much meaning for the West—if the West knows how to read the lesson of this tiny country's survival.

"Released Time"

The Supreme Court's decision, written by Justice Douglas, upholding the New York released-time program (see *The Nation*, February 9), represents a clear reversal of its position on the McCollum case in Illinois. Except that in the earlier case the religious instruction was to be given inside the public schools, rather than outside, it is impossible to distinguish the Illinois system, which was held invalid, from the New York system, which has now been upheld. In fact the court intended in the McCollum case to make it "categorically clear"—as Justice Black pointed out in his dissenting opinion last week—that released time was unconstitutional even if the religious instruction were to be given off public-school premises; on or off, the effect is to "manipulate the compelled classroom hours of the compulsory public-school system." The only way to avoid this is to dismiss *all* students for a stated period each week.

It is impossible to escape the force of the conclusions reached by Justice Jackson—who also dissented—that the New York released-time program utilizes the public schools "as a temporary jail for students who will not go to church." In other words, the coercive power of the state is used to assist religious sects in violation of the First Amendment. The consequences of this initial breach in the wall separating church and state were dramatically foreshadowed in Jackson's dissent: "... The day that this country ceases to be free for irreligion it will cease to be free for religion—except for the sect that can win political power. . . . We start down a rough road when we begin to mix compulsory public education with compulsory godliness. . . ."

Bad Days in Buenos Aires

May 1 was a bad day for the Perón regime. On that day the Argentine dictator, addressing Parliament, admitted that his country was facing a desperate economic crisis for which he could offer no sure cure. And on the same day a group of noted Argentine exiles protested to the United Nations that Perón had tortured hundreds of political prisoners in a "reign of pure terror" over their unhappy land.

Neither development came as a surprise to regular *Nation* readers. In our issue of April 19, Alvarez del Vayo exclusively predicted the protest to the United Nations and detailed some of the torture charges. And our last week's issue, which went to press several days before Perón's speech, carried a remarkable and timely analysis of the Argentine economic crisis under the headline Perón Through in '52?

As an additional service to our readers, we hope soon to be able to repeat the headline—this time without the question mark.

Bosom Rivals

There will be a certain piquancy to this year's sessions of the American Assembly to be held May 18-22 at Arden House in the beautiful Ramapo Mountains. Organized in 1950 by General Eisenhower as president of Columbia University, the assembly brings together annually representative leaders of American business,

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labor, professions, politics, government, and the public to discuss major problems confronting the country. It was a pet project of the General's, who thought it "the most important step" he had taken as Columbia's president; he said it would give the nation's leaders a needed "pause to think."

Now the joker: Arden House, site of the Assembly, a handsome estate at Harriman, New York, was presented as a gift to the pet project of General Eisenhower, candidate for the Republican nomination for President, by W. Averell Harriman, candidate for the Democratic nomination. The American Assembly is thus a happy reminder of the friendship and similarity of interests and outlook which exist between these rivals for the highest post in the land.

This year's sessions will be devoted to a discussion of "Inflation: Causes, Consequences, and Cures." If General Eisenhower and Mr. Harriman could both attend, if the proceedings were open to press, radio, and television, the American people would also be given a pause to think—and not only about inflation.

Tunisian Dynamite

Tunisia again forced itself on the unwilling attention of the United Nations when twelve Arab-Asian and seventeen Latin American delegations met last week to hear Professor Ahmed Bokhari of Pakistan reiterate his conviction that the Security Council had committed a grave error in refusing to deal with the issue. The majority of the Latin American delegates, in accordance with the position taken in the Security Council by Chile and Brazil, registered themselves in favor of calling a special session of the General Assembly to deal with Tunisia's complaint, and have submitted the matter to their governments.

Meanwhile news coming direct from Tunisia shows that the situation there is no less precarious than two months ago when, under French orders, the Bey was obliged to replace the Chenik Cabinet with a hand-picked collection of civil servants who are ministers in name only. The "Premier," M. Baccouche, represents nobody but the French Resident General, M. de Haute-cloque. Continuing friction between the Bey and his new Cabinet has brought the routine administrative work of the government almost to a standstill. The appointment of the Mixed Commission to study the program of gradual reform suggested by the French has been postponed until May 20; it had been announced for April 24. Discontent increases and the Tunisian trade unions are now preparing for another big fight. Terroristic acts met by harsh repression give daily proof that it is no longer possible to handle this smoldering nationalist rebellion by halfhearted palliatives too long delayed.

Steel Seizure—

Threat Against Labor

THE issues involved in the President's attempt to seize the steel plants are in danger of being obscured by the government's ineptness, the arbitrary action of Judge David A. Pine, and the merits of the labor dispute itself.

On the merits, the steel workers have a powerful case (see *The Nation*, March 29, 1952), but this fact should not divert attention from the basic constitutional issues. Similarly, the Administration's inexcusably clumsy handling of the dispute, including its legal aspects, should not divert attention from the role that Congress has played in forcing the Administration to act as it has acted. In the same way, Judge Pine's attempt to dispose of a fundamental constitutional issue on a mere motion for a temporary injunction and his unsupported finding of "irreparable damage" do not alter the fact that his decision was basically a sound one.

Nothing in the Constitution, directly or by implication, authorizes the President to take the step he did, nor was the seizure authorized by act of Congress. In seeking to justify it in terms of the President's "inherent powers," Assistant Attorney General Holmes Baldridge was jockeyed into the untenable position that while the Constitution limits the powers of the courts and Congress, it does not limit the powers of the President.

But the legal issue also hinges on a basic factual issue. Neither the President nor Congress has power to order the seizure of a plant or an industry except in some grave national emergency affecting the security of the country. In speaking of the "awful result" of a steel strike, Judge Pine apparently assumed the existence of such an emergency. But if it does exist, then the Administration has been highly inconsistent in its actions and policies. On March 25, it authorized major increases in the production of passenger cars, washing machines, and other consumer goods after July 1; and on April 8, in a speech at Detroit, Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer predicted that the government would lift steel controls "before many months go by—perhaps in early 1953." Some months back the defense mobilizers extended the military program for a year longer than originally planned; it will not be completed now until 1955. Similarly, delivery of military items has been deliberately delayed to allow more time to work out better designs before production schedules were frozen.

If these decisions were proper, then the government is now crying "wolf, wolf" to justify an unconstitutional action. Although precise figures are not available, it has been estimated that the total available steel supply is sufficient to continue production, including military production, for sixty days or longer. And the talk about

"emergencies" becomes even more puzzling when one reads that Nathan P. Feinsinger, chairman of the WSB, thinks that the union and the industry were "very, very close" to an agreement before the President acted and states that he had himself recommended against seizure.

The issue, we suspect, does not turn so much on the question of whether a cessation in steel production will endanger national security as it does on how and by what means labor is to be "controlled." If this is the case, then government seizure has dangerous long-range implications for the labor movement. Under Section 3 of the seizure order, the Secretary of Commerce was directed to recognize the right of workers to bargain collectively, "provided that such activities do not interfere with the operation of such plants, facilities, and other properties." Three times since the war President Truman has "seized" the railroads to prevent strikes; in fact the railroads have been under nominal army operation since August, 1950. "The only concrete effect of this seizure," Senator James E. Murray reported to his colleagues on March 28, "has been to stall all attempts at a settlement between the carriers and the operating railroad unions which are parties to the two-year-old dispute. The effect of the seizure has been further to resolve the dispute in favor of the carriers simply because the unions are deprived of the sanctions they could exercise if the roads were nominally in private hands."

Actually "seizure" is a phony procedure; nothing much happens except that strikes become "strikes against the government" and the government remains liable for losses. This is why Judge Pine's finding of "irreparable damage" to the companies is absurd. On the other hand, partisans of the President should note that in the argument before the Circuit Court of Appeals, Mr. Baldridge—once again speaking out of turn—said quite frankly that the government would enjoin the strikers if the seizure were reinstated. It is worth noting, moreover, that the conservative press is demanding that the President invoke the provisions of the Taft-Hartley act. Should an injunction be obtained, a curious situation would arise in which the government had been ruled powerless to coerce the companies but could force the workers to continue at their jobs for an additional eighty days for the benefit of private profit-making enterprises. One law for the companies, another for the workers.

In the present situation Congress is as much at fault as the President. After shouting "dictator" and hurling the threat of impeachment at the President, Congress simply walked out on the steel dispute by adjourning for the Easter recess. And it has continued to duck its responsibilities: about the only suggestion that has come from it has been a proposal for still another Congressional investigation. If the President's action in ordering seizure was dictatorial, the default of Congress was in part responsible. Government-by-decree is always justi-

fied in terms of some "emergency," real or imagined; but the basic explanation is usually to be found in a political crisis which has resulted in a deadlock between the executive and legislative branches of government. It is at least arguable that if such a deadlock had not existed, the President would have asked Congress to impose controls at the outbreak of the Korean war instead

of permitting the situation to get out of hand, thereby setting in motion the chain reaction which precipitated the steel dispute. A decision by the Supreme Court may settle the legal issue, but only a resolution of the political crisis which has brought about the deadlock between Congress and the White House can check the threat of "government-by-decree."

Our Readers Prefer Douglas

THE results of *The Nation's* preferential poll for President are detailed in the tables on the opposite page. The ballot was printed in the April 5 issue; individual readers who requested them were mailed extra ballots provided they wrote before April 19 (634 such extra ballots were distributed). Participants were asked to indicate the state in which they live and their party affiliation. Minor-party candidates were not included in the ballot, but space for write-ins was provided. All ballots postmarked not later than April 25 were counted.

A total of approximately 3,600 ballots was cast, including write-ins. The tables on page 445 show the breakdown of first and second choices according to party affiliation, and the total first-choice vote by states. Votes were received from every state in the Union.

In all, 419 write-in votes were received, of which 158 were first choices divided among 33 candidates. The leading first choices were: Vincent Hallinan (Progressive Party candidate), 45; Senator Paul Douglas, 28; Norman Thomas, 13; Averell Harriman, 10; Herbert Holdridge, 8; and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, 5. Harriman, Senator Douglas, and Hallinan led the second-choices in that order. Scattered write-ins were received for Justice Hugo Black, Stringfellow Barr, Senator Herbert Lehman, President Truman, Senator McMahon, Frank P. Graham, Robert Hutchins, and others.

In our view, the most interesting results shown by the poll are these: the clear first-choice preferences indicated for Justice William O. Douglas by Democrats, Republicans, and independents (including members of minor parties); the tendency of our readers to favor Senator Kefauver and Governor Stevenson as their second choice; the second-choice popularity of Governor Earl Warren among Democrats, Republicans, and independents; and the relative lack of interest shown in the candidacy of General Eisenhower. The fact that so many readers voted for Justice Douglas and Governor Stevenson, even though they were aware that neither is a candidate, indicates not only the kind of candidate they prefer but also the kind of platform they want. We think there is a straw in the wind here for the Democrats, who must retain their independent and liberal support to win.

In August, 1939, Elmo Roper prepared a study of a

selected sample of 978 *Nation* readers. Among the questions asked was this: "Whom did you vote for in 1924, 1928, 1932, and 1936?" The results, given in percentages, provide an interesting tie-in with our current poll:

1924		1928	
Coolidge	18.0	Smith	38.8
Davis	11.2	Hoover	18.9
LaFollette	41.5	Thomas	26.7
Foster	2.0	Foster	1.8
Other	2.0	Other	.4
Didn't vote	25.3	Didn't vote	13.4
1932		1936	
F. D. R.	64.7	F. D. R.	81.0
Hoover	8.6	Landon	5.3
Thomas	19.4	Thomas	9.3
Foster	1.1	Browder	1.8
Other	.2	Other	.2
Didn't vote	6.0	Didn't vote	2.4

The percentage of first-choice ballots which Justice William O. Douglas received (67.2) is slightly higher than Roosevelt's percentage in 1932. It should be mentioned, also, that many readers explained that their "real" choice was William O. Douglas but that since they assumed he was not available, they were marking preferences for others.

Many interesting miscellaneous comments were received. One reader noted: "If, in my bitterness, I have spoiled my ballot by indicating—in an amazingly restrained fashion!—what I think of Kerr, Russell, MacArthur, and Taft, please send me another ballot." Another, who voted for Justice Douglas, commented: "But it would be a shame to permit Harry another Supreme Court appointment before he retires." Associate Justice R. B. Bottomly of the Montana Supreme Court has been doing a little private polling among his friends. "Most of those I have talked to," he wrote, "have expressed the thought that it is just too bad that the ordinary person has no way of expressing his choice for the important position of President of the United States. It appears there is not much hope for the expression of this choice until we have a national primary for this office which would mean real democracy in action."

THE NATION'S PRESIDENTIAL POLL

	DEMOCRAT		REPUBLICAN		OTHER		TOTALS	
	1st Choice	2nd Choice	1st Choice	2nd Choice	1st Choice	2nd Choice	1st Choice	2nd Choice
BARKLEY (D)	2	18	0	2	2	4	4	24
W. O. DOUGLAS (D)	1,232	260	95	22	993	168	2,320	450
EISENHOWER (R)	55	85	86	38	88	89	229	212
KEFAUVER (D)	162	350	14	31	73	219	249	600
KERR (D)	1	4	0	2	0	6	1	12
MacARTHUR (R)	1	4	3	14	0	3	4	21
RUSSELL (D)	6	15	1	0	2	6	9	21
STASSEN (R)	1	3	0	9	1	3	2	15
STEVENSON (D)	331	713	17	40	180	498	528	1,251
TAFT (R)	14	12	30	13	15	16	59	41
WARREN (R)	14	103	8	63	24	114	46	280

RESULTS BY STATES (First Choices Only)

States	Barkley	W. O. Douglas	Eisenhower	Kefauver	Kerr	MacArthur	Russell	Stassen	Stevenson	Taft	Warren
Alabama	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arizona	0	10	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arkansas	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
California	1	394	28	47	0	1	0	0	69	12	0
Colorado	0	40	3	4	0	0	0	0	2	2	1
Connecticut	0	59	0	1	0	0	0	0	17	0	0
Delaware	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dist. of Columbia	0	8	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	1	0
Florida	0	30	1	12	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Georgia	0	4	1	0	0	0	2	0	4	1	0
Idaho	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Illinois	0	150	18	5	0	0	0	0	83	4	3
Indiana	0	29	6	3	0	1	0	0	15	2	1
Iowa	0	15	1	4	0	0	0	0	7	0	1
Kansas	0	15	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	0
Kentucky	0	13	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Louisiana	0	14	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Maine	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	0	30	2	5	0	1	0	0	9	2	2
Massachusetts	0	102	24	7	0	1	0	0	20	1	0
Michigan	0	76	10	10	0	0	0	0	26	0	6
Minnesota	0	55	5	9	0	0	0	0	15	2	1
Mississippi	0	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Missouri	0	39	4	3	0	0	0	0	13	1	1
Montana	0	18	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
Nebraska	0	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	1
Nevada	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Hampshire	0	14	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
New Jersey	0	83	21	4	0	0	0	1	13	0	1
New Mexico	0	9	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New York	1	582	40	23	0	0	1	0	100	7	7
North Carolina	0	12	2	5	0	0	0	0	5	0	1
North Dakota	0	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Ohio	1	102	16	20	0	0	0	0	31	4	1
Oklahoma	0	15	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	1	0
Oregon	0	29	2	6	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
Pennsylvania	0	137	15	14	0	0	2	0	25	4	3
Rhode Island	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
South Dakota	0	6	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
Tennessee	0	7	1	7	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Texas	0	24	3	10	0	0	1	0	6	2	1
Utah	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Vermont	0	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Virginia	0	26	0	7	0	0	0	0	5	1	0
Washington	0	64	2	8	0	0	0	0	14	0	3
West Virginia	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Wisconsin	0	34	3	11	0	0	1	0	7	2	1
Wyoming	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
TOTALS	4	2,320	229	249	1	4	9	2	528	59	46

Labor Views the Campaigns

BY HUGO ERNST

IT SEEMS to me that the key to this election year lies in a thoughtful reading of the signs which reveal a vast uneasiness at work among the American people. Walter Lippmann and others, reporting "ear-to-the-ground" tours of the country, have found this restlessness, this seeking after answers, in every corner of the land. Some pass it off as nothing more than a mood for changing the "ins" for the "outs." Others read into it a current of defeatism. I think these are dangerous and superficial readings.

The signs are all about us. They reach all the way from the President's decision to "take a walk" to the worried frowns of housewives as they pass through the check-out station at the supermarket.

They include slipping farm prices, the lines of unemployed in the textile and auto towns, the new boldness of employer attacks upon trade unions.

They include dislocations of world trade, the Treasury's monthly report that more defense bonds are cashed than sold, the big advertisements for clearance sales of TV sets, refrigerators, and other high-cost merchandise.

They include recurring reports of acts of downright fascist violence against Negroes, Jews, Spanish-Americans, and other minority groups; the snooping into schoolbooks which has befouled communities as far apart as Pasadena, California, and Port Washington, New York; the news that detention camps are being prepared for "subversives" in this land of the free.

They include items like the army's request for more funds to use in tracking down soldiers who have gone "over the hill"; the air-force lieutenants who do not wish to fly; and *Argosy* magazine's opinion poll showing that the headline which eight out of ten Americans would most like to see, reads: WAR ENDED FOREVER.

Twenty years ago Franklin D. Roosevelt, sensing a similar uneasiness in the land, illuminated the dark

night of the depression with a flashing phrase that showed his remarkable insight into the popular mood. "The only thing we have to fear," he said, "is fear itself." Then he went on to offer a New Deal so bold, so concrete, so accurate in its grasp of the nation's sense of insecurity, as to rally the people to his standard for four years of historic election victories—to say nothing of a fifth Democratic victory in 1948.

The "new" part of F. D. R.'s prescription was simply that he put people's security first: the security of their homes, their jobs, their farms, their small enterprises, their unions. The security of their civil rights, their health, their education, their natural resources. These were given priority over the narrower interests of those he dubbed "malefactors of great wealth."

It was this program which made the Democratic Party the choice of workers, farmers, and the small business men and professional people who serve them. It was this New Deal which brought to birth the political arms of the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the railroad unions, and the miners, all bent on supporting those in either party who would push the program. And it was

this New Deal the Republicans and Dixiecrats in Congress set out to smash the moment F. D. R. was dead. Seizing the initiative from President Truman, the coalition has put in motion since 1946 a mighty flood of reaction from the Hill which is washing away F. D. R.'s program as surely as the life-giving topsoil of the Missouri Basin is being washed away as I write. We can expect the erosion to continue if the Dixiecrats dictate at Chicago the nomination of a man who suits their own purposes rather than the needs of the plain people who have looked upon the Democratic Party as their instrument of social progress.

The Democrats can't win without a tremendous turnout in November. They can't get such a turnout unless they offer a national program that satisfies the people's need for security. And they must offer real security at home and real security in relations with other nations.

At the very minimum, if there is to be a real outpouring of voters this year, the Democrats must not retreat an inch from the platform of 1948 when they meet in



Hugo Ernst

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Chicago in July. There must be no surrender to the Dixiecrats. If the delegates permit Senator Russell, the man who says he "would rather be a Southerner than be President," to blackjack them with his 300 votes, then the campaign this fall will not be waged on the real issues at all, but on mink coats, reds-in-government, and wasteful welfare spending disguised as issues by candidates unwilling to face the causes of the people's restlessness. Disgusted voters will stay home.

Republicans have worked hand in glove with the Dixiecrats as wreckers of the New Deal. Together they forced the defense production program into forms which tightened monopoly's grip while weakening the people's defense against falling living standards. Carrying these policies beyond our shores, the "Dixiegop" alliance has starved the Point Four program for dealing permanently with what the President has called "stomach communism" by containing it within a wall of rising living standards. There is no likelihood that the election of Taft or Eisenhower, either of whom must carry into office reactionary Senators and Representatives, would in any way alter the nature of the present drift.

As for the Democrats, the great danger is that the Dixiecrats, using as their slogan, "You can't win without us," will blackmail the convention into choosing their man. The fact is, however, and it should be widely advertised, that neither Roosevelt nor Truman needed electoral votes from the Southern states; both would have been elected handily without them.

No, the Democrats don't need the Dixiecrats. What they *do* need is the votes of those—North, South, East, and West—who feel most sharply the insecurity of the times. And who are they? They are the voters who kept the Democrats in power from 1932 through 1948. They are the wage earners—steelworkers, hotel maids, white-collar employees—of the industrial cities. They are the family farmers of the Great Plains, the sharecroppers of the South. They are the Negro millions and the millions of new Americans from many lands even unto the second and third generations. Standing alone, they are called "minority groups"; together, they hold the popular power the Democrats must put into motion if they would win next fall. To enlist them, the Democrats must restore faith in the party as the defender of the people's rights. They must offer a platform explicit in its proposals for quieting the people's fears.

As I see it, these are the facts which the Democrats must face squarely if they want to win again in 1952:

☞ While most American families are caught in a net of frozen wages and rising prices, corporations continue to swell, like the frog in the fairy tale, with each new quarterly report.

☞ The existence of a tax structure which adds a heavy burden of indirect taxes to the already heavy direct taxes

paid by the people, while lobbyists devise new loopholes for the big fellows.

☞ The shelving of the Fair Deal by the same Congress which continues to ladle out giant subsidies to industry, thus turning the nation's wealth over to monopoly.

☞ Mounting expressions of alarm from thoughtful people who see present policies as leading either to war or depression, and who don't want war as a "solution" for depression.

☞ The anti-labor climate fostered by the Taft-Hartley act, epitomized in the steel crisis.

☞ The present moratorium on social progress—public housing, security for the aged, health insurance, federal aid to education, public power, flood control.

☞ The series of murderous assaults on Negroes. These grow bolder, as though the FBI's failure to catch the Kluxers who bombed Harry Moore's home in Florida at Christmas time were almost an invitation to violence.

THERE is also the issue of free speech. The fear of speaking out is the most ominous fact of life in America today. The virus of McCarthyism chills the heart and stills the tongue of the teacher, the preacher, the public servant, the editor, the union member. Ultimately this terrible disease destroys its victims' resistance to a malignant growth within the body politic—the cancer of fascism. A serious threat is that this same political "polio" may lay hold of the Democratic convention. Indeed, it would be a bitter irony should the McCarthy virus infect the party whose only hope of victory lies in offering the voters a cure for all the ills for which McCarthy and the Dixiecrats stand.

I do not believe working people or their unions will ever surrender to the Dixiecrats. They simply will not accept, just as the Negro people will not accept, any Democratic candidate who compromises on civil rights to gain the nomination. Nor do I believe that working people and their natural allies will turn to the Republicans unless some miracle at Chicago reminds the G. O. P. of Lincoln, and they recover his concern for the rights of working people, white and black.

Should both parties turn their backs on the rights of labor, on civil rights, on the social needs of all of us, on the deep hunger for peace in the hearts of men, then I fear millions of voters will simply "sit this one out" and the victory will go to the Republicans by default.

The 1952 elections, it seems to me, are America's big chance, and perhaps the Democratic Party's last chance, to return to the path of F. D. R. Here is our opportunity to send to Washington a new President and a new Congress with a genuine mandate from the voters to re-appraise our foreign and domestic affairs. Such a government could help enormously in easing the tensions which now foster fear throughout the world.

Trouble in Textiles: II

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

THE trouble in textiles, of which I wrote last week, is not peculiar to the United States: it is a world-wide phenomenon which is causing the spinners and weavers of Osaka, Ghent, Manchester, and Bombay even more grief than those of Fall River. Universally the feast of orders that the textile industry was enjoying a little more than a year ago has turned to famine. Everywhere, as manufacturers and merchants struggle to reduce inventories in the face of strong consumer resistance, mills are closing, leaving hundreds of thousands of workers idle.

In the major producing countries anti-inflationary measures, such as increased taxes and higher interest rates, serve to lessen home demand. But exports afford no relief; on the contrary, important markets—Australia, for example—are being cut off by import restrictions designed to correct adverse trade balances. And in Asia, Africa, and Latin America consumption is being curtailed by a fall in purchasing power caused by price reverses in such commodities as rubber, jute, copra, tin, and pepper.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the textile industries of Britain and Belgium, which export one-third and one-half of their output respectively, should have been excited when the possibility of substantial orders from Russia, China, and other "iron curtain" lands was dangled before them at the recent Moscow Economic Conference. In Japan, too, where the cotton industry has just cut back production severely even though its capacity is still far below pre-war levels, there is keen interest in the prospect of reentry into the Chinese market. We have yet to see, however, how firm the proffered orders are and what strings are attached to them. British observers, while hoping for the best, appear to be rather skeptical. They note that in negotiating trade pacts with Russia Britain hitherto has never been able to persuade the Soviet government to use part of its substantial sterling balances for the purchase of textiles or other consumer goods. Nor have the British placed any obstacles in the way of textile exports to China; if these have dwindled to a trickle, it is because of difficulties created by Peking.

Should Lancashire succeed in obtaining appreciable business from the Eastern bloc, the American reaction is likely to be a mixture of criticism and envy. However, exports have never played a major role in America's textile trade—last year less than 10 per cent of the output of cotton fabrics was sold abroad—and recovery from the present slump depends primarily on a quick-

ening of the home market. How is this to be achieved?

It can hardly be argued that the reduced rate of textile consumption in this country comes from lack of purchasing power. Generally speaking, the economy is operating at a very high level. Employment is at a new peak and disposable income in the first quarter of this year was only fractionally below the all-time high reached in the fourth quarter of 1951. It is not poverty, therefore, that is causing consumer resistance; it is rather that the average American is relatively wealthy in terms of goods. Few of our garages lack a car; our kitchens are lined with gadgets; our wardrobes are comfortably stocked. Since the war ended we have been buying fast and furiously, but now that we have learned that we can have our guns and butter too, the urge to spend is weakening and we are beginning to exercise what Keynes called a "liquidity-preference." As a result department-store sales have been sagging while savings-bank deposits have spurted.

This is just what the economic doctors ordered and a sign that the inflationary fever has left us. But there is no reason to suppose, as some observers are suggesting, that we are about to fall into a deflationary coma. As long as defense expenditures remain high and the government operates at a deficit, it seems unlikely that total demand will fall so far below potential supply as to create a critical situation. In present circumstances, collective thrift is a virtue; it is only if the habit persists after rearmament stops priming the pump that it could become a vice. Our economy, with its immense capacity for producing consumer goods, is geared to free spending, and if we all become penny-pinchers we shall soon have far fewer pennies to pinch. For in a shrinking market, business men would refuse to invest our savings in new plant and unemployment would rapidly spread from the consumer-goods to the capital-goods field.

THIS is the nightmare that haunts those who find their particular industries depressed in the midst of a general boom. For textile men it is all the more painful because their share of the consumer's dollar has been shrinking. Thus the Wool Bureau in a recent pamphlet pointed out that whereas disposable personal income increased by 214 per cent between 1939 and the middle of 1951, consumer clothing expenditure rose by only 183 per cent. In fact, in 1950, clothing accounted for only 8.02 per cent of the consumer budget compared to 9.53 per cent in 1929 and 8.56 per cent in 1939.

The brunt of this change in expenditure patterns has been borne by the men's-clothing industry. One imme-

diate reason, of course, is that upwards of three million young men are being given their wardrobes by Uncle Sam, but since the wear and tear in the army is probably greater than in civilian life this should not cause any net decrease in textile consumption. More important is the trend toward greater informality often ascribed to the increase in suburban living. Evening clothes are going out and men tend to buy fewer business suits and dress shirts and more slacks, jackets, and sport shirts. That is why some textile men, who believe that there is nothing wrong with their industry that a little old-fashioned American salesmanship won't cure, are planning a campaign to smarten up the male animal and make him more style-conscious.

The whole-hearted cooperation of the industry in achieving this objective may be hindered by conflict between those who believe that there is nothing like wool and the promoters of the new synthetics—nylon, dacron, orlon, vicara, and so forth. Certainly, the latter are making headway. According to *Facts for Industry*, a publication of the Census Bureau, between 1950 and 1951, the output of summer-weight suits containing 50 per cent or more wool declined by 33 per cent: other types, mainly rayon and nylon, increased by 21 per cent. Almost two-thirds of the summer-weight suits manufactured in 1951 were made primarily of synthetics, as were more than half of all trousers and slacks sold separately.

Obviously, the growing preference for synthetics has serious implications for certain old-established sections of the textile industry, particularly worsted weaving. In the long run, however, it is the producers of natural fibers—cotton, wool, linen, silk—and not the processors that are threatened, since existing spinning, weaving, and finishing establishments can in most cases be adapted to handle synthetic raw materials. All the same, the Northern woolen and worsted industry will have to hustle if it is to keep any part of the synthetic processing business from grasping Southern hands.

Moreover, according to the Research Department of the Textile Workers Union, American mills now have an annual capacity of fourteen billion yards of cloth of all kinds—ninety yards for every man, woman, and child in the country. Since this is in excess of any probable demand for some time to come, the outlook for the older and less efficient plants, most of which are in the North, is unpromising especially in the face of the kind of subsidized Southern competition mentioned in my previous article. Even when business picks up, it seems probable that many mills closed in recent months will remain dark.

Fortunately, current expansion in other industries does provide new opportunities for displaced textile workers. During a recent visit to North Adams in western Massachusetts, I found that the depressed state of the textile industry there had been partially compensated for by the

rapid growth of an electronics plant. Other New England towns with a supply of skilled, intelligent labor seem to be enjoying a similar experience. But if full advantage is to be taken of this situation, there will have to be many more community schemes like that adopted in the hard-hit textile city of Utica, New York, for retraining textile workers for the light-metals industries.

WHATEVER the problems of New England, those of old England are infinitely more serious. For decades Lancashire has been losing business, not to other parts of the country, but to other parts of the world where labor costs are lower. Before 1914 it almost monopolized exports of cotton goods, supplying 70 per cent of the world total. Today, Japan and India are competing for first place and Britain's share is barely 15 per cent.

It is, moreover, a smaller share of a smaller total, for while world production has risen some 50 per cent since 1914, world export trade has declined by 40 per cent. More and more countries now supply their own needs and this trend is unlikely to be reversed as nations aspiring to industrialization begin by manufacturing textiles—a relatively simple factory operation—usually behind high tariff walls. Thus, for the world as a whole, textile capacity tends to outstrip consumption.

In most countries the effective demand for textiles is extremely low. America's exceptional position is illustrated by the fact that with less than 7 per cent of the world's population we use about one-third of the world's cotton output and one-quarter of the wool. Our per-capita consumption has been rising steadily while that of other countries, including most of Asia, is stationary or even declining. Thus while our textile troubles reflect a high standard of living that permits consumers to postpone purchases of clothing without suffering from cold,

Beyond Comment

Combating rabies, widely prevalent in nearby sections of the state just now, the Rabies Control Unit of the Fulton County Health Department is offering low-cost anti-rabies inoculations for dogs during the next month. . . . Clinics at the Hope, English Drive, and Ware Schools are for colored people's dogs, the others for whites'.—*From the Atlanta, Georgia, Journal-Constitution.*

Mendelssohn's Wedding March is "signally profane" and may not be played in future at Roman Catholic Church weddings in this city, church officials ruled today.—*United Press dispatch from Medellin, Colombia, to the New York Times.*

[The Nation will pay \$2 for acceptable contributions to Beyond Comment.]

or even shabbiness, those of the rest of the world are fundamentally the result of poverty. In Asia and Africa hundreds of millions of families exist at a subsistence level that at best allows only a tiny sum for clothing. Were their needs more nearly matched by their means, they would provide an enormous new market. Indeed, if Asiatic productivity and living standards could be raised by as little as 10 per cent, there would be few idle spindles or looms anywhere.

Such an increase in productivity will not be rapidly attained, however, without external capital and other assistance. This, in turn, cannot be provided on anything like an adequate scale while the major industrial nations, East and West, use their economic surpluses to build armaments. Consequently, weavers and spinners, if they want to eat, must forget their old skills and retrain minds and fingers to fit themselves for the manipulation of arms-making machinery.

Italy, the Vatican, and U. S. Catholics

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

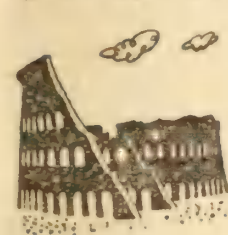
Rome
PERHAPS the chief strength of the De Gasperi government lies in the fact that, while not deeply loved, it is not deeply hated by anybody except the Fascists and certain circles in the Vatican. Its record is creditable in many respects. Although its deflationary policy has boosted interest rates, curtailed public works, and to some extent decreased employment, the government has succeeded in preventing the sharp rise in living costs that France has suffered in the last two years.

Supported by a comfortable Demo-Christian majority in the Chamber of Deputies, De Gasperi has been under no compulsion so far to compromise with either the extreme Right or (more important) the extreme Left, yet he has been careful to antagonize neither beyond endurance. The Premier is a staunch supporter of the Atlantic Pact, the European army, and the Schuman Plan; nevertheless, he has resisted American demands for an "abnormal" rearmament effort. He enjoys the reputation of being "a neutralist at heart" who is keenly aware of Italy's widespread anti-war feeling.

The government claims great credit for its so-called land reform—the division of badly run estates among landless peasants. In this the principle is more important than the practice; the distribution so far has been of minuscule proportions and the whole program is now threatened by court litigation. In any case, the reform satisfies neither Right nor Left.

If De Gasperi has avoided a sharp rise in living costs he has also kept wage rates low. The national average wage is 26,000 lire (the official exchange rate is 620 lire to the dollar); some "heavy" workers get up to 40,000 lire, but mill-girls earn only 16,000 to 17,000. But Italy's great problem remains unemployment. About 2,000,000 are registered as unemployed and another 2,000,000 are seasonal or part-time workers. Of the unemployed, only a small proportion get state relief, which amounts to a daily dole of 250 lire for twenty-six weeks only.

The unemployment problem is of course aggravated by the fact that Italy's population is growing at the rate of 500,000 a year. The traditional solution of this problem is emigration, but to the Italian Left the answer lies in further industrialization, the modernization of agriculture, and the development of Eastern markets.



The experience of the Italian miners in England has not been encouraging, and as for sending people to Australia (15,000 went last year) or to South America, the Left points out that it costs almost as much to send a family to either place as it would to create jobs for them in Italy.

Italian trade unionism is fairly strong. The C. G. I. L. (General Federation of Labor), with about five million members, represents the bulk of organized labor. Though closely linked to the Communists and Nenni's Left Socialists, the C. G. I. L. claims to be non-political. It is usually sufficiently powerful to win the support of rival unions in any major wage dispute.

The federation's most important rival is the Catholic C. I. S. L., whose 1,500,000 members are concentrated in the civil service and in industries employing large numbers of women, particularly textiles. The Communists, Nenni Socialists, and Social Democrats have federations of their own and a neo-Fascist union is now being organized.

While unemployment is a tragic business, the fact remains that more than 90 per cent of the employables are working productively and—thanks to the rigid financial policy—are not much worse off than they were three years ago. From the short-term point of view this may be considered a remarkable achievement in today's Europe. But as a long-term policy it gets Italy nowhere, and the De Gasperi government faces a stiff political struggle for power, with the challenge coming from the Right rather than from the Left.

Groupthink on Groupthink

IS ANYBODY LISTENING? HOW AND WHY U. S. BUSINESS FUMBLES WHEN IT TALKS WITH HUMAN BEINGS. By William H. Whyte, Jr., and the Editors of *Fortune*. Drawings by Robert Osborn. Simon and Schuster. \$3.

IS ANYBODY talking to himself? Mr. Whyte and *Fortune's* research rockettes in a masterly Groupthink operation have collected a formidable volume of evidence against the Groupthink methods of Big Business. As in most group studies, there is ostentatious deep digging, an impressive show of wondrous instruments about to be used, a mesmeric riffling of reference cards, topped by some surprisingly queasy harumphing-out-loud.

On their far-flung trek into the secret citadels of Big Business, tirelessly mushing through the file-armored corridors of 9 Rockefeller Plaza, fanned by ever-dancing memo-mammas, the explorers find that Business has been so busy studying communication media that it can no longer communicate, and this fact too must be communicated. (The word "communicate" is used in the new television sense of I-talk-and-you-buy; you-talk-and-I-can't-hear.) The communication experts are called in, the Group Attitudes Development Company, the prose engineers, the Group Dynamics mediators, the Readability electronicists all fly to find the bug and get B. B. off the gobbledegookhook. Big Business is resolved to sell Free Enterprise to the Free Enterpriser who, through some mysterious flaw in the channel, refuses to stop his Buick for a lecture on his inalienable right to a Buick. The American Way must be sold to Americans as if it was something that had to be unloaded on the suckers before it molded in the warehouses. The directors have met and the minutes record that the resolution was passed for Big Business to Turn on the Charm with a capital gain.

Mr. Whyte & Co. produce many typical samples of B. B.'s idea of "communicating" Americanism to Americans, from the stately institutional ad with its recapitulation of capitalistic capsules to the crackerbarrel interchange between barefoot lad and Old Galway

Sluggers. But if the communication lines were really working the persuasion used would scare the average citizen to the other ends of the earth. The picture of You, Mr. Average American, as Big Business wants you to be, is an insult that wipes away the pleasant glow of the boss's Good Morning. What the prose engineers are knocking themselves gaga in all innocence to tell you, is that to be an American means to be an honest fellow, too unspoiled by your college education to understand big words, too decent to put your family and private ambition before that of the company's, too noble to notice other employees' defections without reporting them, too *American* an American to use your own brain resisting the Planned Mediocrity program set up by the kindly social engineers for the "cultural orchestration of the attitudes and motivations of an entire nation."

This American doll-man created by the Free Enterprise propagandists has a doll-wife, too, preferably not too smart, who can shut her eyes and shut her mouth, because if she doesn't the community "clinician" will "screen" her by means of "projective" techniques and depth interviewing. "Not a genuine American doll" will be the verdict, and husband, for purposes of optimum security, will lose his chance at one of the top slots in the corporation. This slightly subnormal doll-wife, as Mr. Whyte shrewdly points out, has been glorified consistently in the big women's magazines lately, the general plot being that the lean, crooked-smiling young public-relations hero would rather look after her himself than have her committed, and besides it's hard for a guy to find a wife dumber than he is. I wonder if the polling of wives' opinions on husbands' jobs didn't include too many of these new fiction wives. The live crop of young business men's wives on view around the country right now are definitely not nitwits. In the fictional America of Big Business those wives who show too much initiative at office parties or don't fit into the cookie-cutter are pegged "retrograde wives." Sometimes the situation is deftly handled by sending the husband on extended trips where he may find a more acceptable replacement. Sometimes the integrative leaders, endowed with

BACK DOOR To War

Roosevelt

Foreign Policy
1933-1941

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by Charles Callan Tansill

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Charles Callan Tansill is Professor of American Diplomatic History at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. As technical adviser to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1918 to 1928, and a respected scholar in the field of diplomatic history, he is uniquely qualified to give an adequately documented account of the steps which led to our entrance into the second world war.

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miraculous objectivity, decide the wife can be cured of resenting her husband's business trips and late work by a generous grooming at the company's special "finishing" school. Shades of Susan B. Anthony!

Mr. Whyte blames "businessese," the meaningless jargon of Big Business, for its failure to communicate with human beings. The tangy phrases are used to fill in dead air until there is no meaning left, but isn't this a good thing? The constant hum of the language of diplomacy, Tin Pan Alley, and Business is the foam-rubber mat to save the unwary, the comforting support for the insecure. If a silence ever came there is the danger that someone might say something.

Mr. Whyte, himself hamstrung by Groupthink, presents the picture of Big Business in a spirit of brotherly kidding, and the criticism occasionally permitted has an affectionate ring. Chuckling fondly, corporation heads will reproduce sections for house organs and Christmas calendars and even discover new angles in paternalistic patterns. One thing is certain, this glossy record by American Business about America will be more gleefully received by American-Way-haters abroad than any novel about depravity in our lower depths.

DAWN POWELL

'A Peculiar Genius

EMILY DICKINSON. By Richard Chase. William Sloane Associates. \$4.

THIS newest volume in the American Men of Letters Series is without a doubt one of the best. Mr. Chase is a critic who is not carried away; in fact he makes a distinct point of not being carried away. The result is a critical biography that is reasonable and readable, an untransported study of a poet who, in the history of American literature, has transported more people than you can shake a stick at.

Any intelligent reader who takes the trouble to thumb through the fifteen hundred or more published poems of Emily Dickinson will agree with Mr. Chase that the critic's starting point must be a statement of her extraordinary badness. No other great poet has managed to equal Emily Dickinson's production of banal, stupid, disorganized, downright insufferable verse; poem after poem thumps on the page, a rain of stricken sparrows, with scarcely a live meter or moving image among them. Yet in spite of this one agrees too with Mr. Chase's final estimate: "A dozen or two of Emily Dickinson's poems are unrivaled; perhaps fifty can claim a kinship with the best of English lyric verse." (The first half of this statement, one knows from the context, refers only to American literature.)

Emily Dickinson was a genius, then, of a very peculiar sort—a genius who was largely incapable of exploiting her own abilities, who was unable to make anything coherent or workable out of her cultural heritage or her own experience, whose personal life was broken, or at least bent, by the minutest imaginable hardships. In large areas of art and thought she was ignorant and even insensitive. Though she was a distinctly private poet, and though it is often instructive to compare her with Blake, her personal vision failed in both range and intensity to support anything like the Blakean cosmos.

To explain the qualities of Emily Dickinson's genius many writers have resorted to the invention of tumultuous love affairs or traumatic family experiences. Mr. Chase shows that such inventions, which dangerously exceed the

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reliable evidence, are neither justifiable nor necessary. In a number of skilful passages, he presents the thought of mid-nineteenth-century America for precisely what it was—a rag bag of sentimentality, metaphysical incoherence, ethical and social destitution, and intellectual laziness or quackery in every sphere. He speculates, without going beyond the evidence of letters, diaries, etc., on how and through whom the elements of this culture impinged on the poet's mind. Finally, he analyzes the poems to determine how, among the successes, the poet managed a fusion of her experience with whatever rigor she derived from her dual Calvinist and transcendentalist inheritance, and how also, among the many failures, the aesthetic and intellectual indiscipline of her time prevented such a fusion.

This is not a whole biography. One must still turn to George Whicher's "This Was a Poet" for a dependable account of Emily Dickinson's life. Mr. Chase has given us instead an account of the New England predicament in the last century, a study of the struggle—largely unrealized, and for that reason singularly desperate, in the case of Emily Dickinson—against incoherence, incommunicability, and madness. Mr. Chase has perhaps discovered no new element in this struggle, but he has given us an exceedingly clear and incisive account of it, and he has shown how Emily Dickinson, in her own way, was as sharply engaged in the contest as her contemporaries, Hawthorne, Melville, and James. In addition, his reading of the poet's works is the closest and best that we have so far.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Books in Brief

SPARTA. By H. Michell. Cambridge University Press. \$7. Hedging nearly every statement with a meticulous scholastic caution which becomes almost comical in the long run, Professor Michell nevertheless manages to convey not only all that is known about the Spartans but also much of the conflicting surmise. The Spartans, it appears, had some admirable institutions but were on the whole a rather dull lot, leaving behind them one magnificent epitaph, and a legend—the one about the boy and the

fox—whose authenticity appears to rest on very dubious evidence. The book has the usual apparatus of footnotes (copious), bibliography, and index; a good map or two would have been a help.

CAESAR. By Gérard Walter. Translated from the French by Emma Craufurd. Edited by Thérèse Pol. Scribner's. \$5. Subtitled "The Story of a Momentous Life, a Mighty Personality," this is a heavy, long, dull book. Mighty the subject's personality may be, but obviously one which the author dislikes extremely. An exhaustive bibliography which lists some twenty operas written about Julius Caesar overlooks Bernard Shaw's play. Neither the illustrations nor the maps are immediately significant; the most valuable feature of the book would seem to be its thoroughness in listing other works of reference.

Drama Note

The Loft Players' imaginative and sensitive revival of Tennessee Williams' "Summer and Smoke" at 5 Sheridan Square eclipses a good deal of what is being offered uptown these days. The direction, handled by José Quintero, is crisp and tidy and gives the characterization a sharpness and beauty it lacked in the Broadway production. Geraldine Page, who plays the heroine, is one of the most talented newcomers to appear in New York in a long while. C. H.

Art

S. LANE
FAISON, JR.

THE most interesting of the current shows is Fifteen Americans, at the Museum of Modern Art (through July 6). Enough of the work of each of fifteen artists is displayed to give a fair sample of recent accomplishment. This is in no sense a group show. The variety is, in fact, a little bewildering; but the present assortment should be added to several other such exhibitions which the Museum has put on over the years. The policy of showing a few artists at a time and showing them well has great advantages—if artists not yet represented will agree to be patient. The alternative seems to be the Whitney type of affair, which makes sense only if you

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bring a good deal of knowledge with you. Fifteen Americans is precisely the sort of show which helps provide such knowledge. The two systems complement each other very well.

Skirting democratic diplomacy, I shall select from the Fifteen those whose work seems to me to be impressive. But not before taking a crack at some of the statements made for the catalogue by the artists or by their apologists. Herbert Ferber is admirably lucid on the space-piercing propensities of sculpture he admires; Herbert Katzman, Herman Rose, and William Baziotes are all refreshingly modest; Irving Kriesberg is engagingly clever; and Edward Corbett's statement is a model of conciseness ("I intend my work as poetry"). The other statements, or most of them, are impenetrable, obfuscating, solemn, arrogant, and badly written. Once you ask for a statement, I suppose you are stuck with it. This collection ought to convince Dorothy Miller, who organized the show, that she should have written the text to the catalogue instead of limiting herself to a purely general and unarguable preface. She could surely have improved on Clyfford Still, who despises tradition and considers that "demands for communication are both presumptuous and irrelevant." And on Joseph Glasco, who says he would like to live in a world where "the instincts are allowed to flow as freely as with any other animal." What arty nonsense!

Jackson Pollock and Bradley Walker Tomlin seem to me to be the stars of this show. In each, an individual style is powerfully marked and the effect is least derivative from other artists. Kirchner, de Segonzac, Maurice Prendergast, William Chase, and the Whistler of the Nocturnes are all stalking these corridors of the Museum of Modern Art. But Pollock and Tomlin are immediately identifiable on their own, more so than some of the others who have torn loose from representation, but whose style is soft, or at least passive. Pollock's centrifugal rhythms are laced together on the top layer of his canvases by repeats of a sort of treble-clef motive which forces the eye along in big, easy sequences. The best comparison, if it has not already been made, would be to medieval Irish manuscripts (Book of Kells) and to the carved wooden ornament of Norwegian churches. Tomlin is more serene, but his work is less photogenic (he suffers in reproduction) because its resonance depends on color harmonies at close value ranges. The array of greens in Number 18 (1950) rivals that in a late Klee (Green on Green). In these two painters I note a contrasting development: Pollock is moving away from a *horror vacui* which used to be, in works earlier than those shown, much too constricting; while Tomlin is apparently moving toward it. The former has discovered that his

cramped labyrinth needs air; the latter dovetails his forms more cohesively with, I think, a loss of the boldness of the larger works of 1949 and 1950. Some of his best work is marred by the drip, or drool, of too liquid pigment. These accidents are cleverly exploited by Pollock, as they were by Hokusai, but in the same Number 18 by Tomlin they blur the squared-off character of the design. If, as I believe, he is Braque to Pollock's Picasso, he should purify his affinity to the great architectonic Frenchman.

Baziotes and Corbett depend heavily on atmospheric effects, in a sort of psychological impressionism. Baziotes' bold shapes save his work from going amorphous. He is eloquent in glowing green-and-violet tonalities, but the bright apple-green cat on a middle-gray ground is unusually gay. Rothko leaves such unbroken expanses of pure color to wander in that I find it nearly impossible to avoid daydreaming. I am enough of a fuddy-duddy to insist on communication, Clyfford Still to the contrary notwithstanding. And Still's work, which reminds me unexpectedly of Augustus Vincent Tack, has an outrageous lack of conciseness. He puts the whole symphony orchestra on the stage for a single *tutti*.

In recent sculpture I don't remember anything more monumental and at the same time more poignant than Herbert Ferber's metal construction for the Millburn Synagogue ("... and the bush was not consumed"). Richard Lippold, who works in metal rods and wires, speaks of the spider's web in his statement, and it is an apt simile for his beautiful Full Moon. (Was there an eclipse at the Harvard Graduate Center?)

Herbert Katzman is still young, and his European and New York landscapes heave with life. It is a good sign, but I hope that in his Paris sojourn he discovered Poussin as Cézanne did. We could use a Poussin today.

Among the one-man shows that will remain open through May 10, I recommend Maud Morgan's at the Betty Parsons Gallery. One picture, *Counterpoints*, impressed me more than the rest by its force of design. Marie Laurencin's dusted pallor is a danger she does not always escape, but *Emergence* (of yel-



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low out of slate blue) emerges fully from it.

Curt Valentin has an interesting retrospective of Ludwig Kirchner (1880-1938), which also closes May 10. It is remarkable how the paintings of 1907 stand out above the rest. Painters over twenty-seven, beware!

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

TO LAST year's RCA Victor recording of Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* played by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony (a new LP recording, not, as I thought, a dubbing of the 78) Columbia now adds one of a performance by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra, and London one of a performance by Van Beinum with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw. The Victor record offers a decidedly less-than-first-rate orchestra conducted by a less-than-first-rate musician; and though the recorded sound has the characteristic Victor warmth and luster it is made coarse and noisy in climaxes by excessive reverberation. The Columbia offers a great orchestra in a performance which indulges in vehement, lurid intensification of Berlioz's every nuance; and these excesses are made worse by the close-range reproduction. The London offers another great orchestra playing with beautiful sensitiveness in a performance whose only defect is the ignoring of some of Berlioz's nuances of tempo; but the recorded sound, though spacious, is dry and a little dim (the drums at the end of the fourth movement are not clear). Choice is difficult; but I would choose the London.

On another London record Van Beinum conducts the Concertgebouw in a fine performance of Mozart's charming *Symphony K. 319*, and a performance of Haydn's "Surprise" *Symphony* in which the first movement is too slow. Violins are dry and bass must be reduced; otherwise the sound is excellent.

Another charming Mozart work, the *Serenade K. 320* ("Posthorn"), is played on a London record by Maag with *L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande*. One hears refinements of orchestral and musical execution which Sternberg doesn't achieve in the Haydn *Society*

performance; but the recorded sound is veiled and edged, and bass must be reduced. Choice again is difficult; but I would choose the Maag performance.

The wonderful Ricercare in six parts from Bach's "The Musical Offering," arranged for strings by Edwin Fischer, is excellently performed by Münchinger with the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra. Also on the London record are similar arrangements of the Fugue of the great G minor Fantasia and Fugue and a Fugue in A minor (why not rather the G minor Fantasia?), and Beethoven's Great Fugue Opus 133, which is played too slowly. Violins are dry and bass must be reduced; otherwise the sound is excellent.

Beecham's slowed-up performance of Chabrier's "España" with the Royal Philharmonic on a Columbia record is something to skip. Better played is the pleasantly inconsequential Overture to Rossini's "La Cambiale di Matrimonio."

The Suite from Rimsky-Korsakov's "Le Coq d'or" and the equally engaging Capriccio Espagnol are well performed on a Capitol record by Desormière with the French National Symphony. The sound of the first piece is less brilliant than that of the second, and has a few bass notes missing in the Prelude.

Toscanini's performance with the N. B. C. Symphony of Gershwin's "An American in Paris" has been issued by Victor on 45 rpm; and listened to by itself it is very exciting; but listening afterwards to Leonard Bernstein's performance one hears how much the piece gains by his slower pacing of it. Not only is the opening the leisurely saunter it should be, but there is time for details to make an effect they don't have in Toscanini's performance. Played through the Victor 45 rpm reproducer I had to step up the treble of my amplifier enormously.

The superb Dinu Lipatti performance of Schumann's Piano Concerto that Columbia issued on a 10-inch LP has been reissued on one side of a 12-inch, with Grieg's Piano Concerto on the other side; and the new transference has greatly improved the sound—though the last movement acquires a hash of distortion.

Toscanini's pre-war performance of Beethoven's "Leonore" No. 1 Overture with the B. B. C. Symphony—one of the finest he ever put on records, and one of the best-recorded—has been dubbed

onto a Victor LP so skillfully that I can detect no difference between the copy and the original (except that the dubbing has a hum). With it are two other performances of the same period with the N. B. C. Symphony—of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and the two movements of the Quartet Opus 135. The Fifth provides a fine example of Toscanini's relaxed, slower-paced, and spacious performances of that period, as against the swifter, tauter performance of the work, superbly effective in its own way, that he broadcast recently; and the dubbing achieves the remarkable feat of eliminating most of the unpleasant noisy coarseness and harshness of the original sound and losing only a little bass in the first movement. And finally another outstanding performance, the one of the "Prometheus" Overture recorded in 1944, whose dubbed sound is excellent.

On another LP is a dubbing of the beautiful performance of Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony that Toscanini recorded with the B. B. C. Symphony. The original sound was itself not clean on top; and the dubbed sound is better with treble reduced a bit. Bass also must be reduced.

CONTRIBUTORS

IRVING HOWE is the author of "Sherwood Anderson" and co-author of "The U. A. W. and Walter Reuther."

DAWN POWELL, author of "A Time to Be Born," has a new book appearing in June, "Sunday, Monday and Always."

HAYDEN CARRUTH is associate editor of the University of Chicago Press.

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Letters to the Editors

Joe McCarthy Performs at Smith

Dear Sirs: Your readers might be interested in learning how Smith College students reacted to a visit from Senator Joe McCarthy, who spoke at Northampton on April 10. In a packed auditorium, waving handfuls of "raw, harsh facts" and "cold, documented truth," the Senator from Wisconsin attacked Secretary Acheson, Philip Jessup, and other "subversives" with a brand of logic which made some of the members of the audience wince. Senator McCarthy's denunciation of Lawrence K. Rosinger, whom many of the Senator's audience had heard speak at Smith in a series of talks on Asia, was greeted with hisses. The feeling of the Smith students was pretty well summarized by an editorial. A Circus Comes to Town, which appeared the following day in *Scan*, the Smith College newspaper. It read in part:

Did Mr. McCarthy forget he was speaking to an educated audience and not barking at a circus? To a college steeped in objectivism his dogmatic presentation of "infallible" material extracted from diverse investigations seemed reminiscent of the Inquisition. . . . His categorizing of government officials in Washington into the stereotypes of villain and hero typified methods which should have died with the medieval morality play. . . . We realize that there may be communism in our government and, if so, that everyone should be aware of it and informed about it, but we are afraid McCarthy is making more enemies than converts to his cause. The muckrakers of the nineteenth century served the purpose of calling the attention of public opinion to the need of reform. If McCarthy is fulfilling the same purpose he may gain our support, but as long as he resorts to methods suited to the circus we reserve the right to act as a circus audience, a response which was much in evidence last evening.

Having used the methods he has in destroying the reputations and careers of not a few honest men, it struck many in the audience that it was rather incongruous for McCarthy to end his speech by making a plea for a world in which the rights of all people would be respected.

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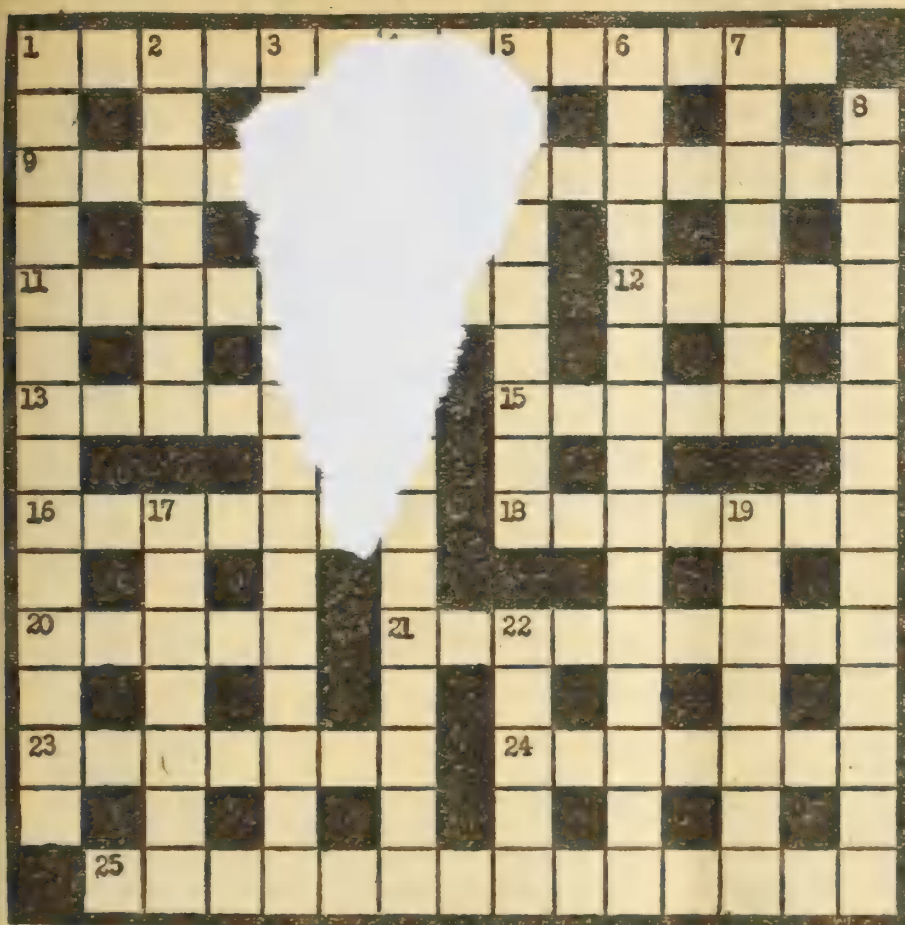
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Crossword Puzzle No. 464

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The sort of greatness one attaches to high command. (5, 9)
- 9 Look back in a sort of Christmas song—the middle leaves. (7)
- 10 How you can tell the middle of 1 down hurried back to charge. (7)
- 11 Its subject isn't quick enough to read it. (9)
- 12 Implies I was in the van with an empty head, but probably shiny. (5)
- 13 They might create a scene as part of a Confederacy. (7)
- 15 It might fit under a blazer. (7)
- 16 Rags one patches up to make instruments of war. (7)
- 18 It's the gentleman of the family who's noisy! (7)
- 20 Still around like ferment. (5)
- 21 Cover the road back, to make a speech dry. (9)
- 23 Well-suited, perhaps, or in a good beginning for 25. (7)
- 24 As an extra clue for 16, they're also these. (7)
- 25 Is what they do habit-forming? (5, 9)

DOWN

- 1 Would the author of "Twice Told Tales" be such a criminal? (6, 5, 3)
- 2 Continental Can has a sort of fair beginning. (7)

- 3 True cares of well meaning people. (6, 9)
- 4 There's something about Sheraton that's reminiscent of the classics. (5)
- 5 You're likely to bag things with it. (5, 4)
- 6 The job of a song arranger? (3, 12)
- 7 Perhaps suitable quarters for a bloodhound! (7)
- 8 Do women usually appear well-groomed with them? (7, 7)
- 14 Unless a murderer's sentence is, he might be. (9)
- 17 Apt to be found in sort of a red converter. (7)
- 19 Help up the low-born—it's hard! (7)
- 22 The way to get a good collection, it's said in some churches. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 463

ACROSS:—1 SWEET TOOTH; 2 AMID; 10, 24, 9 down FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE; 11 SPHERES; 12 PILIONS; 13 GOOSE; 15 PANIC; 17 TERRAPINS; 19 INSHRINED; 21 ELMAN; 23 GATUN; 27 AIRPUMP; 28 and 29 DIAMONDBACK; 30 WINDLASSES.

DOWN:—1 SIFT; 2 EROSION; 3 TOTAL; 4 and 5 ONE FOOT IN THE GRAVE; 5 TASKS; 6 MARCONI; 8 DISPERSING; 14 SPRING LAMB; 16 CORUNDUM; 18 RED-HANDED; 20 SATYRIC; 22 MATRONS; 24 CAPRI; 25 LLAMA; 26 ADDS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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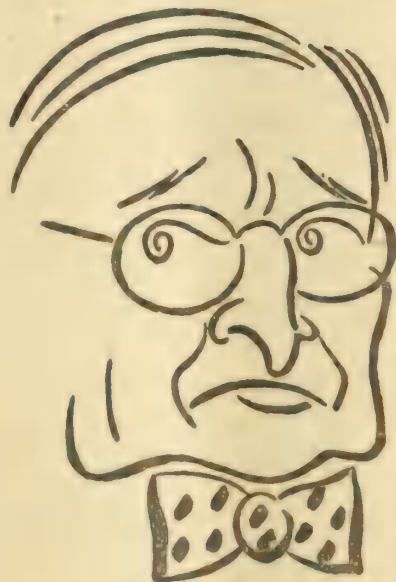
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“Seeds of Tyranny”

Political gangsters are attempting to pervert the [loyalty] program into an instrument of intimidation and blackmail. . . . They have not hesitated to lie . . . and to repeat the lies again and again. . . . These tactics contain the seeds of tyranny. . . . People who employ such tactics . . . are undermining the foundation stones of our Constitution. I believe such men betray our country. . . .”

—From President Harry S. Truman's speech to the National Civil Service League, Washington, May 2.

Fine, Mr. President, BUT . . . See Page 461

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 20

"THE SEEDS OF TYRANNY"

"I say, with all the emphasis at my command, that there is no more corrosive, no more subversive attack upon the great task of our government today than that which seeks to undermine confidence in government by irresponsible charges against the loyalty and integrity of government employees. . . . There is no room in government service for anyone who is not true to this public trust. . . . I will not tolerate the smearing and slandering of government employees as a group. We have every right to protest and to raise the roof against the deliberate creation for private political purposes of these unjust charges; of an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust against public employees. I'm just not going to stand for it and I'm starting now and I'm giving warning to the people who've been slandering the government employees that they're going to have trouble with me from now until November.

"We have a right to protest against the creation of an atmosphere in which a charge is a conviction in the public mind despite the lack of evidence. . . . The loyalty program was designed to protect innocent employees as well as the government. When I set it up, I intended it to ex-

pose the guilty and at the same time to safeguard the rights and reputations of those who were innocent. But I have become increasingly concerned in recent months by attempts to use the loyalty program as a club with which to beat government employees over the head. Political gangsters are attempting to pervert the program into an instrument of intimidation and blackmail, to coerce or destroy any who dare oppose them. These men and those who abet them have besmirched the reputations of decent, loyal public servants. They have not hesitated to lie, under cover of Congressional immunity, of course, and repeat the lies again and again. . . . These tactics contain the seeds of tyranny. Can we be sure that people who employ such tactics are really loyal to our form of government, with its Bill of Rights, its tradition of individual liberty? The fact is that they are breaking these things down. They are undermining the foundation stones of our Constitution. I believe such men betray our country and all it stands for. I believe they are as grave a menace as the Communists; in fact, I think they're worse than Communists and I think they're partners with them."

—From President Harry S. Truman's speech to the National Civil Service League, Washington, May 2.

A Fighting Speech—But Where's the Fight?

WHEN President Truman spoke out sharply and vigorously against the evils of McCarthyism in his Detroit speech of July 28th last year, we were quick to applaud his statement and to suggest how it might be implemented. In a Memo to the President, published on August 11, we pointed out that his loyalty program had not only failed to achieve one of the stated objectives—protection for government employees against unfounded accusations—but had contributed enormously to the effectiveness of McCarthy's smear tactics.

Now again the President speaks out sharply against those who would "betray the country" (see excerpts from his speech above). Truman is an effective orator when he is angry; he has a gift for the simple and direct utterance of the man in the street. He *sounds* sincere, and that, too, is a great gift. But there is something much more important about his National Civil Service League speech than its effectiveness as oratory. In it he admits, for the first time, that the loyalty program is

being used as a club with which to "beat government employees over the head." This is what we foresaw in our Memo to the President last year. No single phase of the program has been more harmful in this respect than the portion of the Loyalty Order of March 21, 1947, in which the President instructed the Attorney General to list organizations as "subversive" on the basis of doctrine alone.

In all, somewhat more than 150 organizations have been so listed by the Attorney General, while the House Committee on Un-American Activities has named 694 organizations which it regards as subversive. The Attorney General's list was prepared, of course, without giving the listed organizations notice or an opportunity to be heard, a procedure which the Supreme Court in effect held to be improper in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee decided April 30, 1951. Of the organizations listed, an overwhelming majority are not alleged ever to have advocated the overthrow of the gov-

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ernment by force and violence; most of them were formed for specific purposes unrelated to communism; and many have not been in existence for ten or fifteen years. When the list was first prepared, it was forwarded by the Attorney General to the loyalty boards with the caution that "no conclusions whatsoever are to be drawn from membership in any such organizations." Despite this warning, membership has in practice come to be accepted as evidence of disloyalty. In addition, the roster forms the basis of the blacklisting activities now being conducted by the various private profit-making gestapos that have come into being since 1947.

It is not merely federal employees against whom the loyalty program is being used as a club: state, county, and municipal workers are also being blackmailed and intimidated; and many thousands of private citizens—teachers, librarians, social workers, doctors, lawyers, artists, lecturers, and persons connected with the stage, motion pictures, radio, and television—have been similarly threatened. As a matter of fact, federal employees who have been smeared have less reason to complain than the others since they at least are entitled to a hearing. But hearing or no hearing, there can be little doubt today that the loyalty program has undermined five rights long considered as inalienable: (1) the presumption of innocence until guilt is proved; (2) the doctrine that guilt is personal and cannot be computed in terms of relationship or association; (3) the right of the accused to be informed of the charges made against him in order that he may prepare his defense; (4) the right of the accused to confront and cross-examine his accusers; and (5) immunity against being tried a second time for a charge on which acquittal has been won.

We repeat, therefore, what we said in our open letter to the President last year, namely, that he should correct those phases of the loyalty program which have made it possible "to pervert the program into an instrument of intimidation and blackmail." Specifically, the President should direct the Attorney General to stop the practice of branding organizations "subversive" and set aside the existing list. In modifying the loyalty program in this and other respects, Mr. Truman can with justification point to the fact that he tried to obtain an impartial review of the entire process but that Congress checkmated the attempt. In January, 1951, the President appointed the Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights, headed by Admiral Chester Nimitz, to examine the whole question, but the commission was disbanded last October after Senator McCarran had successfully blocked legislation which would have enabled it to proceed with its work. Since Congress has made it impossible for the loyalty program to be impartially reviewed and itself failed to correct the program's abuses, the President has every reason to act. After all, the loyalty program is *his* instrument, not Congress's. Since it

came into being by executive order, it can be modified or amended as the President wishes.

A defense of the civil service, as the *Washington Post* pointed out editorially on May 3, must necessarily take the form of "a political response to the political attacks made upon it." Since he is "not running for anything" this year, Mr. Truman is in an excellent position to make a political issue of McCarthyism. If he acts now, he can commit the Democratic Party to a defense of the principles so eloquently stated in his speech to the National Civil Service League.

But the President can make a political issue of McCarthyism only if he is first prepared to clarify his own position. Unfortunately his condemnation of "political gangsters" who seek to subvert the Bill of Rights is robbed of much of its moral force by reason of the fact that the loyalty program which he initiated has contributed directly to the state of affairs he now deplors. It is intolerable that Mr. Truman's advisers—including former Attorney General Tom Clark—should have put him in the position of having to condemn in his political opponents practices for which he, as President, provided official sanction. If "political gangsters" are in fact "undermining the foundation stones of our Constitution," then the federal government should not be a party to their subversive plottings. The President is entirely justified in saying that he is "just not going to stand for" their gangster tactics and we see no reason why he should. On the contrary, he should clear the decks for a genuine political offensive against McCarthyism, seizing and holding the initiative for the Democrats on this issue from now through the November elections. The way for him to start is to correct those aspects of the loyalty program which have led to its debasement and degradation.

The Shape of Things

Korean Deadlock

In an exclusive interview with *The Nation* last February Padilla Nervo, president of the United Nations General Assembly, listed as one of the positive results of the last session in Paris the decision that the Assembly might meet in special session in New York "if an unexpected development threatened an extension of the Korean conflict." Such a development may be close at hand. Not since the Panmunjom talks started have things looked so black. The Korean air is full of mutual recriminations, warlike threats (an admiral speaks of blockading China), and bursting bombs (last week the United Nations air forces unleashed the biggest raid of the war on the town of Susan). American press comment—some of it doubtless inspired, if not exactly inspirational—is already plotting still longer and bigger

raids into Manchuria. The question of who is right at Panmunjom—on the war prisoners' problem, we think the United Nations is right—is dwarfed by the terrible *dénouement* toward which events seem to be moving.

It is in Nervo's power to call a special session of the General Assembly whenever the situation demands it. The responsibility for the ultimate decision in Korea should rest in the hands not merely of the world powers, but of the world, every last corner of which has a vital stake in the question of war and peace.

Easy Credit for Consumers

Suspension of restrictions on consumer installment credit is the latest of several Administration moves to relax controls instituted to check inflation. Some weeks ago restrictions on state and municipal financing were lifted and more recently the voluntary credit-restraint program, used to limit non-defense business borrowing, was put in cold storage. In addition controls on new construction have been eased, together with allocation regulations for a number of once scarce commodities which are now in good supply.

These moves follow a distinct lessening of inflationary pressure since the beginning of the year. For some months there has been a steady decline in wholesale prices—a decline that should soon be reflected in the cost-of-living index. In the case of a number of consumer-goods industries, including textiles, furniture, household appliances, and automobiles, an excess of supply over demand is leading to some softening of prices. This does not necessarily mean depression, or even recession, although it may feel like it to business men who last year were basking in the sun of a seller's market. Employment stays high and retail business is good except in comparison with the post-Korean period of panic buying. But thanks to record production, the lag in the defense program, and the successful operation of controls, the economy has become sufficiently stabilized to justify the relaxation of restraints.

The queer thing is that the very people who attacked the Defense Production Act from the beginning are now disposed to criticize the Administration for dropping controls. It can only be motivated, they suggest, by a desire to insure an atmosphere of prosperity for the election. Not for the first time President Truman is finding he is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't.

"Fascistic Hooey"

After a decade of easy pickings, the American labor movement is slowly awakening to the unhappy realization that the hard-won gains of the 1930's are now seriously endangered. Speaking in Cincinnati at a meeting celebrating the centenary of the International Typographical Union, Woodruff Randolph, its president,

denounced the government's labor policy as "fascistic hooley." In his view, the government is restricting the areas in which unions may organize, forbidding workers the right to strike, and arbitrarily fixing wages and prices. "We have reached the point," he said, "where the government sanctions *maximum* prices instead of *competitive* prices," and, by indirect subsidies to large corporations, guarantees profits at the expense of the taxpayer. Turning to internal union affairs, Mr. Randolph warned that "there is an ever-present threat of labor power becoming too centralized, dinosaur-fashion, with the body growing too big for the brain. . . . We are right on the verge of Italian fascism under the guise of free enterprise."

It has been quite a while since an American labor leader of Mr. Randolph's prominence and influence has spoken in this vein. Even though he is obviously simplifying the picture, there is enough disturbing truth in his statement to underscore the significance of Hugo Ernst's Labor Views the Campaigns in last week's issue.

Unexpected Markets

There seems to be an assumption in Washington that Japan and Germany have been converted from enemies into docile allies. But now that the first has recovered its sovereignty and the second is about to follow suit, it will not be surprising to find them pursuing courses conflicting with American policies.

Thus we learn from the *Wall Street Journal* of April 26 that, whatever decision is reached about a German army, neither the industrialists nor the workers of the Ruhr are anxious to turn to arms production. They do not relish the idea of again becoming a high-priority bombing target. Moreover, they see in the defense pre-occupations of their chief foreign competitors a wonderful opportunity to recapture foreign markets.

Japanese business men also seem more interested in building up foreign trade than in turning out guns and tanks. They have ambitious plans for modernizing their plants and the government has earmarked a fund of \$100,000,000 to purchase American equipment for export industries. With efficient machinery operated by cheap labor, Japan expects to recover lost markets and gain new ones.

There is, however, one area of the world largely barred to Japan and Germany, not by foreign competitors, but by American policy-makers—the whole Soviet sphere. Eastern Europe is traditionally a major outlet for German manufactures as China is for Japanese products, and both countries are finding current restrictions on trade with these markets increasingly irksome. Recently the Bundestag adopted a resolution calling on the Bonn government to seek normal economic relations with the Soviets and to secure more freedom to conduct such

trade from the occupation authorities. Similar pressure on the Japanese government will surely develop, particularly if China makes a firm offer of badly needed coal, iron ore, and soybeans in exchange for Japanese textiles and machinery.

McCarran's "Liberal" Bill

There is nothing good about the McCarran immigration bill which was to come up for debate in the Senate this week. Its provisions are bad, its sponsorship is bad, and the manner in which it is being rushed to a vote makes a shambles of democratic procedure.

McCarran argues that his bill "liberalizes" immigration. We wouldn't believe it even if the bill said so, which it doesn't. The man who not so long ago sought to turn a Displaced Persons bill into a racial sieve cannot now be trusted to write a "liberal" immigration measure.

It is true that the measure might tend to increase immigration in a few special categories. Its overall effect, however, is the reverse. And even those people who come in under the bill will first have to sell their souls to McCarran. For the heart of the Nevada Senator's proposal lies in its policing aspects: the unhappy alien becomes the victim of a special thought-and-speech-control apparatus in the worst McCarthy tradition. The immigration inspector becomes judge and jury of the alien's expressed thoughts. The alien himself becomes a second-class resident, denied normal constitutional rights.

Senator Lehman, in association with a group of liberal Senators, has seen these dangers, and is trying to avert them through introduction of another, and truly liberalizing, bill. It is the measure of McCarran's real attitude toward the problem that he has pulled every parliamentary trick to prevent the Lehman bill from getting a hearing.

Scarsdale's Victory

For more than three years the Board of Education of Scarsdale, New York, has been busy fighting off the attacks of a local committee which has raised the familiar cry of Communist infiltration. Hearing of Scarsdale's "battle of the books," professional anti-Communists moved in to direct the attack and tell the Board of Education how to run the schools. At last week's annual election 1,500 Scarsdale residents—a record attendance—gave the board a rising vote of confidence and appointed a committee to defend it against similar attacks in the future. The opposition failed to enter a slate of candidates but three of its leaders, nominated from the floor, received a total of eleven votes, whereas more than 1,300 ballots were cast for each of the three incumbents.

Scarsdale is doubtless a special case, but the impressive vote by which its residents lifted the siege against the schools demonstrates that even the zeal of demagogues is no match for an aroused public. What happened to McCarthyism in Scarsdale can be made to happen elsewhere.

"Freedom's Stake"

Throughout the vast and acutely strategic area of North Africa and the Middle East the ferment of nationalism is breaking through the crust of old customs and colonial control. Both in the formerly independent Middle Eastern states and in the European dependencies along the Mediterranean coast of Africa the peoples are waking up, with consequences already becoming visible in the struggle for power between Russia and the West.

Sharply aware of the critical nature of this process, The Nation Associates has called a conference for May 25 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on Freedom's Stake in the Middle East and North Africa. Details of the sessions appear on the back cover of this issue. Out of the discussions will come, we hope, a positive program for dealing with the issues involved in terms which will contribute to security and peace—by recognizing the just political demands of the people and the need for fundamental social and economic change. We warmly invite all *Nation* readers within reach to attend the conference and the dinner forum.

Now the Foundations

BY A vote of 193 to 158, the House has adopted a resolution offered by Representative Eugene Cox creating a seven-member select committee to investigate educational and philanthropic foundations "and other comparable organizations" to determine if they are using their resources for "un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the United States."

In the debate, the resolution was attacked as an encroachment on the preserves of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Ways and Means Committee, which have been studying problems of tax exemption for some time. By insisting that his colleagues accept his word that no encroachment would result, Mr. Cox implied that the question of jurisdiction had been cleared with the standing committees. Indeed if one reads between the lines it is apparent that the new committee will have a special function. It will not be so much concerned with tax exemption or the financing of "subversive" or "un-American" projects as with the problem of "coordinating" the policies of the foundations.

The resolution has an interesting history. When it was first introduced, on August 1, 1951, Cox said that he was concerned only with those foundations which "oper-

ated in the fields of social reform and international relations." In a later speech, he hinted at the origin of the resolution by referring to "certain public-spirited people . . . themselves trustees of the various larger foundations" who had demanded that such an investigation be made. Also of interest is a reference in Merle Miller's book, "The Judges and the Judged," to the effect that *Counter-Attack* had been commissioned by an unnamed sponsor "to determine the extent of financial aid that foundations had given to Communist causes or Communist organizations."

Two types of pressure will be brought to bear upon the foundations. On the one hand, a showing will be made that research fellowships have been granted to persons whose names appear on the various "subversive" lists. A series of carefully spaced disclosures of this type will be used to "soften up" the foundation executives. At the same time, an effort will doubtless be made to show that the foundations have at one time or another harbored executives or employees who are or once were members of "subversive" organizations. At this point, a number of disgruntled former employees and unsuccessful applicants for grants can be relied upon to come forward to recite morbid tales of conspiracies and air twenty-year-old personal grievances. All the while, the threat of removing tax exemption can be used as a weapon to force various concessions and genuflections from foundation executives. Even if they resist this pressure, the campaign can hardly fail to influence foundation policies. Some form of "screening" applicants for grants will probably be suggested, and the mere fact that a Congressional investigation is pending will prejudice certain types of projects and give top priority to others. An incidental effect, of course, will be to discourage contributions and endowments for educational foundations.

Of the various provisions of the Cox resolution none is more objectionable than the phrase which authorizes the committee to investigate "other comparable" organizations. Under this provision, as Representative Adam Powell pointed out, the committee could investigate such organizations as the B'nai B'rith, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the National Catholic Welfare Council, or the World Council of Churches. And why stop with tax-exempt institutions? Why not also probe the activities of private profit-making corporations? The new committee, it should be noted, will have no legislative jurisdiction; it can do nothing more than inquire, report, and recommend. The point has been made many times—and it was raised in the debate on the Cox resolution—that the number of such committees already in existence and the lengths to which they have gone in conducting investigations which can serve no legislative purpose have come to constitute a grave abuse.

One of the stated purposes of this latest foray into the

field of thought control is to determine whether the social purposes being furthered by the foundations are in any way in conflict with the "interest or tradition" of this country. Unfortunately, conceptions of national interest and tradition vary considerably from Camilla, Georgia, where Mr. Cox resides, to the constituencies served, for example, by Representatives Javits, McCarthy, and Powell, all of whom spoke against the resolution. "It is frightening," as Representative McCarthy pointed out, "to consider the realities of a political authority setting the pattern and the limit of intellectual and moral development of its peoples. Yet this is precisely what the totalitarian state attempts, and indirectly could well be the effect of this resolution. In effect what it does is to subordinate another phase of American life to political authority. If we are to continue this course, it

means that there will remain nothing that is normal or natural or private that cannot be taken from man and made political. . . . This resolution . . . indicates a lack of confidence in the free institutions of this country, and fundamentally and finally a lack of confidence in the people of the United States."

Fortunately Representative Cox has promised to step aside, once the committee has been organized, and has suggested the name of Representative Brooks Hays as chairman in his stead. But a substitution of chairmen—even one as desirable as this—will not guard against the dangers implicit in this latest investigation. Even the members of the Eighty-second Congress seemed to realize that the Cox resolution was carrying the investigation mania a bit too far: it provoked the strongest opposition yet voiced in Congress against a witch-hunting measure.

Speaking Out on Foreign Policy

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

ONCE again the West finds itself in a difficult period. Interrelated problems such as Korea and Germany, means of implementing the decisions reached at the NATO conference in Lisbon in the face of the obstacles created by the extreme nationalism of certain Atlantic powers, Congressional opposition to granting the sums asked by President Truman for Western defense and the corresponding slowdown in Europe's rearmament, now months behind schedule—all together, these items have created a situation close to crisis. Some Western observers are asking themselves whether the entire strategy of the Atlantic coalition, in the main an American concept, does not need prompt and energetic revision.

Inside and outside the United Nations pessimism is again mounting in view of the turn taken by the truce negotiations in Korea. The situation in Bonn offers no greater promise. The efforts of Chancellor Adenauer to hasten the integration of Western Germany in the Atlantic coalition are checked by each new German election (the latest setback occurred May 4 in Hesse).

At the same time demands are multiplying in every NATO country—and in Germany too—that the United States abandon its opposition to the conference on German unification proposed by Stalin. Diplomatic pressure, about which so little has appeared in the press, was so insistent during the last fortnight that Washington finally gave ground, declaring itself as at least not opposed in principle to such a conference. To the degree that the original Lisbon accord has been punctured by the subsequent disagreements of the major Atlantic powers, mutual reproaches and accusations are poisoning

the diplomatic air of the West. In their private comments in the United Nations the Americans blame the Germans for asking too much and the French for conceding too little; but especially they blame the British, insisting that if Churchill as Prime Minister had maintained the position on the unification of Europe that he took when he was leader of the Opposition, all the time lost in ironing out differences among the continental powers could have been saved and the Western European "community," with West Germany inside, would long since have been a reality. The British for their part have reacted with indignation to Washington's renewed effort to put an American in command of NATO's Mediterranean forces. Said the *London Daily Mail*: "We sometimes wonder what the United States thinks we are. After all, the British Empire is not some Central American republic!" while the *Mirror* asks: "What would Nelson say?" No, harmony does not reign these days within either the Atlantic or the Adenauer coalition.

Viewed as a whole, the situation hardly justifies the tone of self-confidence adopted by Secretary Acheson only two weeks ago before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. It must confuse the average American to be assured at one moment that everything is going well and then be told a few weeks later that everything is at a perilous standstill. To explain this situation he can do one of two things: put all the responsibility on a single demon called the Soviet Union or try to discover if at least part of the evil does not stem from the absence of a foreign policy based on facts and honest analysis.

An irresponsible campaign of blackmail and intimidation, waged not only by the Right but by the "half-Left" including liberals and labor leaders blinded by their hatred of everything remotely related to Moscow or anything that could be twisted into the appearance of such a connection, has prevented the free discussion of foreign affairs which might have helped Washington elaborate a policy both more realistic in terms of world events and more reassuring to the American people and their allies abroad.

In its issue of May 3, the *Saturday Review*, in an editorial commenting on a conversation that took place in Peoria, Illinois, quoted this sentence, spoken by a Bradley University professor: "If you're a professor dealing with some aspect of contemporary history—let's say Europe or the Far East or even the United Nations as an organization—you honestly don't know whether you should give the facts as you understand them or whether the thing to do is to say to yourself, the hell with the facts, and try to figure out what the big investigations will be about two years from now and then teach things today that will look good later."

But facts and the correct interpretation of facts are the basis of every successful foreign policy. Without this even the most powerful nation can be condemned to final failure, stumbling into a situation in which it is unable to make peace or to make war. Held in a strait-jacket by the slogans of its own propaganda, a foreign policy loses the agility that is indispensable for effective action.

THROUGH the same process of intimidation that paralyzed the Bradley professor, we have been deprived of our best commentators on foreign affairs in the press, the radio, in public discussions. A vicious and stupid campaign, pursued for years, has pretty well succeeded in branding as Communists or fellow-travelers anyone who dared to criticize the policy of containment, to advocate Big Four negotiations, or to dissent in any other way from the orthodox point of view. Some of these men have, it is true, managed to retain their jobs, but at the cost of spontaneity and frankness. Thus they have been rendered useless in their most essential function of orienting and informing a public opinion which in turn might be able to help avoid or correct the mistakes of the official makers of foreign policy. The few exceptions, such men as Walter Lippmann in the press and Howard K. Smith on C. B. S. from London, deserve the greatest credit for their frankness and courage as well as for their insight into world affairs.

Occasionally commentators are able to take advantage of the classic device of quoting a person so conservative or so eminent as to be above suspicion. Former President Herbert Hoover became available for such use when he said in one of his recent addresses: "There is in Europe today no such public alarm over the im-

Plus ça change . . .

I know no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America. . . . In America, the majority raises very formidable barriers to the liberty of opinion; within these barriers an author may write whatever he pleases, but he will repent it if he ever steps beyond them. Not that he is exposed to the terrors of an auto-da-fe, but he is tormented by the slights and persecutions of daily obloquy. His political career is closed forever. . . . Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him. . . .

[Under tyranny in democratic republics] the body is left free, and the soul is enslaved. The sovereign can no longer say, "You think as I do on pain of death," but he says, "you are free to think differently from me . . . but if such be your determination, you are henceforth an alien among your people. . . . You will remain among men, but you will be deprived of the rights of mankind. Your fellow creatures will shun you like an impure being, and those who are most persuaded of your innocence will abandon you, too, lest they should be shunned in their turn."—*From "Democracy in America" by Alexis de Tocqueville (published 1835).*

minence of Communist invasion as has been fanned up in the United States. Russian ground armies could have overrun Western Europe in a two-months campaign any time in the past five years and can no doubt do it during several years to come. That they have not done so seems proof that the Kremlin can see no final military victory." Mr. Arnaldo Cortesi was similarly obliging last Sunday in the *New York Times* when, discussing the principal reasons for the difficult positions of De Gasperi in the coming Italian municipal elections, he listed as the first: "Fear of communism—which was unusually acute in 1948 and caused many right-wingers to vote for the Christian Democrats as the strongest and most active of the anti-Communist parties—has now diminished."

Such comments throw a useful light upon the reasons for the difficulties American foreign policy is now encountering, for if Moscow is unlikely to strike or if Europeans are losing their fear of communism, it is going to be rather hard to make Europe accept higher taxes and other sacrifices, not only material but political. President Auriol is reported by intimates as having said: "They [the Americans] are asking me to put all my energy into fighting an imaginary danger, a Russian invasion of France, while abandoning opposition to a real and well-known danger—the rearmament of Germany."

But it is not only the columnist, the radio commentator, the university professor who suffers the effects of the campaign of intimidation. American policy-

makers themselves bend under its impact. Secretary Acheson has been forced on several issues to adopt Republican policies not necessarily to his liking; Philip Jessup, an able negotiator, was politically crippled by the vote of no-confidence passed by the Senate on the eve of his departure for Paris to represent the United States in the U. N. Assembly, an action that was acidly

—and incredulously—commented upon by European diplomats.

Never has a great nation been more in need of applying its best talents to the framing of an intelligent and workable foreign policy. Without it all the material and political strength America can muster will prove useless at this crucial turning point in history.

2,400 Miles to Prosperity

BY ROD VAN EVERY

SOME 2,400 miles west of the Atlantic Ocean, an icy creek ripples over black rock and foams into an inland sea. The creek is one of the headwaters of the mighty St. Lawrence River, pride of the Northeast. It feeds one of the greatest inland waterways of the world, the Great Lakes. It is the western end of the hated, maligned, praised St. Lawrence Seaway, a favorite subject for high-school debaters since the 1920's.

Actually, the St. Lawrence Seaway has been in operation for 150 years or so. Nature provided most of the route; Canada and the United States had to put their engineers to work in only a few spots. The present controversy, hotly disputed for twenty-five years, concerns only the deepening of an already existing waterway.

The toughest, most dogged fighters for an improved seaway are, understandably, from the Middle West and states bordering the Great Lakes. They are interested in the navigational aspects. They care little about the tremendous electric-power potential of the St. Lawrence, of prime importance to the Northeast. But they are sure that deeper channels, locks, and canals will mean all these things to the Midwest:

☞ A tremendous increase in traffic, often at lower rates, between lake ports and with Eastern ports and Europe.

☞ Fairer industrial competition with the Eastern Seaboard and Europe.

☞ An alternate route, in peace or war, for vital iron ore; increased steel production instead of the threatened migration of the steel industry.

☞ Retention of control by a powerful nation of a strategic waterway.

☞ Stabilized lake levels and an expanded Great Lakes shipyard industry.

☞ Such a general increase in the prosperity of a vast, important region of America that the entire nation would be benefited.

Opponents of the seaway—chiefly Eastern railroad, banking, coal, electric utility, shipping, and port interests—contend that none of these things will result; that deeper channels would mean only dislocation, perhaps permanent damage to their interests.

The arguments, pro and con, are an old story, but the seaway, with its improved power development, is going to be built. Canada is determined to go it alone if the United States will not cooperate. She has waited many years, watching with exasperation the way private-power politics and sectional interests have stalled Congressional action. Few, even among seaway opponents, believe that Canada is bluffing. Her parliament has given authorization. Her treasury is in good shape. An all-Canadian seaway route has been laid out. Her leaders have committed themselves to the undertaking. Canada needs the power output of the St. Lawrence; she needs the deeper channels.

Three questions remain. One is before Congress now: Shall the United States make it a joint project with joint control over tolls and operation?

The second: Can Canada legally go it alone? The consensus in Washington is that she can. She must work through some United States agency, probably the Federal Power Commission, and through the International Joint Commission set up in 1909 to iron out boundary disputes. Exploratory discussions are now going on.

The third question is whether to deepen channels west of Lake Erie if Canada builds the bigger seaway alone. The all-Canadian route would end with the Welland Canal. The twenty-one-foot upbound channels of the Detroit and St. Clair Rivers would keep big ships out of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior. All ports west of Toledo would be "high and dry" so far as twenty-seven-foot-draft ships are concerned. It is inconceivable to such ports as Detroit, Superior-Duluth, Milwaukee, and Chicago that the United States Government would not extend the deepened route all the way.

The chief seaway bottleneck is the string of fourteen-foot canals and locks in the St. Lawrence River between

ROD VAN EVERY, on the staff of the *Milwaukee Journal*, has been specializing in the St. Lawrence Seaway story.

Montreal and Ogdensburg, N. Y. These are so shallow that only barges and short-draft ships can use them. Lesser bottlenecks exist in the twenty-five-foot canals and locks of the Welland Canal and in the twenty-one-foot upbound and twenty-six-foot downbound (deeper for heavy ore cargoes) channels of the St. Clair River and the Detroit River near Detroit, and the St. Marys River near Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Engineering plans call for cutting all these to twenty-seven feet, deep enough for most of the world's shipping.

On the basis of 1950 construction costs, the Army Engineers, famous for their too low estimates, put the full cost of the seaway at \$818,000,000. America's share would be \$566,000,000; Canada pays less because of the "credit" given her for work she already has done—rebuilding the Welland Canal and deepening the Thousand Islands section of the St. Lawrence.

Seaway proponents insist the construction cost is of little moment because it would be spread over five to seven years and would be liquidated by cargo tolls. But the sum is a major obstacle to a Congress acutely aware of the public demand for economy. A recent amendment to seaway legislation would provide the money by empowering a government corporation to sell seaway construction bonds to private investors.

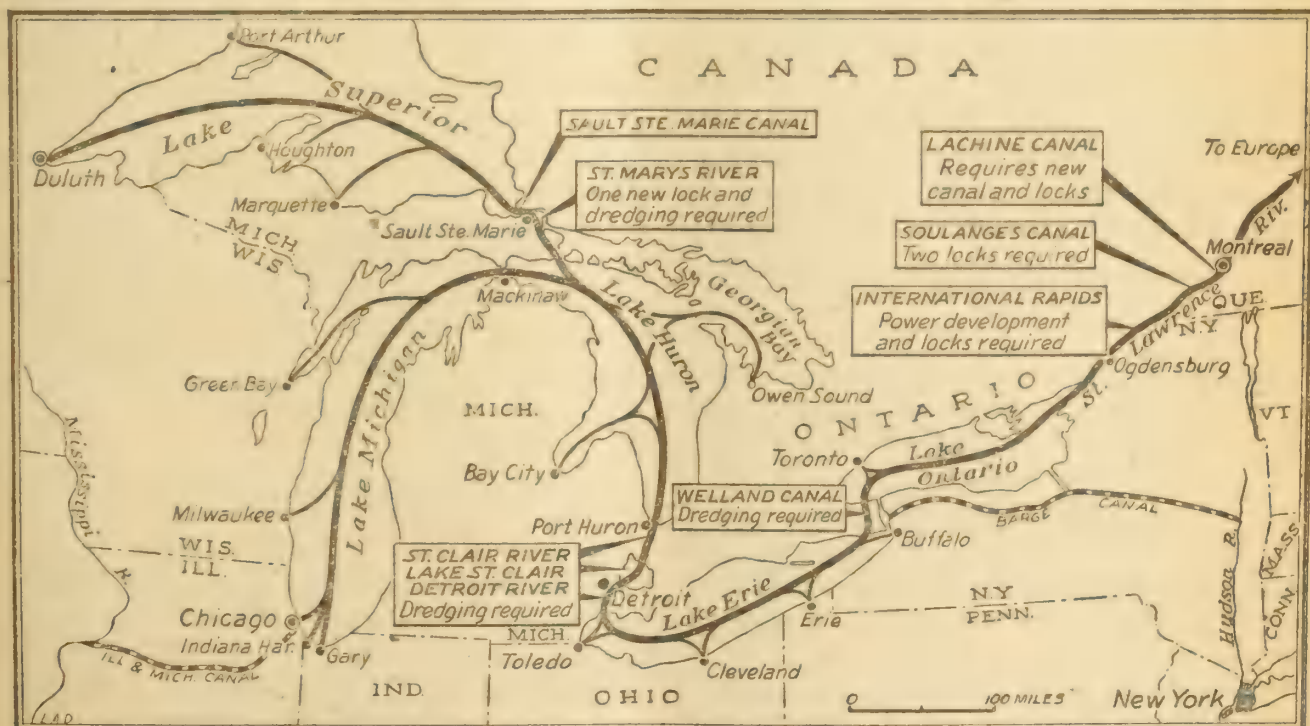
Congressional opposition to the seaway on the ground of economy is the more bewildering to lake states because of the huge appropriations for power, flood-control, and irrigation projects in other sections of the country, seaway building in Texas, channeling for the Delaware River, even seaway and power projects in France financed by detouring American dollars. The

growing dissatisfaction of the Midwest was demonstrated this spring when an official state body of Wisconsin publicly asked its Congressional delegation to practice log-rolling with reverse English—"You block the seaway any longer and we'll block your pet project."

No matter what the cost of the deepened seaway, Midwest leaders feel, it is an economic necessity. Now, a Midwest manufacturer or steel fabricator must include in his bid on Eastern or European contracts the cost of rail transportation. If he could ship by water, the rate would be far lower and he would be in a stronger competitive position.

Some ocean-shipping rates from Great Lakes ports to foreign lands are the same as from East Coast ports. Further savings could be made on exports straight from Midwest port to European dock—elimination of East Coast transshipping, lower insurance rates, reduced warehousing and dockage, less breakage, perhaps less crating. One Midwest manufacturer recently won a Norwegian contract for paper-mill machinery because he could ship in a small Norwegian vessel and save \$18 a ton. Others, however, have lost contracts because their products were too big and heavy for the holds of ships limited in size by the fourteen-foot St. Lawrence canals.

In spite of the present canal limitations, foreign trade with the Great Lakes ports has been steadily increasing. In 1949, the import-export total was 160,000 tons, valued at \$51,000,000. Seven major foreign lines sail profitably into the Great Lakes, and some have even designed new ships especially for the shallow canals. Forty-one foreign-flag ships are in regular service this season and about ten others are in charter service.



Principal Features of St. Lawrence Seaway (U. S. Army Corps of Engineers Proposal)

Courtesy New York Compass

Imports from the Midwest, now confined largely to manufactured products, will take on added significance when the St. Lawrence canals are deepened. Then it will be possible to bring in raw materials—iron ore, limestone, coal and oil—in great quantities. This is the low-value "bulk" trade, economically possible only in big ships and a great saver of manufacturing costs.

Iron ore from newly found fields in Labrador and Quebec is sure to outstrip all other imports in tonnage and importance. For many years steel furnaces from Buffalo and Pittsburgh on the east, through Ohio and Indiana to Chicago on the west, have gulped iron from the Mesabi Range in northern Minnesota. About 90 per cent of all the ore they use comes from the Mesabi, shipped in deep-draft lake boats. But the days of the high-grade, open-pit ore of the Mesabi are numbered. When the ore runs out, in fifteen to thirty years, there will remain low-grade taconite and other high-grade but underground ores. It is cheap to dig open-pit ore. To increase production—for instance, in war-time—you just use more power shovels. It is neither cheap nor easy to increase the output of underground mines or the recovery from taconite. The steel industry cannot use taconite as it is found in nature because there is too little iron in it. Concentrating plants are slow and costly to build, and they use a lot of manpower.

In time of emergency, the alternative for quick expansion in the steel industry is discovery of new supplies of high-grade, easily mined, easily transported iron ore. That combination was found in the Labrador-Quebec fields. The Labrador ore is of higher iron assay than Mesabi ore. It lies on the surface of the ground, like Mesabi. It can be easily and cheaply transported in Great Lakes ore boats from the port of Seven Islands on the land-protected Gulf of St. Lawrence—if the St. Lawrence canals are deepened.

If the seaway is not improved Midwest economists see this chain of events: Labrador ore destined for most of America's steel furnaces will be subject to long, expensive rail hauls. This will increase costs so much that a

large part of the industry will have to migrate to the East Coast. This dislocation of a basic industry, involving other major industries such as automobile manufacture, will disrupt the economy of the Midwest, probably of all America.

During World War II most of America was scarcely aware of the importance of the Soo locks between Lakes Superior and Huron. Why have armed guards there? Anti-aircraft gun emplacements? Fighter-interceptor squadrons? The Midwest and its steel industry (shortly the Chicago-Gary district will surpass the Pittsburgh district in steel production) knew the answers and worried over the iron-curtained Soo.

If the Soo locks had been bombed, the flow of Mesabi iron ore would have been dammed in Lake Superior, with no outlet except the overworked, under-equipped railroads. America might very well have lost so much steel production as a result of bombing that it would have lost the war. Then there was no nearby, alternative ore source. Now there is—Labrador.

A NEW impetus to improve the seaway has come from parts of the Midwest within the last few months. It is not concerned with iron ore, navigation, or power, but with the weather and lake levels.

Unusually heavy snows and rains in recent years, coupled with fast run-offs because of deeply frozen or saturated ground, have caused most of the Great Lakes to rise steadily toward a new high. The fastest rise came in the past winter and early spring. Lake-shore dwellers, particularly on Michigan and Huron, watched their beaches disappear and saw storms do millions of dollars' worth of damage to their properties. Roads, trees, and utility poles were washed out; cliffs and summer-home foundations undermined; fishing shanties smashed; basements flooded; sewer outlets clogged; even the opening of cantilever bridges slowed.

And what has all this to do with the St. Lawrence Seaway?

True, deepened canals in the St. Lawrence, 600 feet below the level of Lake Superior, would have no effect on levels of any lake above Niagara Falls. But control works at the Welland Canal and in the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers, suggested as part of the long-range seaway plans, would stabilize the levels of Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan.

High water has its good points, too. To shipping interests it means millions of extra dollars in increased tonnage that can be carried cheaper, faster. The average Great Lakes bulk carrier can load ninety tons more into her barnlike hold for every inch the lakes rise. The additional tonnage costs little more to load and carry. To ports, high water means less dredging of canals, channels, and at docks, and less dry rot in pilings.

In high water or low, nobody expects the Queen

Beyond Comment

What others repeat as a platitude, Eisenhower has been asserting with the freshness of a discovery.—*From Eisenhower and the GOP* by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., in *Harper's magazine*.

Mrs. Eva Perón, wife of Argentina's President, celebrates her thirtieth birthday tomorrow. Argentine workers have planned special ceremonies and no newspapers will be published.—*Associated Press dispatch from Buenos Aires*.

[The Nation will pay \$2 for acceptable contributions to *Beyond Comment*.]

Elizabeth or the U. S. S. Missouri to come huffing up the St. Lawrence to dock in the Chicago River. But where the St. Lawrence canals now limit ship sizes to about 3,000 tons, deeper canals and bigger locks would open the way to ships of 20,000 or more tons.

This means that a major part of the United States navy could be built, outfitted, or repaired in the inland safety of the Great Lakes. In World War II such work was limited to submarines, destroyer escorts, small patrol craft, and seagoing tugs. Getting them into salt water was expensive. Many lake shipyards closed at war's end. Now, some Great Lakes ports expect a revived ship-building industry, military and commercial, with extension of the seaway.

It is difficult for the Midwest to believe that a world power like the United States would deliberately turn its back on a share in the control of one of man's greatest waterways. History points in the other direction. Nations have waged wars over control of strategic water routes. The Midwest seaway leaders have fought long and been frustrated often. They have had the backing of every American President since Woodrow Wilson, every investigating body, the best in military and economic opinion. Yet the medieval canals of the St. Lawrence remain.

The year is nineteen hundred and fifty-two. The time is short. If America won't, Canada will. And that is all right with the Midwest.

Bevanism Wins in America

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

IN THE spring of 1951, Aneurin Bevan resigned his Cabinet post in the British Labor government because, doubting the imminence of war with Russia, he considered the government's three-year rearmament program to be unnecessarily prejudicial to the British worker's standard of living. He argued, in vain, that the program should be spread over four years.

Mr. Bevan was bitterly attacked for months afterwards both in Britain and in the United States. American critics charged him with being ready to sell the "free world" down the Elbe to preserve free eyeglasses and false teeth for Britons.

It is now a matter of history that Churchill, returning to power in the elections held a few months after Bevan's resignation, suddenly decided that the Welshman was right. The Tory government has spread the British rearmament program, not over four years, but over an even longer period. What is also history, though less well known, is that even while American critics were attacking "Bevanism," our government was accepting the idea for its own rearmament program.

On February 5, the *New York Times*, reporting on the testimony of Secretary of Defense Robert R. Lovett before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, said in part:

Last September, he [Lovett] continued, the theory behind the military budget was revised. It was then decided that, instead of attempting a great and costly rearmament effort designed to achieve minimum desired strength almost at once, the program would be slowed down and leveled off with the middle of

1954 as the approximate target date for completion. . . . The rapid rearmament planned until last September would have thrown a probably impossible burden on the economy.

So far as I know, not a single Washington correspondent pointed out that we were adopting "Bevanism" even as we were attacking Bevan. To-day, when all the vital data are available in the Economic Report of the President of January, 1952, it is clear that Aneurin Bevan was right not only for Britain but for the United States as well.

Three factors are responsible for the slowdown in the tempo of American rearmament. Most important is the international situation; the conviction has gained ground that the Kremlin intends neither to start nor to provoke a war within the near future. This being the case, there is obviously no compelling reason to accelerate military production to a degree that would cause severe economic dislocation.

The second reason for the slowdown is the substantial priming period necessary to produce the complex equipment needed for modern warfare. If this priming period were to be sharply curtailed, the whole



Aneurin Bevan

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economy would be adversely affected. As the President's 1952 report says:

Major difficulties have been encountered . . . in getting our military production under way. These difficulties involve chiefly the machine-tool and other bottlenecks, and design, engineering, and production problems associated with the decision to produce exceedingly complex equipment of the most advanced design, rather than to concentrate on large-scale production of types already in use.

The third reason for the slowdown is the fact that American standards of living, and the existing wage and profit levels, can be more easily maintained if the defense program is carried out at the present slower pace. The present rate of military expansion approximates the increase in over-all American production. This is a most important point, since it affects the living standards of our allies as well as our own.

Our total output in 1947 amounted to 270 billion dollars (in terms of 1951 prices)—about one-third higher than before the outbreak of World War II. This is in striking contrast to the experience of our European allies, who by 1947 were either still lagging behind their pre-war living standard or had barely restored it.

By mid-summer of 1950, our annual output had increased by approximately thirty billions; given impetus by the outbreak of the Korean war, it jumped an additional thirty billions by January, 1952. Since 1947, therefore, our annual output has increased by sixty billions—from 270 billions to 330 billions. "The sixty-billion-dollar increase," remarks the President's 1952 report, "was greater than the total cost of the security program in 1951." Thus even at the present level of production we can carry the military budget while maintaining our 1947 standard of living, which was one-third higher than in 1939 and only a little lower than in the spring of 1950, before the Korean war started.

But even this relatively small civilian sacrifice turns out to be unnecessary. Since the defense program has been spread over four years instead of three, the increase in arms production is by and large not greater than the increase in total production since the Korean war began. Arms expenditures at the end of 1951, for instance, amounted to about 14 per cent of national production compared to 8 per cent in 1950. But in the same period gross national production (calculated in 1951 prices) rose from 300 to 330 billion dollars, an increase of 10 per cent and more than enough to cushion the effect of the rise in military expenditures. The President's 1952 report indicates that our standard of living actually rose somewhat in 1951.

The situation will not be much different for us in 1952. This year military expenditures will increase by another twenty billion dollars (they are expected to reach a total of sixty-five billions by the end of the

year). But this rise will be almost balanced, according to the President's report, by a 5 per cent rise—about fifteen to twenty billion dollars—in our overall production. Thus our growing arms expenditures will not require any major drop in the total output of consumer goods, although there will be some curtailment in *durable* goods such as automobiles and housing. Moreover, there is no doubt that the huge conversion program will cause considerable trouble in certain areas.

Any sudden increase in international tension could, of course, destroy the existing balance between arms production and overall output. For example, the American mili-



tary budget does not provide large-scale appropriations for carrying on the Korean war. But if these are not called for, and no new "minor" war breaks out elsewhere, arms expenditures will hardly exceed the budget as now contemplated. This budget is smaller than the one the government laid down in 1950 when, immediately after the Chinese intervention in Korea, we simultaneously launched a huge rearmament program here and urged our European allies to do the same. That our expenditures have slowed down is made clear in the President's report: "The rate of expansion of the security program slackened toward the end of 1951. During the last quarter, security expenditures are estimated to have increased only three billion dollars, at an annual rate, compared with an average increase of six billion dollars in each of the previous three quarters."

According to the President's report of January, 1951, the proportion of total output devoted to security purposes, which totaled about 6 per cent before Korea and rose to 11 per cent in 1950, was to rise 15 per cent by the end of 1951 and to approach 20 per cent this year. In reality, 1951 military expenditures amounted to 14 per cent instead of 15 per cent, and will reach 18 per cent (instead of 20 per cent) by the end of 1952. These percentage differences would seem to be minuscule; in terms of money they amount to a great deal. Each per cent of national income spent for rearmament means we are three billion dollars more out of pocket. If, instead of spending 20 per cent of our national income on military production this year, we spend only 16 or 17 per cent, we have cut our military budget by ten billion dollars. That's more than double the total military budget of Great Britain, and more than the United States is spending this year for military and economic aid to all of Europe and Asia.

It adds up, then, to this: We who are refusing to sacrifice our relatively high living standards for rearmament cannot now complain because Britain, following Bevan's policy, is reluctant to do anything which would imperil its own much lower standards.

The Retrogression of Senator Taft

BY WILLARD SHELTON

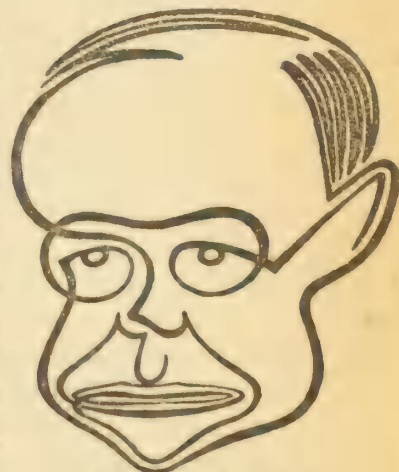
Washington, D. C.

THIS campaign, it seems reasonable to believe, is proving a little puzzling to Senator Robert Alphonso Taft, the "Mr. Republican" who for the third time in twelve years is making his bid for the supreme prize within the gift of the Grand Old Party. All the tricks he is trying in 1952 were tested and found useful in Ohio just two years ago. He has groups of "lawyers for Taft" and "doctors for Taft" employing the direct-mail solicitations invented by Whitaker and Baxter, the American Medical Association's slick-paper propagandists. He is campaigning through the hamlets and big industrial towns of two dozen states as vigorously as he campaigned in Ohio for nearly a year before he was triumphantly reelected to the Senate. He holds babies; he shakes hands; he repeats speeches until he is admittedly sick of the sound of his own voice; he insists that he is "labor's true friend." He still claimed, as of last week, that he would go into the Republican convention in July with a majority of the votes on the first ballot and emerge as the Republican nominee with a mandate to make a better fight than Tom Dewey did in 1948.

Yet the suspicion exists among many observers that he is wrong, that his blitzkrieg tactics have failed, that once again he will lose the victory and end up making speeches for the successful nominee and facing the prospect of four years more as Senate Republican Policy Committee chairman, doomed to execute programs for some other Republican President or perhaps to fight another Democrat.

Taft's political life is an enormous irony. Able, intelligent, a skilled legislator, he has twice previously been tricked out of Presidential nominations that by all the rules might have been his. By the rules he should have been the nominee in 1940: he had served in the Senate only since the 1938 election but he had whipped a prime New Deal intellectual, Representative T. V. Smith of the University of Chicago, in a nationally broadcast series of radio debates, and he already was being hailed by the Old Guard as the Republican champion. But suddenly emerged Wendell L. Willkie, with Wall Street money and the public-relations techniques of the Henry Luce-Atlantic Seaboard "internationalists" behind him, and Willkie "stole" the nomination as the convention

was stampeded by the packed galleries chanting his name. In 1948 Taft's chances were less dazzling, but he could have had the nomination if Harold E. Stassen had agreed, at the proper moment, to accept the vice-presidential place on a Taft-headed ticket. The *Chicago Tribune* did its best to promote this deal, and had it been concluded before the first ballot in Philadelphia, Dewey might have been blocked. It is amusing to recall that James S. Duff, then Governor of Pennsylvania, was pro-Taft in 1948 and would have been delighted to go along with a Taft-Stassen ticket. But Stassen would not deal, the anti-Dewey forces collapsed, and Taft was whipped. Today Duff is playing a role in the Eisenhower coalition.



Senator Robert Taft

Some people in this world have bad luck. They work hard, they live up to the maxims, yet they never win the prizes that fall to the Horatio Alger boys. The electorate never calls on them for "duty"—as Eisenhower would put it. Taft may be one of these unfortunate souls. He is the beau ideal of Republicans—except in Presidential years. He had all the money he needed—at least \$2,000,000—when he was in trouble in Ohio in 1950 and his friends wanted to teach the labor boys a lesson. He is not precisely suffering from financial stringency this year; he has a large and capable staff of technicians, tacticians, and well wishers. But the big Republican money, the slickest public-relations boys, are behind Eisenhower. The coalition that backed Willkie in 1940 and Dewey in 1948 is still functioning—and it is anti-Taft.

As the campaign has grown hotter, and as Taft has seen blitzkrieg tactics fail to check the Eisenhower boom, the Ohio Senator has become so reckless and bigoted in his speeches that it is difficult to remember the Taft who used to be respected for his integrity. He was indignant when he was quoted two years ago as approving Senator McCarthy's attacks on the State Department. But he did not become indignant until weeks after the newspapers had carried the original story and he made no public denial until he thought he was in trouble in Ohio for supporting McCarthy. At Des Moines, last

This is the fourth of a series of profiles of persons most widely mentioned as possible Presidential candidates. Willard Shelton is a veteran Washington correspondent and a regular contributor to The Nation.

October, he suggested that McCarthy had perhaps sometimes "overstated" his position. This won from Jumping Joe a warning rejoinder that he would not credit any report of a repudiation by Taft until he heard it himself—and he has never yet heard it. Instead, he had the pleasure of getting a Taft testimonial in Beloit last January, when Taft told a Wisconsin audience that the "pro-Communist" policies of the State Department "fully justified" McCarthy's demands for an inquiry. What nonsense is this? Decent people have excoriated McCarthy not for demanding an "inquiry," but for lies and character assassination that brought him a direct repudiation from the six Republican Senators who joined Margaret Chase Smith in her "declaration of conscience." Senator Taft's conscience has become so flexible that he apparently refuses to admit the difference. Taft cited the dismissal of John Stewart Service as justifying the McCarthy "inquiry." Is this the Taft who prided himself on saving civil liberties by blocking President Truman's ill-advised "draft strikers" bill in 1946?

Taft has deluded himself into believing the legend that Dewey's refusal to "fight" was responsible for the Republican debacle in 1948. He does not seem to realize that Dewey was placed in an impossible position by the Republican Eightieth Congress—that to "defend" such a Congress might very well have lost the Republicans more votes than to ignore it. So, as a campaigner in 1952, Taft has severely criticized Dewey's 1948 tactics; he thinks it necessary to show himself different from Dewey and to assail the Administration on every issue.

TAFT has become a military expert—although he has never served on either the Senate's Armed Services or Foreign Relations Committee—and he proclaims his august lack of confidence in our Joint Chiefs of Staff. Why? Well, Truman appointed them, didn't he? Taft believes we should build up air power rather than ground power. Why? Well, he has had some counsel from Brigadier General Bonner Fellers (retired), the Republican National Committee's military attaché, and from General Wedemeyer (retired), and a few others. And the Truman Administration, after all, is in favor of "balanced" forces of ground, sea, and air units. That is enough to make any good Republican fighting mad and certain the policy is wrong.

The Korean war is "Truman's war." It is the "unnecessary war." It is the war that was "invited" by Secretary Acheson. The record shows merely that Acheson warned that we could not hope to settle all the problems of Asia by our intervention—that our economic and military strength could be usefully applied only when our strength was the single "missing component" needed to help an area stabilize itself. Acheson never said that we would not fight to defend the Republic of

Korea against gross and direct military aggression. Taft and the Eightieth Congress cut the heart out of the economic and military aid advocated by the Administration for Korea. But everything is Truman's fault—according to Taft.

Taft thinks he must "fight" to prove that he would be a different stripe of candidate from Dewey. If he tries to win votes by charging that the Administration "deliberately built up" Russia as a world power, he may be charged with a stupid and unworthy distortion of history. But he can't be charged with being "soft toward Truman."

Taft is hagridden with a desire to scotch the dreadful impeachment that he lacks political sex appeal, that as the Presidential nominee he couldn't win. So he told his audiences in New Hampshire that he had always been a winner in his political adventures and that in 1950, in fact, he won by the largest plurality ever given a candidate for the Senate in Ohio. He may have forgotten—it was so long ago—that he was licked in 1922 in a race for the Ohio state Senate, and that in 1938 and 1944 he barely won election to the United States Senate. But the Taft of even four years ago—the Taft who was more cautious about his statements and enjoyed a reputation for integrity—would have been expected to remember.



As a traditional conservative, Taft used to be valuable in the Senate. Traditional conservatives tend to be compromisers with democracy and with facts, and Taft in the 1940's was an advocate of "middle-way" public-housing bills and aid-to-education bills. Traditional conservatives respect law and order and the procedural niceties that safeguard individual rights; they are reluctant to support laws that restrict liberty. In 1948 Taft privately told reporters that there would have to be "substantial changes" in the Mundt-Nixon Communist-control bill before he could support it, that its registration-for-Communists provisions seemed to him of questionable legality. But in 1950 he voted without hesitation for the McCarran "internal-security" law, which imposed registration provisions on Communists and serious restrictions on freedom of movement of persons merely accused of improper political associations. He was running for reelection, just as were some liberal Democrats and Republicans, and neither Taft nor the liberals wanted to have to take time to explain away a vote against McCarran. That is the situation into which the country has been pushed by McCarthyism—and Taft thinks that his direct support of McCarthy, his encouragement of McCarthyism, can be balanced by the wisecrack that he would "welcome the support of Wayne Morse" as well as that of McCarthy. The insult to Morse is no worse than the insult to the intelligence of the

voters generally. The cream of the jest is that McCarthy has never yet publicly declared for Taft; he has forced Taft to seek his favor yet he is free, if he thinks it desirable, to leap aboard the Eisenhower bandwagon.

Taft today is apparently incapable of such a speech as Senator Wiley made to the American Society of Newspaper Editors recently—a speech reminiscent of Vandenberg's moderation and sense of responsibility in discussing foreign affairs. The notion that Wiley could be intellectually more honest than Taft would have astonished leading Wisconsin citizens as recently as three or four years ago. Taft's partisanship, his desire to "fight" the Administration, has led him into preposterous overstatements and to reckless adventurism in the whole field of Far Eastern policy.

One wonders what this man would do in the White House. If he cites the Service case as justifying McCarthy, what protection could victimized public officials expect from his oath to preserve and defend the Constitution? If he would throw out the Joint Chiefs of Staff and "bring back MacArthur," as he has promised, to what lengths would he go in trying to overthrow communism in China with American armies—or perhaps just American bombs? Would the Southern Democrat he promises to place in his Cabinet be a man like Senator Byrd, who with Taft has been hostile to Mutual Assistance and Marshall Plan appropriations and has voted repeatedly to cut down assistance to Western Europe? Would he pull American divisions out of Europe or just

slash our foreign-aid budget? Would he solve our labor-management problems by reviving his barely defeated 1947 proposal to make the Taft-Hartley act harsher by restricting industry-wide bargaining?

Taft's chances in the convention, it is clear, depend on whether the Midwestern and rotten-borough Southern delegates at Chicago can outmaneuver, outlast, and finally break down the coalition of Atlantic Seaboard and West Coast Republicans that nominated Willkie in 1940 and Dewey in 1944 and 1948. Taft is Colonel McCormick's candidate, the isolationists' candidate. He may say as often as he pleases that he now "supports" the North Atlantic Treaty Organization although he voted against NATO's ratification in 1949. But non-isolationists from the East Coast and West Coast do not trust him. Senator Morse does not trust him—and is driven by this distrust to support a military man, General Eisenhower, whose known position on domestic policies can scarcely be pleasing to the Oregon liberal. Senator Ives of New York and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts shrink from the nightmarish thought of running for reelection with Taft at the head of the Republican ticket. The contest for delegates is now reaching the no-holds-barred stage, and Taft is a tough and tenacious infighter in a political barroom brawl. It is a disagreeable truth that the Taft of 1940 and the Taft of 1948 were preferable to this curious campaigner of 1952, this Taft whose thwarted ambition makes him almost unrecognizable.

No Mandate for a Bolt

BY WILLIAM CARLETON

Gainesville, Florida

THE most surprising and significant feature of the Russell-Kefauver Presidential-preference primary in Florida on May 6 was the closeness of the vote. So far as Senator Russell is concerned, it fell so far short of expectations as well-nigh to preclude a formidable Dixie revolt against the Democratic Party this year.

Senator Kefauver was opposed by one of the strongest combinations in the history of the state, a fact that was repeatedly noted by the local press. A few days before the voting, an election prediction based on the observations of Florida's political correspondents gave Kefauver only about 40 per cent of the vote. Newspapers quoted Senator Spessard L. Holland as predicting a Russell sweep of more than two to one, possibly of three to one.

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As it turned out, Russell and Kefauver ran a photo-finish race in southern and central Florida, and it was only the late returns from the rural, Old South counties near the Alabama and Georgia borders that gave Russell his relatively narrow victory. Delegates to the Democratic National Convention will be chosen in the second primary, on May 27, and indications are that Kefauver will win several of them.

Russell had behind him a misalliance of Dixiecrats, conservative regulars, "Presidential Republicans" voting in the Democratic primary, and friends of Governor Fuller Warren, who in the past frequently has been on the liberal side and an ally of former Senator Claude Pepper. Warren bitterly resented the Kefauver Committee's activities in Florida last year.

Large sums of money poured into Russell's campaign, some reputedly garnered from Northern conservatives and from national gambling interests; the Russell forces

officially admitted spending six times as much as did Kefauver's. Russell had the vigorous and almost unanimous support of the press, overwhelmingly conservative. He also had the active and unanimous support of the Congressional delegations, solidly conservative, and of the vast majority of professional politicians.

THIS impressive array of Russell support must also be viewed against the deeper social and political background of the state. Florida, unlike north Alabama, for instance, has few former Populist counties. There is little manufacturing and organized labor is weak. Agriculture is predominantly specialized—citrus, fresh vegetables and truck crops, cattle raising. It is essentially a middle-class state with small and medium-sized residential cities where chambers of commerce and civic clubs are influential. In the Middle West such communities are the bulwarks of Republican strength; here they are bulwarks of conservative strength. Their conservatism has about it the flavor of prosperous Iowa towns, intensified and distorted by the race question. Nevertheless, Kefauver did surprisingly well in many of these centers, much better than Pepper did in 1950.

Russell's greatest single source of strength was his stand against President Truman's civil-rights program, particularly his statement, repeated over and again during the primary campaign, that as Democratic Presidential nominee he would repudiate any FEPC plank written into the Democratic platform at the convention. On the other hand, Kefauver stated that while he favored a voluntary FEPC he would support a compulsory one if the platform pledged it.

Florida's population contains many transplanted Northerners, but it has many more transplanted Southerners. For example, it is estimated that some 300,000 transplanted Georgians live here (to say nothing of those whose ancestry is Georgian), and many of them worked for Russell. In addition, squads of Georgia "minute men" with tri-colored cockades invaded the state to drum up enthusiasm for Russell.

A striking feature of the primary was the boldness of the conservative tactics, which were even more daring than those employed in the Pepper-Smathers campaign of 1950. In the closing days of the primary, Russell spoke alongside Fulton Lewis, Jr., at a meeting of the Associated Industries. Banks and building and loan associations displayed Russell pledge cards.

Nevertheless, Kefauver had some advantages. The most important was popular resentment over the gangsters, gamblers, and racketeers who for many years have been operating in the state, and the general disgust with political corruption and the low tone of official morality the country over. Some of the Kefauver Committee's most sensational charges were made during its Miami sitings, and these deeply disturbed the public.

Another advantage was the prevailing belief that the Tennessee Senator has a good chance to win the Democratic nomination while Russell has not. Voters were impressed by Kefauver's victories in the Northern primaries and often remarked that for the first time in a century a Southerner might actually be elected President; that a vote for Kefauver would not be wasted while a vote for Russell would be thrown away. To combat the appeal of this argument, Russell's forces stressed their candidate's loyalty to the national party and maintained that his prospects of being nominated were excellent. On the night his candidacy was launched in Atlanta, the Senator showed extreme annoyance when the chairman of the Georgia Democratic State Committee declared that "the South will sit at the head of the Democratic table or we won't sit at all." In every speech Russell insisted that if



nominated he would surely win 148 electoral votes from the South, and that these, with only 118 additional votes from the North, would safely elect him. "Who doubts that I can get these 118 votes from the remaining thirty-five states?" he would ask.

It was claimed that Russell was not a bona-fide candidate for the nomination, that he merely wanted to go to the Democratic convention with enough delegate strength to be in a bargaining position, that he would not even have entered the Florida primary if that position had not been challenged by Kefauver's entry. Toward the end of the campaign Pepper charged that Russell's followers were largely Dixiecrats who were planning a bolt.

Pro-Kefauver speakers advised Russell to go after the Republican nomination, saying that he has a good deal in common with Republican Senator Mundt, who at that very time was campaigning for Russell in Mississippi. It was intimated that Russell was being used as an instrument by those intransigent Southern conservatives who are working for a Republican-Dixiecrat alliance either in the Electoral College itself or in the House of Representatives, which would elect a President if no candidate received a majority. To allay these doubts, Russell, the night before the primary, declared categorically, "I will not walk out of the convention in an FEPC fight."

Kefauver came through to the Florida voter as the more authentic internationalist. He made a strong appeal to the women voters, and women's organizations sprang up throughout the state to campaign for him. The state's biggest labor organizations endorsed him and he had the support of a large number of the 112,000 Negroes registered for the Democratic primary. The St. Petersburg Times, Florida's foremost liberal daily, did yeoman service for the Tennessean. State's attorney general

Richard Ervin, who is a crime-buster in his own right, came out for Kefauver.

Kefauver himself proved to be an exceptionally able campaigner—friendly, imaginative, soft-spoken, outspoken, and indefatigable in shaking hands on street corners, in filling stations, in stores, in factories. He was careful to leave the impression that where Russell was concerned he was no mud-slinger—an impression that Russell did not trouble to give—and this helped him with the voters. His eighty-year-old father campaigned among the old folks and made a decided hit; his attractive young wife filled engagements the Senator couldn't make time for, and even the pro-Russell newspapers praised her vivacity and charm.

The outcome was close and certainly no mandate for a bolt. Even conservative Democrats, leaders and rank and file alike, for the most part voted for Russell in the belief that Democratic differences should be aired inside the party. Russell himself publicly endorsed this view.

Russell was a candidate in 1948 and received strong delegate support from the South. But when he failed to win the nomination or even to soften the platform reso-

lutions on civil rights he did not bolt. And with Truman out of the picture there is even less sentiment for a bolt now than there was in 1948. Moreover, the international crisis has intensified since 1948, and Southern conservative Democrats, like Southern liberal Democrats, for the most part are not prepared to return to isolation or to support a foreign policy which gives priority to Asia over Europe; hence in the end Southern conservatives are not likely to allow themselves to become stalking horses for a Taft-MacArthur foreign policy. And should Eisenhower be nominated by the Republicans, the pressure for a Dixiecrat third party would be still further weakened, for in voting for Eisenhower on the Republican ticket, conservative Southern Democrats could simultaneously strike at Truman's domestic policies, which they dislike, and support his foreign policies, which they like.

Had Russell run in a Florida primary in 1948 he would probably have won by a bigger margin, for there was no Kefauver to oppose him. Yet while Florida rejected Pepper's bid for the presidency in 1948 and voted for Russell in the convention, it rolled up a handsome lead for Truman in the November election.

Central Africa in Black and White

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IN WEST AFRICA, where there are no white settlers but only traders and officials, the populous British colonies of Nigeria and the Gold Coast have recently won a large measure of self-government. This development is "disastrous" in the eyes of Premier Malan of the Union of South Africa, the only part of the Dark Continent where whites comprise even a sizable minority of the population. His government, which hopes to arrest the rising tide of African nationalism by establishing white supremacy on an impregnable basis, is occupied in sweeping away such meager constitutional safeguards as the vast native majority of the country now enjoys.

Caught between these cross currents, fearing both the thrust of Malanism, which is anti-British as well as anti-native, and the African demand for equal rights, the white settlers of British Central Africa have long sought salvation in unity. They desire a federal government for the three territories—Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland—to control communications and economic development. That, it is claimed, would make possible the better exploitation of the very large potential wealth of the area, now hindered by artificial boundaries and conflicting interests. Railroad extension would facilitate the movement of coal from Southern Rhodesia's enormous Wankie field

to the fuel-starved copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. Development of the tremendous power resources of the Victoria Falls and other Zambezi River sites would benefit all three colonies. A unified market would assist the growth of Southern Rhodesia's secondary industries.

From the native point of view, however, the economic advantages of federation are much less obvious than the political disadvantages. They see it as a threat to the existing safeguards against discrimination, and still more as a barrier to future democratic advance. It would mean, said Chief Masokatwane of Northern Rhodesia in a recent London interview, "self-government for white people—handing us over to the European settlers whom we do not trust."

At present the political status of the three territories differs widely. Southern Rhodesia is a dominion whose self-government is limited only in respect to foreign affairs and by the British Government's rather tenuous power to protect native interests. But it is self-government by and for Europeans, who constitute about one-twelfth of the whole population. For while on paper there is no color bar at the polling booth, in practice educational and income qualifications deprive all but a handful of Africans of the franchise.

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are both protectorates under the tutelage of the Colonial Office and governed in conformity with the principle laid down by a joint select committee of the British Parliament in 1931: "The interests of the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population should not be subordinated to those of a minority belonging to another race." Thus in Northern Rhodesia the white settlers, numbering some 30,000 out of a total population of about 1,500,000, elect only a minority of the members of the legislative council; and in any case the governor, who represents the British Crown, has full veto powers. Nyasaland, where the European population is minute, is administered by a governor assisted by executive and legislative councils which he nominates.

The protectorate is a very unsatisfactory form of government to the white settlers, particularly the aggressive group in Northern Rhodesia. They want "self-government" so that they can deal with "the native problem," obtain more land, and hasten economic development without constant interference from Whitehall. They support federation because, as their chief spokesman has said, "it offers our best chance of breaking with the Colonial Office."

The Africans, on the other hand, cling to Colonial Office rule despite the fact that in many ways it has failed to carry out the principles of trusteeship. Thus the color bar operates in Northern Rhodesia, where, for example, no native is allowed to hold a skilled job in

the copper mines. Nevertheless, so long as the settlers are unable to acquire political power, the Africans feel that the way to gradual democratic progress will remain open.

The opposition to federation arises from a belief that it would mean domination of the region by Southern Rhodesia and the extension to the protectorates of Southern Rhodesian native policies. Those policies were described in a letter to the *London Times* of April 29, signed by members of the African delegation to the London Conference on Central African Federation, as more nearly akin to those of the Union of South Africa than to those of any other British territory. "The two races," the letter declared, "are segregated in different areas of land by law. . . . No African may own land in any town, and an African may live in a 'location' near a town only while employed by a European. No skilled work may be done by an African in any urban area. No African trade union is legally recognized. An African requires a 'pass' to move from one district to another."

This list of disabilities suffered by the African inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia, which might be greatly extended, goes far to explain why the native representatives from the protectorates are so suspicious of the white man's motives that they refused to participate in the London conference called to draft a plan for federation. Although this plan, which has not yet been published, is believed to contain various constitutional safeguards for native interests, the Africans are unlikely to be impressed. The recent history of South Africa has made it all too plain that such safeguards may prove scraps of paper. Africans are skeptical too about the talk of "partnership between the races" which has been a favorite theme with advocates of federation. This term has not been clearly defined but Africans suspect, not unjustly, that in practice it would turn out to be the kind of relation that exists between the farmer and his draft-oxen.

There can, in fact, be no genuine partnership between races in Africa until the Europeans agree to drop the color bar and accept the principle, once proclaimed by Cecil Rhodes: "Equal rights for all civilized men." That would mean giving Africans a chance to acquire skills and to rise to any position their ability warranted; the grant of full equality before the law; the ending of all qualifications for the franchise other than literacy—in short, renunciation of the whole doctrine of white supremacy. Failing this, the African, as a special correspondent of the *Economist* wrote on January 26, will react "by rejecting 'partnership' as a sham and defiantly proclaiming his own brand of 'black supremacy.' After all, in Africa, there are far more Africans than Europeans; if there cannot be genuine partnership, then let numbers alone count."



Proposed Central African Federation

BOOKS and the ARTS

THE USES OF RELIGION

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

A GENERATION ago only the religious were interested in religion. Most "intellectuals," most scientists, and most sociologists assumed that it was, at most, a survival not destined to survive much longer. Today members of these same groups write books about it and religion is assumed once more to have a future as well as a past.

Two recent symposia* are cases in point. In the first, twenty-nine "intellectuals" discuss the subject as it presents itself to a predominantly literary avant garde; in the second, nineteen somewhat more diverse persons—sociologists, Christian clergymen, rabbis, philosophers, etc.—address themselves to the same topic. Despite the titles, "Religion and the Intellectuals" is the more directly concerned with "culture" in the narrow sense of the term; "Religious Faith and World Culture" more concerned with the political and economic aspects of the problem. The twenty-nine make confessions of faith or the lack of it; the nineteen are more likely to ask whether society can cohere when deprived of some set of basic assumptions commonly accepted which a religion supplies.

Inevitably there are some desperate involvements with the difficulties of definition and among the "intellectuals" there is universal agreement on no single point. There are, for example, those who deny that "intellectuals" really have become interested in religion and others who deny that they ever ceased to be. Allen Tate begins, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth"; Meyer Schapiro begins, "The recurrent interest in religion today is a sign that the great effort of emancipation that began three centuries ago has not been successful, or at least has not completed its work." Nevertheless, one finishes the discussion with the sense that there has been, on the whole,

a tendency to agree, first, that to call oneself an intellectual is less likely now than it was a few years ago to imply a definite lack of sympathy with everything which can reasonably be called "religion"; and, second, that this fact may mean at least a little more than a superficial change in fashion.

Several of the "intellectuals" are nevertheless very acutely aware of the fact that the avant-garde sympathy with religion is often no more than an intellectual affectation, and without denying that it is sometimes genuine, more than one makes shrewdly satiric thrusts at the shallowness of what sometimes passes for a religious attitude. Thus, on the subject of those who have concluded that religion is necessary to culture, Hannah Arendt observes: "The idea of somebody making up his mind to believe in God, follow His Commandments, praying to Him and going regularly to church, so poets again may have some inspiration and culture be 'integrated,' is simply exhilarating. . . . One cannot escape the question of truth and therefore cannot treat the whole matter as though God had been the notion of some especially clever pragmatist who knew what it is good for." From a related point of view Robert Graves pays his respects to the Evelyn Waugh who boast their orthodoxy without showing any disposition either to sell all they have to follow Jesus or even to work for the conversion of unbelievers. When he knew Waugh and Graham Greene at Oxford, both "appeared to be impressed only by the dramatic possibilities of the confessional and by the church's amusingly strict stand on the Seventh Commandment." In a somewhat similar vein William Barrett compares the attitude of certain intellectuals who "seem to have discovered a very salable commodity—a suave but vague 'spiritual rhetoric' that gives many people the illusion they are somehow getting more than they are willing to pay for," with that of the Christian business man of the twenties who interpreted Jesus as a successful business executive. And he wonders what a certain tense young man who smokes, drinks, and—

so far as one can guess—practices birth control could possibly have meant when he rose in a public gathering to assure Mr. Nehru that "we intellectuals in America want you to know how much Gandhi means to us."

WITH this aspect of the matter "Religion and World Culture" concerns itself little, but the two symposia are drawn together by a question to which all the "intellectuals" were asked to reply. Is "the present revival of religion" due to "the worldwide failure and defeat of a real radical movement in politics" and to "a renunciation of hopes for any fundamental social improvement"? And the group to which this question was not specifically posed is the group which seems most united in a sort of implied answer to it and which takes what might be called the more consistently secular attitude. Most of even those members who are professionally concerned with religion seem to assume that religion is important chiefly because of its social utility and have little to say of the religious experience as a personal thing or of what salvation for an individual soul may mean. In one way or another most of them are occupied with the question whether or not religion can oppose the evils which accompany world revolution, technological development, statism, or what not.

In other words, both the question actually posed to the intellectuals and the answer to it which seems often accepted by the members of the other group tend to prejudice the discussion because they are thoroughly secular. They seem to assume that both the real cause and the real importance of any phenomenon must necessarily be sociological, and thereby incline if they do not actually force the reader to conclude that any "revival of religion" must be, not a religious or even a philosophical movement, but simply a "reaction" to something more fundamental. Marianne Moore implies a protest when she writes as the first of a characteristic series of detached sentences, "The helplessness of individuals and of society I

**Religion and the Intellectuals*. Partisan Review Series. Number Three. 80 cents.
Religious Faith and World Culture. Edited by William Loos. Prentice-Hall. \$5.

attribute to breakdown in the individual." R. P. Blackmur, on the other hand, states very simply and explicitly a thesis which the habits of mind dominant in the phrasing of the questionnaire led its formulators to overlook. "I should not suppose that the revival of religion is in any way a result of the failure of radical politics, nor that religion could remedy any breakdown in the organization of society. I should prefer to believe the political failure and breakdown in organization resulted from prior or parallel failure of response to religious experience."

Considered from this point of view—and I think it is the most fruitful one—the "revival of religion" is not, strictly speaking, either religious or a revival, for nothing, neither a religion nor anything else, has actually been revived. What has really come about is simply the realization that naturalistic positivism has not worked very well and that it has not worked very well because it has failed to establish those norms of conduct which the individual as well as society needs for successful living. What "the intellectuals" have been experiencing is less the discovery of a faith than the loss of one—the loss, that is to say, of their faith in irreligion, for late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century naturalism was a positive and not merely a negative thing, the declaration of a conviction that scientific materialism, relativism, and doubt were capable of supplying whatever we need to live by. Thus the so-called "revival of religion" is a loss of faith in skepticism rather than a decline in skepticism about faith. And that of course explains why the positive aspects of the "revival" are so shoddy; why "intellectuals" so often either adopt Waugh's pietist snobbery or, even more commonly, profess, not their belief in God, but their conviction that it would be a fine thing for "culture" if everybody did believe. Strachey once remarked that whereas to most Victorians the loss of their religion was the shedding of a burden, there were a few, like Clough, to whom it seemed the loss of a portmanteau full of necessary articles which they spent the rest of their lives looking for. Most intellectuals belonged formerly to the first class; more and more of them have been joining the second.

What seems to me increasingly clear is simply that scientific materialism, Marxist determinism, and the anthropologist's relativism are alike incapable of providing certain things which we cannot get along without. To accept any one of them as a complete account of reality is to find ourselves in a position where it is impossible to believe either that one thing is better, absolutely, than another or that we are capable of deciding to do one thing rather than another. It is to deny free will and to declare that all value judgments are ultimately invalid. Neither the individual nor society can function successfully under such conditions.

I strongly doubt that any considerable number of "intellectuals" find either the concept of revelation or Christianity as an institution congenial in itself. Mysteries, sacraments, dogmas, and scholastic metaphysics are all stumbling-blocks. But a Christian can believe in the effectiveness of his own decisions, and he can make value judgments. To gain these two inestimable privileges a considerable number of people, seeing no other way of achieving them, make a desperate effort to believe that they can accept a faith upon which they were once based.

The Chinese-Soviet Axis

MAO'S CHINA: PARTY REFORM DOCUMENTS, 1942-44. Translation and Introduction by Boyd Compton. University of Washington Press. \$4.50.

ONE cause of the current open season on China specialists has been a bifurcation in the American approach to Chinese communism. Formerly, American specialists on China seldom worked on international communism, while specialists on communism seldom worked on China. The result was that those who approached the Chinese Communist revolution by way of Moscow could see it as mainly an achievement of the Comintern, or at least of the Leninist philosophy and technique of revolution. Those who approached the same scene, however, by way of China's domestic history over the last century could see a steadily developing revolutionary movement within China which, in its latest phase, had been "captured" by the Communist leadership. Henceforth neither of

these approaches (whatever their merit in the past) will any longer be adequate for the understanding of Communist China. The internecine Sinological warfare of recent months may continue in some measure until these two approaches are synthesized and resolved into one, but resolved they must be, sooner or later. We shall have no China policy adequate to our needs until we understand how China today can be both Chinese and Communist.

Boyd Compton's volume, "Mao's China," provides important documentation for this purpose. His selection of "party reform documents" from the period 1942-44 can give American readers direct insight into the Leninist ideology which underlies Maoism. Mr. Compton has translated a score of key statements by Mao and other Chinese party leaders, excluding writings of Stalin and other non-Chinese which were used in the reform movement but are already available in English. The resulting volume is one of the University of Washington publications on Asia sponsored by its Far Eastern and Russian Institute and published with the assistance of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. Compton's illuminating forty-page introduction analyzes the position of the Chinese Communist Party during the early years of the anti-Japanese war: In its war bases in North China—the "border region" and the "liberated areas"—the party found itself facing great opportunities and dangers. As part of its united-front line, it supported "coalition governments" in which Communists, Nationalists, and non-party persons were equally represented in form, even though the Communists held the final power in the background. Similarly, in this "Yenan" period, the Communists made an appeal both to the tenants and the landlords by seeking a reduction of rent and interest rates, yet at the same time guaranteeing rent and interest payments.

The very moderation of this program by which the Communists gained hegemony and local power in North China created severe internal problems within the party. During the war against Japan the party membership increased some twelvefold. A tremendous number of enthusiastic youth and patriotic followers of Mao's "new democracy" had

to be assimilated into a party which in its basic philosophy had remained Leninist and committed to "democratic centralism." To complicate this problem, the war bases were separated among the Japanese-held communication routes. Centralized control through the movement of personnel or a central police power was all but impossible. In a situation where radio contact was the main cohesive device, a great premium had to be put upon ideological, as opposed to administrative, unity. Mr. Compton sees the party-reform (*Cheng-feng*) movement as principally an effort to use the doctrines of orthodox Communism (in their Maoist adaptation for China) as a means for maintaining unified control, raising the level of political sophistication of the party membership, assimilating the new recruits of the war-time period, and thereby regulating the course of the party's growth and political development.

The reform movement was inaugurated by Mao in February, 1942. It was the forerunner of the present-day movement for study, self-criticism, and investigation, which now has reached a more violent level on a broader plane. A decade ago, however, self-criticism and public confession were already Chinese Communist techniques, although Mr. Compton believes the movement did not become and should not be called a "purge" in the usual Russian sense of the term.

From the internal-party point of view, Mr. Compton suggests that the reform movement was used by Mao to effect the final consolidation of his leadership as against that of the group of Moscow-trained Chinese Communists under Wang Ming, who had remained his chief rivals since their return from Russia in the early 1930's. As evidence for this thesis he cites the fact that none of these reform documents was produced by this Russia-returned group. A major effort of the "ideological remolding" was "the eradication of dogmatism—dogmatism of all types, but principally dogmatic imitation of Russian models." This did not mean a repudiation of Stalinism at all, but rather a repudiation of dogmatic theorizing. "Mao's idea of a real theoretician in 1942 was one who had done as much organizing as he had reading. The object of the movement was the bolshevization of the Chinese

party in the sense that the Chinese Communists took a 'greatly intensified interest in any lessons it could take from the experience of the Russian party.'" Mao's "new democracy" had already accepted the Stalinist interpretation of Chinese history and the orthodox bolshevik view of the class struggle and of the function and organization of the centralized party. The net result was a "greatly increased rate of absorption" of the Russian message for the Chinese revolution.

The greatest significance of *Cheng-feng* was Mao's insistence that Marxism be made Chinese. This effort at the Sinitification of Marxism and the development of writings which were Marxist in principle but Chinese in content, contributed to the final amalgam—a Chinese Communist doctrine ("Maoism") based on orthodox Stalinism. This provides the occasion for China's being today the junior partner in an axis, rather than a satellite of the Eastern European variety.

As we watch the application of the Maoist adaptation of Stalinism to the Chinese scene, we are not likely to find reassurance that Communist China must soon break with Russia. On the contrary, we should derive a keener sense of the failure of the West in the generation before the 1940's to offer China an adaptation of its own principles which could be more effectively applied to meet the needs of Chinese life. This was, of course, a task for Chinese leadership in China, not for Westerners; yet the fact remains that the liberal-democratic West was not able to provide an equally streamlined method for the organization and consolidation of revolutionary power. The American people, who had contributed so much to the development of China's social revolution, could not suggest to the new China how her political revolution might be organized and channeled. Political revolutions, of course, gravitate toward dictatorship, and we have few teachings to offer to dictators. Yet it seems plain that the organization of power in China was the essential ingredient which the Western democratic model could not provide. Indeed, this lack had already been acknowledged by Sun Yat-sen when he turned to Comintern help in 1923 and by Chiang Kai-shek thereafter when he based his



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power increasingly on the Kuomintang apparatus. It is still the major problem which Western democracy faces in Asia.

J. K. FAIRBANK

Gothic Novel

THE MONK. By Matthew Gregory Lewis. The Grove Press. \$4.75.

THE MONK" was written in 1794 when its author was nineteen. It was enormously popular for some years, gained him the sobriquet of "Monk Lewis," the friendship, later, of Byron and Scott, and the reputation of having written one memorable book. After the third edition it was expurgated, though what was deleted to suit contemporary proprieties is no more shocking than what was allowed to remain. Little read since the early nineteenth century, it has been reprinted in its entirety by the Grove Press with a valuable introduction by John Berryman.

It is an authentic prodigy of great aesthetic and psychological interest, a sensational example of how far a novelist whose experience must have been slight can go on little more—but how important these are "The Monk" witnesses—than imagination and feeling. Further, Lewis followed a fashion in writing which regularly produced bad novels, this one, and "The Mysteries of Udolpho" and "The Italian" by Ann Radcliffe excepted. The fashion was that of the Gothic novel, a kind of fiction which succeeded very well for a few decades in disturbing pleasantly the nervous systems of idle women. It was derided by the best critics of its brief day, but it, and "The Monk" in particular, did influence, along with many others, Scott, Hoffmann, Poe, Hawthorne, and Emily Brontë.

The triple plot has all the trappings of such fiction, touching on, to list a few characters and "subjects," one unjustly imprisoned and one ghostly and bleeding nun—Coleridge found the tale of the latter "truly terrific"—a villainous prioress, the wandering Jew, a baleful beauty who sells herself, most profitably, to the Devil, rape, incest, matricide, three serious cases of injured innocence, bandits, ruined castles, and the Spanish Inquisition.

Ambrosio, the monk of the title, gives life to some of these clichés; his history soars above the others, though the book

is highly readable as a whole. He is a triumph of the imagination. By ancestry he comes of a long line of malign Roman Catholic clerics invented by Protestant propaganda. But he is also a genuinely Faustian character. Lewis' rationalism is superficial and conventional. As he writes he genuflects regularly and perfunctorily before the eighteenth-century detestation of what was usually called "monkish superstition" and then hastens about his real business, the formulation of the thought and feeling of a man who manages, slowly but utterly, to damn himself, though to make damnation certain he must summon up the Devil.

We are told in the opening chapter that Ambrosio, the idolized confessor and preacher to a vaguely sketched Renaissance Madrid, is at heart a hypocrite, proud and vengeful, his original goodness corrupted by his training. Until he is thirty, however, his outer life is innocent. Lust is the beginning of his ruin. It is first aroused by Matilda, herself a remarkable creation, who, out of what she considers platonic passion, contrives to live with him disguised as a novice. The rapid shifts from mutual self-deception about what they seek from one another to mutual seduction and then to satiety on Ambrosio's part are finely drawn. Then, in a crescendo, he seems to take the management of the book into his own hands. He falls in love with the pathetic Antonia. Love becomes lust, and he murders her mother when she interrupts him in attempted rape. He succeeds at a second effort, but hard on success comes self-loathing and remorse. By this time the officers of the Inquisition are at the door and he signs a contract with the Devil too late to save himself from minutely described earthly torments and consignment to eternal flames.

Lewis makes all this very important. His imagination and his feeling infuse the most tritely shocking situations with life and meaning. He never loses sight of the center of his imagined panorama: an immortal soul is in balance. The novel gets better and better toward the end as the other characters disappear and Ambrosio is left almost alone with the Evil which attracts and repels him. For Lewis had a fully developed if not subtle awareness of Evil and was able to give a convincing body to his imagin-

ings of the ways in which fallible mortality responds to its blandishments. Though the history of the century and one half subsequent to the appearance of "The Monk" has diminished the capacity for feeling and believing as spontaneously and as strongly as he did, yet reading him—this boy!—one cannot avoid sharing, if only for the moment, his central preoccupation.

ERNEST JONES

"Nothing But a Painter"

GUSTAVE COURBET. By Gerstle Mack. Alfred A. Knopf. \$6.

COURBET. Texte de Pierre MacOrlan. Paris: Editions du Dimanche (at Wittenborn and Company, \$8.75).

TO HIS valuable biographies of Cézanne and Toulouse-Lautrec, Gerstle Mack has now added a third, of like stature. All three are strictly compilations of fact in chronological order. As such, they provide indispensable reference points for critical interpretation—which Mack leaves for others. The sixty illustrations, of rather poor quality, combine documentary photographs with an adequate selection of Courbet's work. A full index is included, as well as notes to sources and a map of the Besançon-Ornans region, where Courbet painted when he was not in Paris, and of western Switzerland, where he spent his final years in exile.

"Shout loudly and march straight ahead!" This maxim, which Courbet inherited from his grandfather, became a sort of leit-motif for Courbet himself. His conceit was (like his nudes) ponderous, but his joviality made it endurable, even as his massive good looks made it plausible. For sheer aggressive virility among painters, Goya and perhaps Caravaggio are his only real competitors. A living rival in another field, once accused of wearing false hair on his chest, is hardly in the running.

Courbet was "nothing but a painter," says Mack, referring to his misadventures in politics and elsewhere. This is so exactly true that one may fairly ask how much any biography of Gustave Courbet can reveal of the artist by the same name. His social origins are certainly relevant, as is the geography of his homeland. In addition, the facts of his life clarify the literal-mindedness which sometimes inspired and sometimes

destroyed his plastic power. It is reassuring to observe, in the full detail that Mack affords, that Courbet's healthy sensuality was as strong—and as external—in his life as it was in his art.

In a much too flowery essay, MacOrlan attempts an interpretation of Courbet. The most interesting part of it relates the hunting pictures to Courbet's own prowess as a huntsman. Here life and art overlap in a sort of "natural brutality." But Courbet was also capable of a distinctly erotic tenderness, which in certain passages rivals Correggio (Sleeping Girls, for example). The common factor in this paradox, MacOrlan suggests, is the sensation of physical touch. In Courbet, hand and brush are hardly distinguishable: one was the extension of the other.

The plaes accompanying MacOrlan's essay, particularly the superb details, make this clear enough. In addition, they extend the range of Courbet's work beyond Mack's somewhat conventional selection of examples. Lot and his Daughters, a rarely reproduced early work (wrongly described by Mack), is included; but there are no still-lives, no Etretat cliffs, and none of the late, surprisingly ethereal marines. I do not mean The Wave, which is, after all, a kind of self-portrait.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

After Reconstruction

ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH, 1877-1913. By C. Vann Woodward. A History of the South, IX. Edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. Louisiana State University Press. \$6.50.

WE ARE in favor," announced a Vicksburg, Mississippi, editor in 1881, "of the South, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, being thoroughly and permanently Yankeeized." His whole section might have subscribed to another newspaper headline: "MEN OF MILLIONS TO REDEEM THE SOUTH." Never before had rape been so "desperately sought, implored, cajoled." Symbolic of the return of the South to the restored Union and of its willing subordination to Northern industrial dominance was the marriage of a North Carolina belle to the seventy-one-year-old oil magnate, Henry M. Flagler, who commemorated his con-

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LET THERE BE BREAD

By ROBERT BRITAIN. With a foreword by Lord John Boyd Orr. 244 Pages. \$3. SIMON AND SCHUSTER, PUBLISHERS

quest by erecting a \$2,500,000 palace for his bride at Palm Beach.

The process by which the Southern states, after four desperate years of Civil War and a decade of Reconstruction disorder, became reintegrated into the economy and politics of the Union has been a subject little explored by historians. There are more than enough books on the ante-bellum South, slavery, the Confederacy, and the politics of Reconstruction, and on a later era one has the invaluable work of Howard Odum, Rupert Vance, and V. O. Key; but the intervening era, from Reconstruction to New Deal, has remained a lost period to most American historians.

With the publication of C. Vann Woodward's "Origins of the New South, 1877-1913," there can no longer be any justification for ignoring a period and a process which deserve careful study. As one might expect from Professor Woodward's earlier writings on Southern history—"Tom Watson" (1938), still the best biography of any Populist leader, and "Reunion and Reaction" (1951), an almost revolutionary reappraisal of economic forces during Reconstruction—this is a book that is crammed with facts and with ideas. Based upon vast research, presented with critical objectivity, and written with clarity and at times with wry wit,

"Origins of the New South" is as important as it is provocative.

The most outstanding thing about this latest, and perhaps best, volume in the "History of the South," being published by the Louisiana State University Press, is its lack of Southernness. This is not a book about magnolias and happy pickaninnies. Instead, it is a realistic reappraisal of basic social and economic forces in the South seen against a national background. If Ohio had a John D. Rockefeller, North Carolina had a James B. Duke, and not even "the standard mustache and goatee" of the Southern robber baron could make him differ very much from his Northern counterpart. "Let buffalo gore buffalo, and the pasture go to the strongest" was the motto of the Bull Durham tobacco firm, and other Southerners likewise attempted to apply social Darwinism to the post-war economic struggle. They might talk with drawls or dress like Confederate colonels, but these captains of industry were as hard and unscrupulous as they were successful. Lending money to farmers at interest rates of 43 per cent or more, exploiting mill labor at an hourly wage of not quite 3 cents in 1890, extracting favors from purchasable legislatures, these champions of the New South liked to fancy themselves as the successors of the ante-bellum gentry. Writing of this

"social revolution the most unrecorded and undepicted, in proportion to its magnitude, that ever was," Henry James rightly saw "this reversion . . . to the things of the heroic age, the four epic years," as "a definite soothing salve."

Dissatisfaction and discontent with these lords of creation could be heard, but the protests were ineffective. The Southern Negro was at the bottom of the economic order, and he remained there. Bourbons might exploit his vote or Populists disfranchise him, but it made little difference so long as he was virtually a peon on farm or in factory. His brief day of political achievement during Reconstruction was forgotten, and his new leader, Booker T. Washington, gave him soothing syrup in "a gospel of conservatism, patience, and material progress."

Southern white farmers were more articulate but equally impotent. The gains of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist movements were bartered away in the shabby politicking of their leaders. "With the agrarian radicals in alliance with the party of big business and the party of white supremacy in combination with Negroes against lower-class whites," Professor Woodward observes, "it was little wonder that the masses lost confidence and became apathetic." A Watson or a Tillman of the 1890's, if often misguided, had some constructive proposals; a Blease or a Bilbo, who succeeded to Southern leadership, never "rose above the level of an obscene clown."

In one essential way, however, this "New South" was different from the rest of the rapidly industrializing nation. With its late start and its heavy handicaps, the whole area became an economic colony of the Northeast. Southern railroads, Southern steel, Southern banking, Southern plantations came under the control of Northern capital. Southern business leaders could migrate or remain as puppets in their native region. "Cut off from the better-paying jobs and the higher opportunities, the great majority of Southerners were confined to the worn grooves of a tributary economy. . . . The inevitable result was the further intensification of the old problems of worn-out soil, cut-over timber lands, and worked-out mines."

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Today's Southern problem is the result of the historical processes which Professor Woodward so admirably analyzes. Perhaps one of the most hopeful things about the present-day South is the fact that such Southerners as Mr. Woodward can think so critically and write so clearly about its past.

DAVID DONALD

Films

MANNY
FARBER

HOLLYWOOD films were once in the hands of non-intellectuals who achieved, at best, the truth of American life and the excitement of American movement in simple-minded action stories. Around 1940 a swarm of bright locusts from the Broadway theaters and radio stations descended on the studios and won Hollywood away from the innocent, rough-and-ready directors of action films. The big thing that happened was that a sort of intellectual whose eyes had been trained on the crowded, bound-in terrain of Times Square and whose brain had been sharpened on left-wing letters of the thirties, swerved Hollywood story-telling toward fragmented, symbol-charged drama, closely viewed, erratically acted, and deviously given to sniping at their own society. What Welles, Kanin, Sturges, and Huston did to the American film is evident in the screen version of Dreiser's "Sister Carrie," which is less important for its story than for the grim social comment underscoring every shot.

You first see Carrie Meeber, rural and naive (Jennifer Jones), rushing to get off a daycoach while a drummer tells her she is making a mistake: "South Chicago? That's the slums." The remark, which makes a 1909 masher sound like a 1952 social worker, is full of meanings that the movie audience by now is wise to, and the writers need only touch on Carrie's first threadbare months in the city. The next few scenes are also immersed in social significance and accomplish the same kind of half-implicit story-telling. One of them shows a crabby foreman driving Carrie so relentlessly that she runs a needle through her finger and loses her job as a shoe-stitcher. Since the fore-

man is played by a spidery bit player always type-cast as a mean "pinch-penny," and since his dialogue runs to sentences like "Here's a dollar, a whole day's pay," the spectator has picked up a quick course in non-union labor in no more than two minutes of screen time.

The most important aspect of all this social significance is its prejudice against Americans, who are being ridiculed in films as completely as they were in the writings of Mencken. In this movie, the bias is managed, Mencken fashion, by treating people as "national" or "local" types rather than ordinary figures, and then casting the roles with actors who love to over-act uncharming traits. Carrie's first amour is played by Eddie Albert, whose portrayal of an American "go-getter" consists of flashing a big, lopsided grin, twirling a heavy gold watch and using his voice like a loud musical instrument. Somehow the heroine, whose strong point is her essential gentleness, puts up with this caricature who opens every conversation with either a belch or a couplet: "Charley's the name, charm's the game!" When Carrie and her second lover, the sleek restaurant owner Hurstwood, skip to New York with his partner's money, they are tracked down by a detective from the Western Bonding Company. The acting of this leering, gum-chewing slob is rendered by Ray Teal, who has a penchant for using one eye as though it belonged to a cruel pig and working a rich, sneering sound into his voice. Hurstwood's decline takes him into a Third Avenue hash house run by the sort of confident, ruthless Irishman Barry Kelley has been enacting since he entered films. The cameraman helps

Kelley to look repugnant and slovenly with floor-shots that exaggerate his huge belly and the lazy, tyrannical way in which he lolls in a chair. And finally, Hurstwood's wife, rich shrew that she is, turns up near the end to trade him a divorce for the rights to their Chicago home. Miriam Hopkins plays the scene by holding her mouth in a single grim line and keeping a rigid, buzzard-like look in her eyes.

One of the cardinal elements of the Times Square technique introduced in the era of "McGinty," "Citizen Kane," "A Man to Remember," and "The Maltese Falcon" was the use of very close, snarling presentation which put the actors practically in a nose-to-nose relationship with the movie spectator. The entire production of "Carrie" is thrown at you in shallow scenes, the actors arranged parallel-fashion and statically on the front plane of the scene so that their physical presence is overpowering. The film was fortunate in having Laurence Olivier as the high-powered Hurstwood, all delicacy, intelligence, and high style up to his last weakened whispers on the Bowery. But after an hour of close views Olivier becomes less a figure than a formidable mustache, a mouth that has a tendency to flap, and poignant hands that sometimes mimic the gestures of madonnas in medieval painting. In one of the last views of the pitiable Hurstwood his ravaged face is exposed to Carrie as she turns a lamp on it. The fact that Hurstwood is ashamed to show himself seems next to ludicrous after an hour spent watching his face disintegrate over most of the screen.

"Carrie" is also fortunate in having

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a handsome production all around, but in the deliberate and magnified style to which Hollywood has turned, lightness of touch is impossible. When the camera dollies slowly over the cubicles of a flop-house (the big "art" scene) one has the feeling that the director is working with material that is as heavy and dignified as a Steinway grand inlaid with precious stones.

"Outcast of the Islands." A lesser Conrad story, showing the evil consequences of a tropical environment on a chivalrous, well-meaning leech. Starring Trevor Howard, who is surprisingly credible as a feverishly bored ne'er-do-well getting hot over a native girl who confines all her acting to moving her eyes. Despite some bad casting (Robert Morley and his daughter), Director Carol Reed has created an exceptional film that entangles the spectator in tropical textures and worries him with the shame and guilt of a hero who betrays only his friends. Alongside Reed's film, "African Queen" looks as if it had been shot in Palm Beach.

Drama Note

OF THEE I SING" (Ziegfeld Theater) is worth going to, of course, just for the music. Aside from that, it is still funny and gay and in this long-

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faced period the spirit of the piece, the humor and confidence with which it sets Supreme Court Justices dancing and cuts a wide farcical swath through Presidential politics, is somehow reassuring as well as refreshing.

The book has been revised to make it topical for 1952 and though some of the changes don't come off, many of them do—the sequence of election-night bulletins, for instance, is hilarious.

Jack Carson didn't seem to me a good choice for John P. Wintergreen. On the other hand, I was determined in advance not to accept Paul Hartman as a replacement for Victor Moore and then was quite won over by Mr. Hartman's own very different and distinctive quality. Betty Oakes is appropriately cast as Wintergreen's partner on his platform of Love and as the traditional nice girl of musical comedy. Lenore Lonergan is right too as the siren with a Southern drawl whose amateur standing is never quite dispelled. The rest of the company has the necessary competence and gusto.

M. M.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

SOME time ago Allegro issued a recording of part of Bach's *Clavierübung* Part 3: the opening Prelude and closing Fugue in E flat, and in between the longer and more elaborate Chorale Preludes. Now Decca gives us Part 3 complete—with, in addition, the shorter and simpler Chorale Preludes, and the Four Duets. For me the great music in the work is the magnificent Prelude and several of the longer Chorale Preludes—*Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit; Kyrie, Gott, heiliger Geist; Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot; Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, Schöpfer*—with the Fugue impressive as a piece of fugal construction rather than moving as a piece of music. The shorter Chorale Preludes I find less interesting; the Duets very dull. Except for the Duets, which are played on the harpsichord, the pieces are played by Helmut Walcha on the St. Jakobi organ in Lübeck and the Schnitger organ in Cappel. The sound is bright and, for the most part, clear (I have given up hope of ever hearing

a clear reproduction of the opening of the Prelude), but occasionally not clean. I like the slower tempos and the continuity of Noehren's performances on the Allegro records; but the sound is less bright and the surfaces are noisy.

From Columbia comes the third record in the series Bach's *Royal Instrument*, with the great Passacaglia in C minor and Toccata and Fugue in D minor, the fine Concerto in D minor after Vivaldi, the little G minor Fugue, and the uninteresting Fugue in C ("Fanfare"), played by E. Power Biggs on the organ in Symphony Hall, Boston. The performances of the Passacaglia and the Concerto are good; the one of the Toccata and Fugue is the less effective for its long pauses. This record is free of the shattering and the noisy confusion from reverberation that afflicted the first two of the series; but in loud passages the thick sounds of the Symphony Hall organ coalesce into a mass in which the strands of the contrapuntal texture can't be distinguished; and one wonders again why Biggs uses this organ instead of the one in Harvard's Germanic Museum.

Another Columbia recording has given me a second hearing of Mahler's Symphony No. 8, the so-called "Symphony of a Thousand" for orchestra, three choruses, and soloists. When Stokowski performed the work with the New York Philharmonic two years ago the first part, the "Veni, Creator Spiritus," impressed me as "twenty-five minutes of frenetically apocalyptic ranting"; this time I subtract the few minutes of a quiet and lovely interlude in the ranting. As for the second part, the final scene of Goethe's "Faust," which two years ago I found to be "more agreeable, but . . . much the same thing over and over again for almost an hour," I am struck this time by the fact that it is, even at the start, what one has heard over and over again in previous works. The records offer a performance in which Scherchen conducts the Vienna Symphony, the Vienna Kammerchor, Singakademie, and Sängerknaben, Elsa Maria Matheis and Daniza Ilitsch, sopranos (both excellent), Rosette Anday and Georgine Milinkovic, contraltos (both with formidable tremolo), and Erich Majkut, tenor, Georg Oeggel, baritone, and Hugo Weiner, bass (all good). Though the recording was made

at a concert the sound of the second part is good in every respect including balance of orchestra, choruses, and soloists, whereas in the first part the soloists are close, the orchestra distant, and the sound strident and not clean—some of the high notes of the solo soprano coming through as unpleasant screams.

Completing my report on the Columbia LP dubbings of Weingartner recordings of Beethoven symphonies, I find the performance of No. 1 the most satisfying of the series—the work being one that suffers least from the characteristic lack of energy and cohesive tension; and the recorded sound is good with bass reduced and treble stepped up. The first three movements of No. 4 also are satisfactorily played, but the slow tempo lessens the effect of the finale; the recorded sound needs stepping up of treble, which makes it coarse, and there are the noise of shellac surfaces in the first two movements and some high-frequency hash in the finale. I think it is the lack of energy and cohesive tension, not just the slow tempos, that makes the performance of No. 5 seem sluggish; the sound of the first movement requires treble to be stepped up a lot, which makes the brighter sound unclear; and there are noisy crackling in the second movement, high-frequency hash near the end. The first movement of No. 6 is graceless, the rest satisfactory; the sound of the first, second, and last movements lacks brightness even with treble stepped up, and the first two have the noise of shellac surfaces. The first movement of No. 7 is sluggish, but the tempos of the later movements are good; bass needs stepping up and treble needs stepping up a lot, which makes the brighter sound unclear; and the finale gets dim and requires some high-frequency hash. No. 2 I didn't receive.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN K. FAIRBANK, author of "The United States and China," is an associate chairman of the China Program of the Committee on International and Regional Studies at Harvard University.

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May 17, 1952

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Sex Guideposts: Confusing the Is with the Ought

Dear Sirs: A word on In Defense of Current Sex Studies, which appeared in your March 15 issue. This article proposes that "the best and quickest way to establish . . . sexual guideposts would be to have many research projects." This naive assumption is totally without foundation in fact. When in human history have ideals of any type been established by means of statistics?

Ideals—which, for some reason, sexologists call "guideposts"—by definition are distinct from reality. The majority of people are not particularly brave; nor do they love their neighbor. This fact does not affect one whit the validity of heroism and brotherly love as *ideals*. Whence this peculiar idea that we must model the "ought" on the "is"? The day when ideals are patterned after the real—or what is alleged to be real—will mark the end of any ethical tradition that is noble or profound.

LAURA COMMON

New York

Voters for Douglas

Dear Sirs: Recent political statements have revealed that there is but one man among the many mentioned for the nomination for the presidency who possesses the wisdom and courage required to grapple with the complex international and political problems which beset us. That man is Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court.

Justice Douglas's views, stated on the bench and off, have consistently evoked a tremendous amount of favorable comment throughout the nation. In spite of this, there has been little inclination by political leaders seriously to consider him for the nomination. Although many newspapers and magazines have editorially favored and have indicated the existence of strong popular sentiment for his candidacy, this sentiment has not yet been expressed in a movement designed to secure the nomination for Douglas.

Independent Voters for Douglas has been organized as a rallying point for Americans of all political faiths who feel it is time that our nation dispense with mediocre political leadership and

once more elect men of stature and maturity to our highest office.

Those who are interested in supporting the committee should address their inquiries to Independent Voters for Douglas, Box 1572, Grand Central Station, New York 17, New York.

BERNARD R. SORKIN

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New York

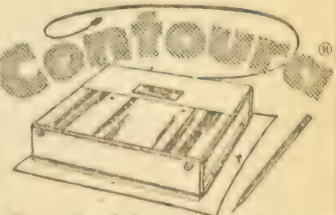
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umns of *The Nation* that now I would
like to say a word about it myself.

Mr. Shelton, the reviewer, misses the
point of my book if he really thinks
what he says in his letter [*The Nation*,
May 3], that the subtitle, "Rich Man's
Division of the Welfare State," is a
wisecrack.

The book shows that the economic
royalists whom the New Deal held at
bay have now captured control of the
strong central government which was
created to defend the traditional victims
of the royalists from continued victimi-
zation. The book assigns the blame for
this to both President Truman and
Congress.

Furthermore, the book gives repeated
instances of industrialists' and business
men's reliance on the strong govern-
ment for favors, competitive advantage,
and financing, even as they pretend to
belabor the strong government. In other
words, the kind of government that
Franklin D. Roosevelt gave us has been
thoroughly perverted. The narrative of
the book serves to illustrate the above
points.

Washington

BLAIR BOLLES

Course Offered on Problems of Race Violence

Dear Sirs: I think some of your readers
would be interested to know of a semi-
nar to be held by the University of Chi-
cago Law School during its summer
session (July 14 to 28). Because racial
violence has been increasing recently
and because the handling of such inci-
dents is an important test of democratic
practices, the Law School is sponsoring
a special seminar, headed by Joseph D.
Lohmon, on Police and Racial Ten-
sions. The seminar, primarily designed
for law-enforcement officers, will cover
specific incidents of race violence, po-
lice practices in treating violence, the
law on segregation and discrimination,
techniques which will increase the ca-
pacity of the police to deal effectively
with racial tensions, etc. The partici-
pants include well-known sociologists,
lawyers, psychoanalysts, and social sci-
entists as well as police officials who have
had long experience with race vio-
lence. The National Conference of
Christians and Jews has expressed a
willingness to offer scholarships to rep-
resentatives of those police departments
whose budgets do not include funds
which could be used to cover the cost of
tuition.

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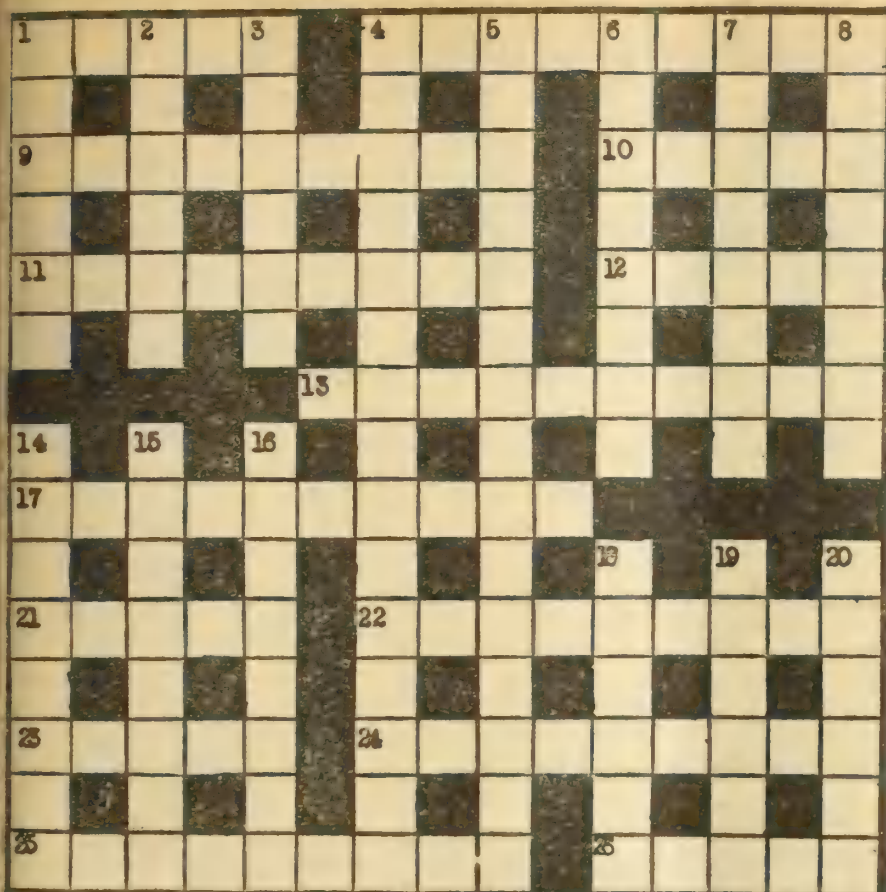
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Crossword Puzzle No. 465

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 It's nothing to a would-be fireman—that's the funny part of it! (5)
- 4 Hubble-bubbles. (9)
- 9 Fine, under which we get rough. (9)
- 10 Should be something like the Isle of Man! (5).
- 11 China could lose a certain amount of soil in inundation if this is applied. (9)
- 12 This name leads by association to a parting song, or to its composer. (5)
- 13 Perhaps indulge in "Sweet Adeline" about the club, but you'd be incoherent if you were. (10)
- 17 Extremely brave, with the nose broken in the middle. (10)
- 21 The way your house is finished should be certainly more than an idle thought! (2, 3)
- 22 One cinder is needed on the inside. (9)
- 23 and 24. Occupied with a familiar line of chatter. (2, 3, 9)
- 25 The anticipation of getting an estate for small change. (9)
- 26 and 1 down. Off base like an old rabbit? (3, 2, 6)

DOWN

- 1 See 26 across.
- 2 25 doesn't take tea here with Sherwood for example. (6)
- 8 Even other than cheap skates wouldn't cut much of a figure here! (6)

- 4 Mine stops, but not exactly after the sergeant goes crazy. (3, 6, 6)
- 5 Communist, pallid and discouraged, doesn't show his true colors. (3, 5, 3, 4)
- 6 It should find its mark, with zero if it's bad. (8)
- 7 The reasoning about its getting up pertains to supply. (8)
- 8 Would you stand for them if they painted you on your feet? (8)
- 14 Get along (but not if you have a chip on your shoulder and someone else does). (3, 2, 3)
- 15 Does one hold a fitting position (or is he involved in a "fix")? (7)
- 16 If you take the advice of Polonius, you'll not give it or get it! (8)
- 18 The destroyer of Carthage was a Minor. (6)
- 19 Fade away. (Like the color, if it sounds like this?) (3, 3)
- 20 Concerning this, the enemy comes up to her. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 464

ACROSS:—1 STAFF SERGEANTS; 9 COROLLA; 10 NARRATE; 11 NECROLOGY; 12 OILED; 13 SENECA; 15 ANDIRON; 16 ONAGERS; 17 KATYDID; 20 YEAST; 21 EVAPORATED; 23 ATTIRE; 24 ANIMALS; 25 DRESS DESIGNERS.

DOWN:—1 SECOND STORY MAN; 2 AFRICAN; 3 FELLOW CREATURES; 4 ERATO; 5 GUNNY SACK; 6 AIR CONDITIONING; 7 TRAILER; 8 WEDDING DRESSES; 14 SUSPENDED; 17 ADAPTER; 19 DIABASE; 22 AMASS.

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2. NATIONALISM • Friend or Foe of Democracy

H. E. Abba Eban, Ambassador of Israel to the United States

H. E. Ambassador L. N. Palar, permanent representative of Indonesia to the United Nations

Discussion

Afternoon Session—2 P.M.

Presiding: Dr. Dewey Anderson, Executive Director, Public Affairs Institute

1. MILITARY BASES AND THE LOYALTY OF PEOPLES

Kingsley Martin, Editor, The New Statesman and Nation of London

Dr. Benjamin Rivlin, Professor of Political Science, Brooklyn College

Discussion

**2. OIL, LAND REFORM, DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN AND
NATURAL RESOURCES • Pathways to Peace and Democracy**

Dr. H. J. van Mook, Director, Public Administration Division of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration

Prof. Reza Zadeh Shafaq, Professor of Political Science, Teheran University; visiting Professor, Middle East Institute, Columbia University

Discussion

Dinner Forum—7 P.M.

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Steelworkers Will Fight—Willard Shelton

THE *Nation*

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May 24, 1952

Germany: Last Chance

A British Quaker Views Our Policy

BY GERALD BAILEY

✱

Warren of California

A Study in Political Growth

BY HERBERT L. PHILLIPS

✱

Norway's Little Point Four

Small Country, Big Plan

BY ERLING BJOL

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Mormons and the Negro

St. Paul, Minn.

ACCORDING to Mormon theology the status of the Negro on earth was determined in the "pre-existent" state, specifically in the War in Heaven (Revelation 12:4, 7). As everyone knows, Lucifer rebelled and was "cast down," taking with him one-third of the hosts of Heaven. These are the sons of perdition. Michael clearly had a majority with him, some more active supporters than others. Although I can find no Scriptural basis for it, I have heard it said that the *active* pro-Michael group was no more than one-third. The other third "sat on the fence," refusing to take sides. The latter, in the Mormon lore of my boyhood days, was identified as the Negro. This places him in a sort of never-never land, a twilight zone between the Satanic hosts and those who were ready to be counted on the side of Michael. Thus the blessings of the Mormon Church cannot be extended to anyone with Negro "blood."

This unfortunate policy of the church is a source of embarrassment and humiliation to thousands of its members (the writer among them) who find no basis for it in the teachings of Jesus, whom all Mormons accept as the Saviour. The issue has become increasingly important as members of the church outside of Utah and adjacent states have increased rapidly in recent years and are brought into direct contact with Negroes, and who see their fellow-Christians engaged in programs to reduce racial prejudice—programs in which they cannot fully participate. Such persons would like to see the policy altered in the interest of peace and simple humanitarianism.

The doctrine of white-race superiority, so much the vogue in the early nineteenth century when Mormonism had its beginning, has been so thoroughly debunked as to catalogue its adherents today as either grossly uninformed or victims of traditional irrational prejudices, or both. Mormons as a group are not ignorant people; they rank high in formal schooling, with an extraordinarily high proportion of college graduates. Many of them naturally find it difficult to reconcile what they learn in college

about racial differences and equalities with the stand taken by their church. Curiously the position of the church on the Negro does not carry over to other racial groups. Natives of the South Seas, Mongolians, and American Indians are given a clean bill of health. And Mormons, according to their theology, regard the Jews as their own kin! The doctrine, however, does not mean there is no anti-Semitism among Mormons, but that is another problem.

The basic question remains as to whether the church will modify its present stand on this matter. Perhaps a more important question is, *can* it change? Theoretically the church has a means by which its doctrines may be modified. It was founded upon the idea of "progressive revelation," that as God spoke to the people in Bible days, so He continues to do today through the head of the church. An announcement *ex cathedra* on this question would be accepted by the body of the church; joyfully by some although, no doubt, reluctantly by others. It is recognized, of course, that it is very difficult for a religion based upon revelation to modify its doctrines, but few other denominations have the procedures for change that the Mormon church has. The leaders of this church are men of good will. It is difficult to believe that deep in their own hearts they are not troubled by the ethical problem which this bit of dogma presents.

A very real difficulty is the fact that those who disapprove the church's attitude have no way of expressing their point of view. It is safe to say that most of the one million members give passive assent to the present policy. For most of those living in Utah and adjacent states the Negro question is academic; they hardly ever see Negroes, much less live in the same community with them. In any case, they would find comfortable agreement with the white-supremacy idea because of latent historical prejudices which they share with so many other white people. However, my knowledge of the deep humanitarianism of the Mormon people leads me to think that if the question could be openly discussed they would line up on the side of justice.

Such open discussion, especially in print, however, is a perilous undertaking for any member. It automatically leaves him open to the charge of "disobedience to constituted authority" which may lead to his being excommunicated. The upshot is that discussions by interested persons are largely subrosa. So widespread are such discussion groups that they might be said to constitute a "Mormon underground." The participants are not disloyal church members; rather they are generally active in the church and rationalize their conduct by weighing the many admirable features of their religion against the features with which they disagree.

In writing this article for publication the author does so in a spirit of constructive criticism and in the conviction that his church, with so many admirable qualities and achievements to its credit, is faced by a challenge to place itself alongside those other groups which are laboring against racial bigotry.

LOWRY NELSON

[The writer is a lifelong member of the Mormon Church.]

Bevan Symposium

The *Nation* will present in an early issue a symposium on Aneurin Bevan's important book, *In Place of Fear*. Among the contributors will be Stringfellow Barr of the University of Virginia, author of *Let's Join the Human Race*; Carrol Binder of the *Minneapolis Tribune*; Palmer Hoyt, editor and publisher of the *Denver Post*; Benjamin Javits, author of *How the Republicans Can Win in 1952*; Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A.; Howard K. Smith, Columbia Broadcasting System's European correspondent and *Nation* staff contributor, and James P. Warburg, author of *How to Co-Exist* and many other books.

Aneurin Bevan, leader of Britain's left-wing Labor faction, is one of the most colorful political figures in the world today. His book, particularly the sections on foreign policy, is perhaps the most controversial of the year.

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

The West's Answer

That the Western powers took five weeks to compose and send their answer to the last Soviet offer on Germany does not necessarily mean, as the Russians charge, that they were merely stalling for time. The note must have been a ticklish one to compose, since it had to prove the unprovable and untrue: namely, that the Western Big Three were ready to support German unification brought about through free elections and that, in rejecting the Soviet demand for German neutrality, they were not merely expressing their own determination to integrate West Germany, willy-nilly, in the Atlantic Defense Community. The note was thus necessarily weak, even though it made certain concrete proposals for insuring the freedom of all-German elections and proclaimed a willingness to start talks with the Russians.

But what would the Big Four talk about? The real stumbling block in the way of serious negotiations was pointed out by the *London Times* last week: "Russia clearly would not accept a united Germany that was already included in the Western Alliance." The reaction to the note in East Germany and Russia has emerged in a series of dark warnings of civil war and threats of reprisal. In West Germany the Social Democrats have formally voted to reject the contractual agreement.

The only hope of a compromise solution—a rather feeble hope—seems to lie in the suggestion made by the *London Times*, and echoed by French Foreign Minister Schuman, that the accord between Bonn and the West, presumably to be signed this week, should not be ratified until after new four-power talks have been held. "As long as there is no ratification there is no *fait accompli*," said M. Schuman, "and the Russians will have an opportunity to make unification proposals." It is to be noted, however, that this suggestion has received no encouragement from either Moscow or Washington.

Truman's A. D. A. Speech

Delegates to the Americans for Democratic Action convention in Washington seem to have enjoyed listening to the President's speech almost as much as he enjoyed delivering it. But read in cold type a day later it was not as effective as it must have sounded. For ex-

ample, the ribbing of certain A. D. A. leaders for having supported Eisenhower in 1948 was amusing and deserved; but, on second thought, one recalls that Mr. Truman once announced that he, too, would support the General for President. The do-or-die commitment to civil-rights deserved the applause it received, but the President is well aware that the chairman of the Democratic National Committee has been trying for the last two months to work out a "compromise" with the Dixiecrats on this issue. In taking a lusty poke at the tide-lands-oil swindle—"robbery in broad daylight"—the President put General Eisenhower on the spot, but he did not succeed in diverting attention from the scandals of his own Administration. Democrats have, moreover, promoted this swindle as actively as Republicans. Again, the President pointed to "the terrible dangers that lie in wait for us if we surrender to McCarthyism and adopt the practice of guilt by association." But guilt by association became the law of the land with the Supreme Court's decision upholding the Feinberg law. And even the Feinberg law provides that organizations cannot be listed as "subversive" without a hearing—which is more than can be said of the President's own Loyalty Order.

Despite these inconsistencies, the President's speech will make effective campaign material if only for the reason that the Republicans will not be in a position to exploit its major weaknesses. As the President said, you can always count on the Republicans to make it perfectly clear before the campaign is over that they are the party of big business.

Norway's Unique Plan

We call to the special attention of our readers the short piece by Erling Bjøl, entitled *Norway's Little Point Four*, which appears on page 500 of this issue. The generosity and unique social conscience of the Norwegian people have become proverbial; that they should have initiated the project described will surprise no one. More important, as the author implies, is the example that might be set. Relatively poor Norway, with a population of only little more than 3,000,000, is undertaking to raise \$3,000,000 to help modernize an "adopted" backward area in the world. How much could the United States raise? For that matter, how much could be raised by New York State, with more than four times Norway's population, or New York City, with more than twice?

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We can, of course, see complications arising from any attempt to apply the plan in widespread fashion. Still, Mr. Bjol's article is both heartwarming and—to say the least—provocative. It's interesting that much the same suggestion was advanced the other day by Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., who said that our own Point Four program should be supplemented by the "combined best efforts of all our schools and churches, our trade and professional associations, labor unions, and farm and consumer co-operatives."

We'd like to hear from our readers on the subject.

Pentagon vs. Labor

The reports of Jacob S. Potofsky, Frank Rosenblum, and Hyman Blumberg to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention in Atlantic City bear out phases of Keith Hutchison's analysis of the slump in the textile industry [*The Nation*, May 3 and 10]. Seeking "the cheap bid," the Pentagon has been awarding huge contracts to non-union Southern textile mills, many of which have been subsidized by Southern communities. These short-sighted procurement procedures violate the government's declared labor policy by encouraging the growth of non-union plants in the South and, at the same time, undercutting the position of once prosperous textile manufacturing communities in other areas.

In order to stop these practices, the Amalgamated demands the establishment of a civilian procurement agency composed of government, labor, and industry representatives. Special emphasis is given to this recommendation by the recent majority report of a Senate subcommittee on "Labor-Management Relations in the Southern Textile Industry" which points out that the extent and effectiveness of the opposition to labor in the Southern textile industry is of "unbelievable" proportions. The Pentagon's procurement policies undoubtedly bear large responsibility for this situation. But before these policies can be effectively changed, something must be done about the unholy alliance of Republicans and Dixiecrats which, although representing a minority of the nation, now wields the power of a majority in Congress.

Malan's New Threat

In the midst of his campaign to torpedo the South African constitution, Prime Minister Malan has turned to blast the British government for refusing to yield to his tender mercies the three native protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland. "No free sovereign country," he declared in Parliament, "would allow a position where territories within its borders are controlled by another country." Malan gave notice that next year he would present a formal demand for incorporation of the protectorates within the union.

This move points up the futility of the appeasement policies pursued by Whitehall, for instance in the case of Seretse Khama, who was deprived of his hereditary chieftainship of the Bamangwato, largest of the Bechuanaland tribes, following his marriage to a white girl. Now that a delegation of Bamangwato elders has forced Lord Salisbury, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, to admit that this exclusion is strongly opposed by the tribe, it is clear that the real reason for the action was an over-tender regard for the South African taboo against mixed marriages.

It does not follow, we hope, that the British government will yield to Malan's new demand. For the most solemn pledges have been repeatedly made to the native inhabitants of the protectorates—their white population is negligible—that their status will not be changed without their consent. In view of the South African government's treatment of its own natives, it is inconceivable that such consent would be forthcoming. Nor do we think that British opinion, disturbed by the fascist overtones of South African nationalism, would stand for coercion of the Bechuanas, Basutos, and Swazis should they ask for the continued protection of the British Crown.

Congressional Censors

Add two more to the roster of pending Congressional inquiries. With only 31 of 435 members present, Congress approved H. R. 278, drafted by Congressman E. C. Gathings of West Memphis, Arkansas, and sponsored by Congressman William Meyers Colmer of Pascagoula, Mississippi, authorizing a commerce subcommittee to "determine the extent to which radio and television programs . . . contain immoral or otherwise offensive matter or place improper emphasis upon crime, violence, and corruption." At the same time Congress also approved H. R. 596, offered by the same members, calling for the appointment of a committee of nine members to "determine the extent to which current literature—books, magazines, and comic books—containing immoral, obscene, or otherwise offensive material, or placing improper emphasis on crime, violence, and corruption, are being made available to the people of the United States."

While both resolutions purport to deal with "immoral" and "obscene" material—Congressman J. R. Bryson of Greenville, South Carolina complained that "beautiful ladies on TV shows have been demonstrating techniques for pouring cocktails"—the texts are so vague as to be almost completely meaningless and apparently give the committees dangerously wide powers of investigation. Moreover the manner in which the word "corruption" is used in both resolutions lays Congress open to the suspicion that it wants to crack down on programs and printed material calling attention to the

widespread dishonesty which is such a conspicuous feature of contemporary American society and government.

These latest investigations are certain to be used further to restrict freedom of thought and expression rather than to improve the undoubtedly low moral standard of our mass-entertainment media.

Franco's Worries

Our information from Spain indicates two concurrent developments: Franco's determination to capitalize on the recent visit to the Arab countries of Martin Artajo, his foreign minister, and the increasing deterioration of the domestic situation. The two are connected, for the dictator needs a spectacular success in foreign policy as a weapon against his domestic opposition.

The presence in Madrid of the Regent of Iraq emphasizes Franco's play for the Arabs. Franco's goal would seem to be the formation of a powerful Arab-Latin American bloc in the United Nations which would back Spain's admission into the world body at the propitious moment. That moment would come when a way could be found to circumvent the Soviet veto on new members. Japan first—and then Spain.

Domestically, Franco faces growing opposition from the three groups which put him in power: the church, the Falange, and the army. Cardinal Segura and his followers are attacking him openly. Schism among the Falangists is indicated by the fact that the dictator has ousted Colonel Luis Serrano de Pablo, a Nationalist civil-war hero, from the National Council of the Falange Party. As for the army, widespread dissatisfaction is reported because Franco, in a gesture of friendship towards the Arabs, is elevating native military chiefs in Morocco at the expense of veteran Spanish officers.

The Anvil of Policy

Speakers at the Stanford University Alumni conference held in San Francisco recently apparently agree with J. Alvarez del Vayo on the necessity of "Speaking Out on Foreign Policy" [*The Nation*, May 17]. "Scurrilous attacks on the State Department by a horde of witch-hunting fanatics," to quote Professor Graham H. Stuart, "have endangered our capacity to make wise decisions on foreign policy." "For the first time in our national history," said Dr. Harold H. Fisher, chairman of the Hoover Institute, "it is a political virtue to be afraid . . . we are encouraging fear of each other." On the same day, Governor Adlai Stevenson told the members of San Francisco's Commonwealth Club: "These contemporary exponents of irresponsible accusation and guilt by association can do us more grievous injury than all the miserable thieves and opportunists that foul the public nest. We have all witnessed the stifling, choking effect of

Irresponsible witch-hunting, the paralysis of initiative, the hesitancy and intimidation that follow in its wake and inhibit the bold, imaginative thought and discussion which is the anvil of public policy."

Anti-Union Offensive

FOR nearly nine years reactionaries in Congress have been giving aid and comfort to the anti-union forces of big industry. They passed the Smith-Connally war-time disputes act over President Roosevelt's veto in 1943 and the Taft-Hartley law over President Truman's veto in 1947. Now they are aiming a double-barreled blow at labor by threatening to destroy the Wage Stabilization Board's authority to handle disputes and by threatening, further, to pass the drastic injunction-receivership bill sponsored by Representative Smith of Virginia.

The Smith bill is so violent an attack on trade unions and their operation during any kind of emergency that unions for practical purposes would cease to exist. It provides, in effect, for permanent injunctions against strikes. If a dispute were not settled in eighty days after a crisis arose—and a strike would be forbidden during those eighty days—both the industry and the union involved would be thrown into "receivership." "Receivers" for the company would be forbidden to change the wages and working conditions of the employees; the union, for its part, would be forbidden to quit work, and it would be unlawful for "anyone" to instigate or give guidance or direction to a work stoppage.

The "receivers" for the company would not be forbidden to raise prices or increase profits. The actual managers of the company, therefore, would have no incentive whatever to settle any dispute with the workers. The union would be robbed of its only economic weapon—the threat to interfere with production and profits—and the company would be permanently sustained with a guarantee that the union was helpless.

Smith of Virginia knows exactly what he is aiming at in this bill. He did not dare try to put it through the Labor committees of Congress even though the House Labor Committee is headed by Representative Barden of North Carolina, whose lack of sympathy for unions is notorious. Smith offered his bill as an amendment to measures now pending on universal military training and service so that jurisdiction would be in the hands of the Armed Services committees. He is basing his bill on the theory that drafting men for forced labor for the private profit of private employers is as much within the domain of Congress as drafting them for military service for the country. The theory is wrong, and Chairman Carl Vinson of the House Armed Services Committee has indicated that he recognizes it. But until it is beaten into utter defeat the Smith bill will remain a menace.

Scarcely less serious, however, is the drive of big in-

dustry to kill the Wage Stabilization Board as it now exists, to destroy its organization as a tripartite board with industry, labor, and the public equally represented, and to rob any new board of the power to handle disputed cases between unions and companies and to recommend settlements. The immediate offensive arises from the WSB's proposed settlement of the steel case, but this is merely an expedient: big industry was opposed, more than a year ago, to letting the WSB have authority to handle disputes or make recommendations on so-called "non-economic" issues such as the union shop. With newspaper editorialists almost unanimously supporting the steel companies, parroting the industry's misrepresentations and lies, ignoring the protests of WSB Chairman Feinsinger, Economic Director Putnam, and Price Stabilizer Arnall, Congress seems at last ready to give industry what it wants.

The unions are no happier than the companies about the general idea of government intervention to settle wage disputes: they greatly prefer the processes of collective bargaining. But if free collective bargaining is inhibited for a period of years, because the country cannot accept strikes in important industries, then some substitute must be created. What substitute can there be except a government board with power to recommend settlements?

In the long run, the recommendations of this board must be generally acceptable to both parties in industrial disputes—to both management and labor. That is why the board should be a tripartite group, with management and unions equally represented along with "public" members who are experienced in the field of industrial relations. The suggestion that the board should be composed exclusively or even predominantly of "public" members is unrealistic and naive. The steel industry in 1946 turned down proposals of a special board composed entirely of "public" members, just as this year it has turned down the recommendations of a tripartite board. Within the field of wage stabilization, when the whole country is involved, compromise and adjustment are needed, and these cannot be obtained without the voluntary participation of unions and management. We are not dealing with a dictatorial system: there must be a degree of voluntarism and consent even when the WSB's "recommendations" carry moral obligation. The tripartite War Labor Board worked brilliantly during World War II; a tripartite Wage Stabilization Board can work equally well now—if Congress can be persuaded not to give all the advantage to the side of industry.

CORRECTION

In last week's editorial, *Freedom's Stake*, the phrase "formerly independent" as applied to the Middle Eastern states, should have read "formally independent."

Germany: Last Chance to Negotiate

BY GERALD BAILEY

London

I HAVE recently returned from a mission of exploration to Western Germany in behalf of Quaker groups in Britain and the United States to encourage agreements between the Soviet Union and the West and thereby to lessen international tensions and strengthen the hope of a more stable peace. It was this purpose, among others, which took the British Quaker delegation to Moscow last year and which has animated the work of the international teams of Quaker observers in the last two sessions of the United Nations Assembly. The crucial relation of the German question to the possibilities of an East-West settlement warranted an attempt to study on the spot the urgent problems of Germany unity and remilitarization.

In a crowded fortnight I had conversations with a number of groups directly concerned with these issues as well as with many political and religious leaders and other representative persons. Among others, I talked with ministers and deputies of the Christian Democratic Union (the major government party); the deputy leader and other parliamentary members of the opposition Social Democratic Party; the president of the *Bundestag*; Ernst Reuter, the Lord Mayor of West Berlin; Martin Niemöller, recently returned from Moscow; Bishop Dibelius, who proudly claims that he is one of the few people able to send birthday greetings to the presidents of both the East and West German republics; and last but not least, the two courageous leaders of the popular movement against rearmament and for German unity and European peace, Dr. Gustav Heinemann, former Home Minister in the Adenauer government, and Mrs. Helene Wessel, deputy of the Center Party. I had the privilege of talking also with John J. McCloy, the United States High Commissioner; and at what might be called the other extreme, I spent two hours with the officers of the Communist-controlled German Peace Committee in the east sector of Berlin.

The adage, "so many men, so many opinions," or at least so many shades of opinion, aptly fits the German scene today. And indeed the confusion and uncertainty of the political outlook deepened even during the few weeks I spent in Germany. When my visit there began

about five weeks ago there was, despite the unsettling influence of the Russian notes, a confident if somewhat optimistic assumption among West German and Western government officials that within a short time the general treaty between the Bonn government and the Western Big Three would be signed, together with the agreement establishing (at any rate on paper) a German contribution to the European Defense Community. The treaty and the agreement may still be signed—though to sign is one thing and to ratify is another and the gap between theoretical and actual German military formations may be wider still. But as the moment for signing has approached, hesitations inside and outside Germany have increased and enough difficulties have now accumulated, if not to imperil Western plans, at least to delay their implementation and certainly to make necessary a realistic review of Western strategy.

The more technical difficulties, such as the apportionment of defense costs between Germany and the Western powers, can be resolved quite easily, given the will to resolve them. But there exist more fundamental and tenacious difficulties which directly involve the whole question of an East-West settlement.

FRENCH fears of German rearmament under any conditions have been increased by German emphasis on the provisional nature of the proposed contractual arrangements. To the French, this means that Germany will consider its membership in the European Defense Community as equally "provisional."

Within Germany, the more the government parties see of the detail of the proposed agreements, the less they like them. Simultaneously, the opposition of the Social Democrats is stiffened by the visible success of Dr. Heinemann's anti-rearmament program and by the support of the British Labor Party, which is now free to question the policies it reluctantly proposed while in office. And there exists, over all, the growing determination of Germans of whatever political persuasion not to be committed to remilitarization and integration with the West until the possibilities of German reunion through Four Power negotiation have been tested.

For though Germans may differ widely on the expedience of this or that method of attaining unity, sovereignty, and independence, they leave no doubt that these must be the central aims of national policy. West Germans do not lie awake nights lamenting the lot of

GERALD BAILEY, organizer of last year's Quaker mission to Moscow, is secretary of a British Quaker group working on the problem of East-West relations.

their fellows in the Eastern zone. "The dominant note" as the London *Times* said recently, "is for safety first and unity later." But the desire for unity is elemental and strong and the normal German regards the division of his country as abnormal and transient. This is not merely sentiment. Neither East nor West Germany is by itself a viable economic entity and the desire for the normalization of East-West trade, stimulated recently by the reported achievements of the Moscow Economic Conference, will grow steadily with the approach to full sovereignty in the West.

It would be equally misleading to assume that there is a united will to maintain German demilitarization at all costs and in all circumstances. The average German has not been converted to pacifist principles. The Social Democrats who reject rearmament under Adenauer would not necessarily reject it under Schumacher. Gustav Heinemann's Emergency Movement against Rearmament has, of course, pacifist and near-pacifist support, but neither Heinemann himself nor his colleague Helene Wessel is a pacifist. The slogan of their movement is not "no rearmament" but "no rearmament before reunification." Nevertheless this platform is attracting widespread support which reflects not merely an after-war reaction and a justifiable fear of the implications of the rearmament of a divided country, but also a deep desire in many thoughtful Germans to avoid the disasters which reliance upon military might has brought to their country twice in a lifetime.

All Germans, of course, want their sovereignty restored and the foreign occupation ended. Recognizing that their country would be the cockpit of the struggle in the event of war, many Germans want to keep out of both the competing power blocs. But they differ widely as to the practicality of doing so. Those who have no faith in Russian declarations are quick to point out that under a four-power treaty creating an ostensibly free and united Germany, the Red Army would still be on the Polish boundary while the weight of American armed power would be several thousand miles away. Even those who retain a more hopeful view doubt whether neutrality is a workable option for a country so strategically placed—militarily, politically, and economically—as Germany is today, unless there is concurrently a decisive change for the better in great-power relations. They feel not unreasonably that the gravitational pull towards one side or the other would be irresistible.

IN THIS situation, what is the responsibility of those in Britain and the United States whose desire is to see international tension relaxed and the prospects of peace enhanced? What should they demand of Western policy? We have now entered the most critical period of international relations since the war ended. The next six months may provide the last opportunity for moderat-

ing the great-power conflict. And it is in the heart of Europe, around the future of the German people, that the issue is most likely to be decided.

The attempt to integrate the Federal German Republic with the West was made plausible, if not inevitable, by the continuing failure to negotiate a four-power settlement for Germany and specifically by the absence hitherto of any sign of a Russian willingness to make concrete



concessions to this end. But the weakness of Western policy in this matter over the past year is that it has been governed too exclusively by considerations of the cold war. In consequence it has failed to take adequate account not only of the aspirations of the Germans themselves but also of the crucial importance to the Soviet Union of the German question. It was always clear that Moscow would not sit by idly while Germans were rearmed and the Ruhr industrial potential was harnessed to the West. And even before the recent Soviet notes were issued, there were growing indications that the Russians might well pay handsomely for the abandonment of these Western plans. Here was—and here remains—the best chance of a balanced and negotiated agreement between East and West.

Does this mean that Western policy should now be reversed? It may well be reversed by changing political conditions in Germany itself. But in any case the readiness to reverse it, if a valid four-power agreement can be reached, is imposed upon the Western governments by their declared policy of negotiation through strength and by their commitment to German reunion and independence. It may not be possible at this late moment to hold up the actual signing of the contractual arrangements and the defense treaty, though there is always the possibility—so far too lightly regarded in the West—of a sharply hostile Russian reaction, focused perhaps in Berlin, to the signing itself. The forecasts of an open and intensified counter-rearmament in Eastern Germany are not just idle threats. But if the treaties with the Federal Republic are to be signed and the risks of a hostile Russian response are to be minimized, it is absolutely vital that simultaneously the West should show unequivocally its readiness to get around a table with the Russians with the primary purpose of establishing the conditions for genuinely free elections in the whole of Germany. Nothing less than this will prevent a mounting German opposition which would render the treaties abortive even if signed. More important still, nothing less will discharge the obligation of the West to explore every possibility of an agreed settlement not only in the interests of German unity but in the wider interests of a world desperately needing some relief from the threat of war and from the paralyzing burden of war

preparation. For the most dangerous of Western illusions is that the determined pursuit of present policies, coupled with a continued procrastination on the issue of negotiation, will produce further Russian concessions and strengthen the prospects of peace. A contrary estimate might well be nearer the mark.

It is not surprising, after all that has transpired in recent years, that Western governments should take a dim view of the possibilities of ending the cold war and of negotiating valid agreements with the Russians. And it is certainly right that they should insist on a genuine freedom for the whole of Germany, not only during but after elections, as the basic condition of an agreed settlement. But despair is the negation of statesmanship and in this situation the betrayal of the deepest hopes of mankind. "As long as there is one thousandth

of a chance," said George F. Kennan, the new American Ambassador to Moscow, recently "that a major world conflict can be avoided, let us guard that chance like the apple of our eye. Let it not be said that we allowed any hope for the avoidance of war to die by abandonment or neglect."

The best chance that we are likely to have for a long time confronts us now and it is centered in the determination of the German question. But it is not only the chance of avoiding war. Viewed with sufficient imagination and pursued with sufficient courage, it is the chance of transforming the climate of East-West relations, of establishing the United Nations as the guardian of the security and well-being of all peoples, of giving reality to the hopes of disarmament, and of directing the resources of mankind to the purposes of peace.

Warren of California

BY HERBERT L. PHILLIPS

EARL WARREN of California is the only Republican candidate for President who bases his bid for the nomination upon the fundamental contention that the Republican Party must become more progressive or lose the November election, as it has lost every national election since 1928.

Facing the Old Guard of the Republican National Committee, meeting in San Francisco last January 17, Governor Warren stated this position very plainly:

Our party has never had a radical wing, but we have our problems just the same because we do have in it extremists of the Right—those who would freeze our nation to the status quo with whatever inequalities go with it and those who would have our country return to what they look back to nostalgically and affectionately call the good old days.

I believe these extremists of the Right are not as numerous as they are vocal and influential. It is my very deep conviction, however, that, unless there is a forthright repudiation of this thinking by our party, we will suffer again at the hands of the voters. . . .

I am convinced the American people are not Socialists and will not tolerate socialistic government, but they are definitely committed to social progress. Any party which turns its back on social progress will be repudiated by the people.

He then proceeded to document his argument for

This is the fifth of a series of profiles of persons most widely mentioned as possible Presidential candidates. Herbert L. Phillips is political editor of the McClatchey newspapers of California.

Republican liberalism with extensive quotations from the G. O. P. platforms of 1944 and 1948. What the Republican Party must do, he insisted, is practice what it preaches, not just at campaign time but between elections. The American people want a change in national administration, he went on, but they want to know to what they are changing and they will not switch parties simply for the sake of change itself. "The Republican Party," he said, "cannot make its appeal on the basis of invective, ridicule, or negation."

That kind of talk, frequently reiterated this spring and added to several lively battles with special-interest lobbies in the past, has prompted disgruntled factions of the Republican Old Guard in California to set up a rival ticket, headed nominally by an ultra-conservative Congressman, Representative Thomas H. Werdel, for the June 3 Presidential primary. If this seventy-member anti-Warren slate wins over the Governor's ticket, the scheme is to release all California delegates at the convention, allowing them to vote as they please for any of four listed "legitimate" G. O. P. candidates: Taft, MacArthur, Eisenhower, and Stassen. The Old Guard advocates of this proposed "uninstructed" delegation are denouncing Warren as guilty of "Trumanism."

This is a far cry, indeed, from the situation in January, 1943, when Republican Attorney General Warren assumed the California governorship, having unseated Democratic Governor Culbert L. Olson at the previous fall election. It was the fashion in the liberal wing of the defeated Democrats at that time to classify Warren as simply a good-looking, genial stooge for the Republican reactionaries. It was argued that the Old Guard, finally

awake to its inability to win in California with obvious political hacks, had seized upon the pleasing personality of big, silver-haired Earl Warren as an effective mask for its drive to regain state-government control. According to this reasoning, the reactionaries were in the saddle again, and the progressive goals that Olson had recommended so persistently—but failed to reach—would be abandoned under Warren.

This forecast was drowned out by cries of consternation from the extreme Right, however, when Governor Warren, in the ensuing years, advocated a fair-employment-practices act, reorganized half a dozen major state departments, fought organized medicine in an attempt to establish a public health-insurance program, and obtained liberalization of old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and workmen's-compensation benefits. The medical fraternity—or what Warren calls an "eloquent minority" of it—assailed him as a dangerous sponsor of "socialized medicine." Oil interests reviled him when he demanded gasoline-tax increases to modernize a highway system carrying the largest number of motor vehicles in the nation. He stepped on the toes of other interests when he worked actively for the Central Valley Project—and particularly for publicly owned and operated hydroelectric transmission lines to carry the federally developed cheap power of the CVP. And lobbyists were alienated by his demand for a strong lobby-control act.

Warren did not get all the legislation he wanted, but his stubborn efforts year after year soon convinced the Old Guard that he meant business and was altogether too progressive to have around. Democrats were dubious about this at first, claiming that he was a political phony shrewdly advancing progressivism in order to gain a reputation for liberalism which would be helpful at election time. Then Warren prevailed with a bill that made California the first large state to inaugurate a sickness-and-disability insurance system for working people. (Little Rhode Island was first in this field.) He followed that up with a measure giving hospital-aid benefits to workers. In this program California led the nation.

Meanwhile, California had absorbed in good order something like four million new citizens after Pearl Harbor. State facilities and institutions had to be enlarged to cope with what has been called the greatest peacetime migration in history. Tax rates were cut back below pre-war levels for six years, yet at the same time more than \$400,000,000 was saved for long delayed institutional public works. California became the second largest state of the Union in population with a minimum of growing pains. Inroads by the underworld were combated by a Warren investigating commission on organized crime which antedated Kefauver's national investigations. Not the least interesting thing about the Warren administration, considering the current national rash of exposés of corruption, is the fact that it has

survived for nearly a decade without any major scandal.

That survival itself contained elements of the politically spectacular. Availing himself of California's much discussed practice of cross-filing on more than one party ticket, Warren conducted a "non-partisan" campaign in 1946—and won in the primary. The Democrats nominated him over their own candidate, Attorney General Robert W. Kenny. No California Governor ever before had scored such a victory. Bouncing back after the Republican defeat of 1948, when he served as a reluctant vice-presidential candidate with the overconfident Thomas E. Dewey, Warren tackled James Roosevelt in the 1950 gubernatorial campaign and was elected for a third term—also unprecedented in California—by more than a million votes.



Governor Warren

JUDGED strictly on his achievements, Governor Warren presents an arresting example of the political growth of a man in public office. Yet it is hard to put a finger on the causes of his development from district attorney and attorney general, primarily concerned with law-enforcement problems, to his present stature as one of the most outspoken advocates of progressivism in his party. His independence as Governor has produced painful headaches for conservative G. O. P. machine politicians who had taken it for granted that they would become his close advisers on patronage and his mentors on governmental policy. It turned out that, while Warren was willing to listen to advice, he insisted on making his own decisions. It also turned out that, while he was careful—even cautious—in arriving at a policy judgment, he was willing to stand by it with a stubborn courage which both his political enemies and his would-be handlers found extremely irritating. And what proved more irritating still was the discovery that, though he warmed up to almost everyone with the friendliness of a political extrovert, he appeared to have no cronies who could be depended upon to sway his decisions. If anything, Warren is cursed with an inability to delegate responsibility or authority in vital matters. There has been no palace guard in his Capitol, these last nine years.

When Warren took office in 1943, he surprised a good many people by approaching controversial public questions with what appeared to be an almost complete lack of political ideology. He did not seem impressed by assur-

ances that such-and-such was the liberal stand or that thus-and-so was the reactionary position. He preferred to "pick up the issue by its four corners"—he is certainly no Rooseveltian phrase maker—and judge it after studying all the facts.

As time went on, Warren, along with the rest of the state, seemed to recognize his middle-ground progressive inclinations, and nowadays he refers to them frankly as such. But in his first administration, even in his second, he was sometimes characterized as a master of improvisation. There seemed to be a public disposition, though—reflected at the polls—to regard intelligent improvisation, especially at a time of fluctuating population and economic conditions, as an admirable thing so long as the net result served liberal causes. There were those, too, who claimed that Warren blazed a forward-looking and untried governmental trail only when his personal observations and experiences led him in that direction. "If that is so," commented one observer, "may the good Lord give Warren more experiences."

THIS is Warren's thirty-third consecutive year of public service in California. Attempting to explain his climb from a minor political post in conservative Alameda County in 1919 to the rank of Presidential candidate whooping it up for progressivism—even urging the G. O. P. to absorb Democratic policies when they are sound—interested onlookers have dug into his private, professional, and political background for the answer. They found a devoted family man with a big smile—and a gubernatorial record which the Democratic President calls excellent.

Earl Warren was born in Los Angeles, March 19, 1891. Educated at the University of California, he was a World War I infantry captain. He began political life as a deputy city attorney in Oakland and moved on to deputy district attorney of Alameda County, district attorney, state attorney general, and finally governor. Politically, he has served as Republican state chairman and National Committeeman from California. He has

been married since 1925 and has three boys and three girls. He belongs to a dozen or so clubs, lodges, and fraternities and is a Past Grand Master of Masons in California.

If lifelong progressives find it difficult to explain why Warren turns up so often on their side of public questions, confirmed reactionaries accept the bitter fact that he does and dislike it intensely. Early in this year's pre-campaign Presidential maneuverings a California outfit known as the Partisan Republicans—repudiated, incidentally, even by Senator Taft—began circulating charges that the Democrats and the Communists were in an unholy alliance to build up Warren for the Republican nomination so that the leftists would be in power after the November election even if the Democrats lost. Eisenhower was berated in similar vein.

Warren's political effectiveness in his home state is unique. His support is not organized in the legislature even though both houses have Republican majorities. His success with tough issues is attributed to his willingness to take half a loaf at one session and try for the rest the next year. Warren long since broke with the Herbert Hoover faction of his party. On the big policy objectives which have made him a controversial figure it can be said truthfully that he has neither been backed nor dominated by the Republican State Central Committee or the county-committee leaders.

Warrenites recognize that their man's main chance of obtaining the Presidential nomination depends upon a Taft-Eisenhower deadlock in the convention. As a possible compromise choice in such circumstances, the Californian has been giving his own views of desirable Republican and national policy and largely abstaining from personal attacks on the other G.O.P. political camps to which he might later have to look for support. From his affirmative declarations, however, Warren is poles apart from Taft on both domestic and foreign policy; there is no indication that he takes Stassen any more seriously than the voters appear to be doing. Warren has said that he has no major disagreement with Eisenhower on international affairs, but he has also made it clear that he does not know, and would be highly interested to learn, the General's views on domestic matters.

Meanwhile, the Republican Old Guard misses no opportunity to publicize the fact that President Truman not only has praised Warren as an outstanding governor but on one occasion described him as "a good Democrat who doesn't know it." Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois also had words of praise for him recently. And Walter Reuther was quoted in a press dispatch as calling Warren "enlightened"—so enlightened, he said, that the Republicans will never nominate him.

To this extent probably most politicians will agree: electing Earl Warren to the Presidency would be very much easier than nominating him.

Beyond Comment

Speaking of [radio advertising] copy, Mr. Charles said there is a value in having copy so poor that listeners get sick and tired of hearing it. He explained: "If you hit the nail on the head with a catchy commercial, the whole country is talking about it. If your copy is purposely so poor that listeners can't stand it, they talk about that kind of commercial too. . . . I try to nauseate people," he added laughingly.—*From the magazine Broadcasting.*

[The Nation will pay \$2 for acceptable contributions to Beyond Comment.]

Dilemma in the Sudan

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

BRITAIN seems on the point of being locked in a triangle of its own making. British foreign and imperial policy dearly loves creating triangles, with the possibility of playing one of its two associates off against the other.

It was the danger inherent in the peculiar Anglo-Egyptian-Sudanese situation that caused Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden on April 18 to summon to London Sudan's Governor-General Sir Robert Howe and Britain's Ambassador to Egypt Sir Ralph Stevenson. With this expert help Mr. Eden hoped to appease the Egyptians in order to form the top-priority Middle East defense organization without making the Sudanese feel they are being "sold down the river."

Early in April Britain got a foretaste of the difficulties involved in trying simultaneously to side with King Farouk in Egypt and attempting to bar him as nominal sovereign of the Sudan. At the outset, Anglo-Egyptian talks proceeded quickly and the negotiators were edging towards agreement in principle on British evacuation of the Canal Zone and Egypt's participation in a Middle East Defense Pact. Egypt's Prime Minister, Hilaly Pasha, asked Britain for a gesture towards the "unity of the Nile Valley"; specifically, that Farouk's title as "King of Egypt and the Sudan" be accepted, subject to its subsequent ratification by the Sudanese. The British said the Sudanese *could*, if they wanted, accept King Farouk as their monarch when they were self-governing. The negotiators were impelled toward compromise by their mutual fear that the anti-British Wafd would be returned with a stunning majority in the elections, then scheduled for May 18, if the Palace-sponsored Hilaly Pasha government did not score a success in the negotiations.

Then, without any warning, the Sudan's British civil secretary presented a new draft constitution enabling the Sudan to become self-governing this year. The action infuriated all sections of Egyptian opinion, including supporters of the conciliatory Hilaly Pasha government. The Egyptians considered it proof of a British "plot" to establish a nominally independent Sudan governed by the anti-Egyptian Umma Party. Only Britain's "good-will gesture" in releasing an additional 10 million pounds in Egyptian sterling balances and a personal message from

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden enabled talks to begin again. The Egyptian Cabinet, which had thought it could defeat the Wafd if it secured an agreement with Britain, postponed the elections indefinitely, fearing that the Wafd would win a sweeping majority on an "I told you so" platform.

The Sudan's return is as popular an issue to Egyptians as Kashmir is to Pakistan and to Mr. Nehru, or Formosa to the mainland Chinese. For King Farouk it means adding a million square miles—more than the whole of Europe—to his sovereignty; to the pashas it means a new area to loot. And to all Egypt it means controlling the upper reaches of the river on which Egypt completely depends: the Nile.

WINSTON CHURCHILL wrote in *The River War*: "The Sudan is joined to Egypt by the Nile as a diver is connected with the surface by his air pipe. Without it there is only suffocation. *Aut Nilus, aut nihil.*" This was written in 1899, when Britain finished conquering the Sudan in Egypt's name. In order to acquire *de facto* possession of the area for Britain, Lord Cromer—who really ran Egypt from 1883 to 1907—devised the condominium of the "Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." Technically, the Sudan came under the joint sovereignty of Egypt and Great Britain, but in fact the Governor-General and his top officials have been British.

From the outset real power was in Britain's hands; Egypt's early responsibility was chiefly that of paying the annual deficits in the Sudanese budget. As Egyptian nationalism came to life, Britain further reduced Egyptian participation. When, in 1922, Egypt was recognized as "an independent sovereign state" (with defense and foreign interests retained in Britain's hands) Britain insisted on retaining control of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as well. In 1924, when Egyptians assassinated Britain's General Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan and Commander of the Egyptian Army, Britain seized the opportunity to insist on the withdrawal of all Egyptian troops from the Sudan, and the unlimited increase in the use of water for the irrigation of British cotton plantations in the Gezira portion of the Sudan.

These 1924 actions showed the twin bases of Britain's Sudanese policy. By controlling the Sudan, Britain always has the whip hand over Egypt's chief resource, Nile water. "British imperialism in the Sudan," concluded Tom Driberg, leading Laborite M. P., after his recent

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trip there, "has been an indirect imperialism; our presence there . . . has given us a powerful hold on Egypt, a hold which we have kept for other, bigger strategic reasons." The present strategic aim, of course, is to secure Egyptian participation in a Middle East military pact.

By controlling the Sudan and raising there Egyptian-type cotton, Britain also prevents Egypt from monopolizing the cotton needed for Britain's fine-quality textiles. Commented Malcolm McCorquodale, Conservative M. P. and cotton printer in the November 20, 1951, debate in the House of Commons: "I say without any hesitation that it would be a major tragedy not only for the cotton industry and for employment in that industry in this country but for our whole export trade and our balance of payments, if Sudanese cotton were to come under the same sort of control as Egyptian cotton is at the moment, with the manipulated markets, the wild gambling, the barter to Russia, and all the rest of it."

Britain's objectives in the Sudan have, from the beginning, been overwhelmingly imperial—including the original hope of a Cape-to-Cairo railway. But the *manner* in which the Sudan has been administered has been outstandingly enlightened, albeit paternal. The Sudan has been very fortunate in attracting high quality British

imperial administrators of a kind which inspired the epigram of the late H. A. L. Fisher: "The Sudan, gentlemen, is a large country populated by blacks and governed by Blues."

Their outstanding accomplishment is the "Sudanese TVA"—the famous Gezira project. This 1,000,000-acre cooperative cotton project between the Blue and the White Nile, is the economic heart of the Sudan, providing two-thirds of its exports and virtually the whole of its governmental revenue. The government settled over 25,000 Sudanese families in the area; seeds and technical advice are provided and those families who do not follow the advice are ousted. At the end of the season the crops are cooperatively marketed at world prices. The peasant gets 40 per cent, the Sudan government 40 per cent and the Gezira Board—now nationalized—which manages the project, gets 20 per cent. The Gezira settler is comparatively prosperous.

British administrators have long taken full credit for their achievements in the Sudan. As early as 1912 Lord Kitchener claimed "there is now hardly a poor man in the Sudan." But even today there is plenty of poverty; the Gezira only affects a fraction of the total population of 9,000,000. And the British cannot take much credit on the educational side. Only every seventieth person is



HIDE-AND-SEEK IN EGYPT

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literate; there are scarcely 100 Sudanese with a full university education. Even today, on the eve of self-government, there are only 2,000 students in secondary schools.

Meeting educated Sudanese, one is struck by the fact that they seem the least frustrated of colonial *intelligentsia*. This comes in large part from the fact that the small minority of educated Sudanese have had a full opportunity to participate in administering their country. Fully 85 per cent of the government service is now Sudanized, with only 1,000 Britons left in key positions.

Britain's problem in settling with Egypt over the Sudan is that two generations of British administrators and their Sudanese subordinates have developed an anti-

Egyptian bent which promises trouble if anything but the most nominal suzerainty is accorded King Farouk. British administrators would probably resign *en masse* in protest against their work being despoiled by Egypt's pashas. And the anti-Egyptian Umma Party, which provides most top Sudanese administrators, would react violently against the government—which they have been groomed to inherit—being taken over by the Egyptians and their Sudanese confederates. In short, no matter how willing Britain might be today—or how hard-pressed by the State Department—to appease Egypt to build up the Middle East's anti-Communist defenses, a half-century of triangular politics has its own logic.

Norway's Little Point Four

BY ERLING BJOL

Copenhagen

THE giving of technical assistance to backward areas has been a function of the United Nations for several years now, but action has been sadly limited by the very modest appropriations which have been made available. The current budget is about \$20,000,000, a drop in the bucket compared to the needs, and microscopic when compared with the military budgets of the great powers.

Undoubtedly inspired by Secretary General Trygve Lie, a firm supporter of the idea, Norway has now decided to launch a unique experiment in the field. A group of Labor members of the *Storting*, the Norwegian parliament, has worked out a plan for "adopting" a backward area which would then become the beneficiary of a technical assistance program financed and executed in partnership by the government and the people of Norway.

Supporters of the plan lay stress on the fact that technical assistance should involve the cooperation not only of governments, but of peoples. Thus, under the proposed scheme, Norwegian agricultural organizations would undertake the modernization of agriculture in the "adopted" area, Norwegian teachers and school children would gather educational material and help build schools, Norwegian trade unions would take over the job of improving social conditions, Norwegian engineers would contribute their skill to basic capital improvements.

The area to be adopted has not yet been decided upon, but logic calls for an Asiatic region, mountainous and with unexploited water power and access to the sea, which would present problems of a kind with which Norwegians are familiar. Negotiations to this end are now going forward with Secretary General Lie.

Initially the Norwegians plan to spend about 20,000,000 kroner (approximately \$3,000,000) on the project, half of which would be supplied by the state and half by popular subscription. In an absolute sense, this is not a large sum, but for Norway—struggling with financial problems left from the German occupation—it is a great deal. It is fifty times as much as Norway is now called upon to contribute annually, on a *pro rata* basis, to the United Nations technical assistance fund.

Supporters of the plan have no doubt that the Norwegian people will accept their share of the financial burden. "I spent a good deal of last winter lecturing throughout the country on technical assistance," said Haakon Lie, secretary of the Norwegian Labor Party. "This project has aroused more popular interest than anything since the campaigns in behalf of Finland and Republican Spain."

Another of the plan's sponsors, P. Mentsen, vice president of the Norwegian Trade Union Council, said recently:

We consider the assistance for underdeveloped areas a very important part of our defense preparations. To abolish poverty and misery is the best kind of defense.

The Norwegians are a realistic people and they know exactly how far their very modest \$3,000,000 could be made to go. Obviously they are hoping that their action will set an example for other countries to follow. Only in such a case would their own action be given real meaning in terms of the world's needs. And in this connection they are aware that their own Little Point Four has been fashioned in the spirit of a policy long advocated in the United States by such men as Justice William O. Douglas.

ERLING BJOL is a well-known Danish journalist.

Steelworkers Will Fight

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Philadelphia

THE most striking fact about the sixth biennial convention of the United Steelworkers here was the apparently unshakable confidence of the delegates that, whatever their difficulties of the moment, they would eventually win their wage fight with the steel companies.

The business of this convention was to serve notice on a hostile press, a hostile Congress, the hostile steel companies, a perhaps hostile Supreme Court, that steel workers were not going to be kicked around indefinitely, that they would not work indefinitely in 1952 "for 1950 wages," that if necessary they would strike the basic steel industry harder and faster than ever before whenever their freedom of action was restored.

American union members are, by and large, an orderly group, respectful of constituted authority. Contrary to Arthur Krock's dreary misstatement in the *New York Times*, the convention did not "threaten to strike while the Supreme Court is weighing the seizure of the industry." Not a syllable embodying such a threat was uttered in the Convention Hall.

Every speech by a leader or delegate acknowledged that legal issues were pending which made a strike temporarily impossible. The emphasis was on what would happen after the high court rules on the disputed question of Truman's seizure powers. Let the decision be adverse, let the court rule that the seizure is illegal, and the union's position is clear. If steel workers are not, even in theory, "working for the United States," then they have a right to strike—and strike they will unless they get a satisfactory contract.

The issue, as the steel workers see it, is simple. They abided by all the ground rules set up to moderate industrial disputes, to check protracted work stoppages during the period of Korean fighting and remobilization. They submitted their wage and security demands to the umpire named by the government. The steel companies also accepted the umpire's jurisdiction and argued their case. But when the decision came down, and the companies did not like it, they shouted, "Kill the umpire."

Congress, it seems clear, is in the process of obediently killing the umpire—the Wage Stabilization Board's authority to make recommendations in disputed cases.

The delegates aren't lawyers and they have no desire to abandon permanently their cherished system of collective bargaining and see their interests subordinated to

rulings of government boards. But they are well aware that "precedents" for seizure as a weapon against unions already exist. They know that they may still be "Taft-Hartleyized" and enjoined from a strike for 80 days. They know that the coal mines were seized by Truman in 1946, that the United Mine Workers were enjoined from striking and fined for contempt for disobeying the injunction. They know that as long ago as 1941—before we were at war and in the absence of a statute—Roosevelt broke a strike by using troops to shatter a picket line and seize an airplane plant.

What the steel workers' convention wanted to know was whether seizure as a weapon is always and exclusively to be used against unions, to keep them from striking for higher wages, or whether seizure can also be enforced against management trying to keep wages down or force prices up. Patiently waiting for the Supreme Court, the delegates were by no means disheartened by the union's position. They remembered that in 1950 the mine workers found a way to beat even Taft-Hartley by individually refusing to work despite union orders in obedience to an injunction. The steel workers have complete confidence in the strength and integrity of their own union.

Clarence Randall, president of Inland Steel Company, a few weeks ago charged on the air that the steel recommendations resulted from "a corrupt political deal" between Murray and President Truman. Nothing in recent years has so infuriated Murray, a mild-mannered gentleman whose tongue can nevertheless scorch the angels when his anger is aroused. Murray grimly told the convention that at the White House a few days earlier, he had asked Randall to repeat this charge to his face. Murray quoted Randall as replying, "I did not say that about you, Phil. I think you are a good citizen, and I cannot charge you, I never did charge you, with any kind of corrupt deal."

Randall might have been disagreeably impressed with evidence in the convention that the pro-Republican steel managements had blundered politically in this struggle, that Truman's personal prestige had skyrocketed, that the magnetic attraction of the Democratic Party for large groups of workers had been restored and strengthened just at a moment when it seemed to be breaking down.

Speakers included Vice-President Barkley, Secretary of Labor Tobin, Senator Humphrey of Minnesota, all stalwart Democrats. Without exception they endorsed the union's fight for the wages and working conditions recommended by the WSB.

WILLARD SHELTON, veteran Washington correspondent, is a frequent contributor to *The Nation*.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

GOD, MAN, AND STALIN

BY IRVING HOWE

THAT Whittaker Chambers told the truth and Alger Hiss did not, seems to me highly probable. Personal tragedy though their confrontation was, it had another, almost abstract quality: the political course of the 'thirties made it inevitable that, quite apart from this well-groomed man and that unkempt one, there be a clash between two men, one a liberal who was recruited from the idealistic wing of public service, the other a former Communist who repudiated his past and then, as "Witness"* testifies, swung to the politics of the far right. If not these two, then two others; if not their shapes and accents, other shapes and accents. And that is why most of the journalistic speculation on their personalities proved so ephemeral: for what did it finally matter whether Hiss was a likable man or Chambers an overwrought one? what did it matter when at stake was the commitment of those popular-front liberals who had persisted in treating Stalinism as an accepted part of "the Left"? and why should serious people have puzzled for long over the private motives of Chambers or Hiss when Stalinism itself remained to be studied and analyzed?

Now Chambers has told his story and put down his ideas. "Witness" is a fascinating grab-bag: autobiography, account of underground work, religious tract, attempt at an explanation of Stalinism. As confession, it has an almost classical stature: whatever opinions Chambers may now superimpose on his memory, the narrative itself demands the attention of anyone interested in modern politics. As autobiography, the book is embarrassing: Chambers' memoir of his family seems a needless act of masochism while the portrait of his adult self suggests a man whose total sincerity is uncomplicated by humor, irony, or persuasive humility.

The most remarkable fact about "Wit-

ness" is that as a work of ideas it should be so ragged and patchy. In all its 800 pages there is hardly a sustained passage of, say, five thousand words devoted to a serious development of thought; everything breaks down into sermon, reminiscence, self-mortification, and self-justification. Service in the G. P. U. is not, to be sure, the best training for the life of the mind; but there is something in Chambers' flair for intellectual melodrama that seems particular to our time and to the kind of personality always hungry for absolutes of faith. Writes Chambers: "I was not seeking ethics: I was seeking God. My need was to be a practising Christian in the same sense that I had been a practising Communist." A little time spent in "seeking ethics" or even a breather from "seeking" anything, might seem to have been in order.

The world, as Chambers sees it, is split between those who acknowledge the primacy of God and those who assert the primacy of man; from this fundamental division follows a struggle between morality and murder, with communism merely the final version of the rationalist heresy; and the one hope for the world is a return to Christian virtue, the ethic of mercy. These views Chambers announces with an air of abject righteousness. Indifferent to the caution that the sin of pride takes no more extreme form than a belief in God as one's personal *deus ex machina*, he several times acknowledges a Mover at his elbow and declares the appointment of Thomas Murphy as government prosecutor in the Hiss case to be evidence that "It pleased God to have in readiness a man." From "Witness" an unsympathetic reader might, in fact, conclude that God spent the past several years as a special aid to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In reading this book one is nonplussed by the way its polemics violate

its declared values. A few illustrations may suggest the quality of Chambers' thought:

Again and again he declares himself interested in presenting the facts. Without questioning his personal story, I must doubt his capacity as historian and social observer. It is not true that Trotsky "led in person" the Bolshevik troops that suppressed the Kronstadt rebellion. It is not true that "Lenin gave up listening to music because of the emotional havoc it played with him"; the man merely said, if Gorky's report of a casual remark be credited, that music made him want to stroke heads at a time when he felt it necessary to make revolutions. It is not true that "Communists are *invariably* as prurient as gutter urchins." It is an exaggeration to say that in the 1927 faction fight in the United States Communist Party, dirty as it was, each side "prompted" scandalous whispering campaigns, in which embezzlement of party money, homosexuality, and stool pigeon were the *preferred* whispers." And it is a wild exaggeration to assert that the Communist agents in Washington, dangerous as they were, "if only in prompting the triumph of of communism in China, have *decisively* changed the history of Asia, of the United States, and therefore, of *the entire world* (italics mine—I. H.)." Mao, alas, recruited his armies in the valley of Yenan, not the bars of Washington.

Chambers' extreme political turn has dizzied his historical sense. By noting that Alger Hiss was counsel for the Nye committee during the 'thirties, he tries to discredit its exposure of the munitions industry. "The penetration of the United States government by the Communist Party," adds Chambers, "coincided with a mood in the nation which light-heartedly baited the men who manufactured the armaments indispensable to its defense as 'Merchants of Death.'"

* Random House. ■

But surely more was involved: the Nye committee revealed that some arms manufacturers had not hesitated to sell in bulk to Hitler, that their profits had been unconscionably high, that some had pressured both sides in the Chaco to buy their products and thus to prolong the war. The truth of these disclosures does not depend on whether Hiss was counsel for the committee that made them.

Chambers complains bitterly, and with justice, about the smears he has suffered from many Hiss supporters. Unfortunately, he is not himself above the use of similar methods. One of Hiss's attorneys was Harold Rosenwald, about whose face Chambers darkly pronounces: "I had seen dozens much like it in my time." The notion that people can be "placed" politically by the shape of their faces, is both preposterous and, at least in this century, sinister. It may be that Rosenwald does hold the political views Chambers hints at, but this attribution must seem completely shabby when it rests on nothing more than the fact that Rosenwald worked for O. John Rogge in the Attorney General's office and that Rogge "is now the legal representative of the Tito government."

In the course of breaking away from Stalinism, Chambers came to feel that "it is just as evil to kill the Czar and his family . . . as it is to starve two million peasants or slave laborers to death." What, if anything, does this highly charged statement mean? Coming from a pacifist, it would be perfectly clear, for it would suggest that killing is forbidden under any circumstances. We might then hope to hear as a sequel that "It is just as evil to kill 60,000 civilians in Hiroshima as it was to kill the Czar and his family." But Chambers is not a pacifist, he is willing to "struggle against [communism] by all means, including arms." So the evil of killing the Czar cannot for him be simply that it was a killing, but must be that it was an *unjustified* killing—which leaves him with the moral enormity: "Several unjustified killings are just as evil as two million unjustified killings."

Throughout the book Chambers praises the Christian virtues of humility and meekness. Unfortunately, this credo does not prevent him from declaring "the left-wing intellectuals of almost every feather" to have been Hiss sup-

porters and then from calling them "puffins, skimmers, skuas, and boobies." These delicate designations prompt one to remind Chambers that a good many "left-wing intellectuals" of one or another feather—those who truly deserved to be called "left" and "intellectual"—fought a minority battle against Stalinism at a time when both he and Hiss were at the service of Messrs. Yagoda and Yezhov.

WHAT IS STALINISM? It is evil, declares Chambers; a proposition neither disputable nor enlightening. Nowhere in his 800 pages does he attempt sustained definition or description, nowhere does he bound the shape of the evil. He seems unconcerned to examine the workings of Russian society, the social rule of the Western Stalinist parties, the relations of the Asian parties to native nationalism. And with good reason. If you believe that the two great camps of the world prepare for battle under the banners, Faith in Man and Faith in God, what is the point of close study and fine distinctions? You need only sound the trumpets.

Almost unwittingly, Chambers moves toward the view that the source of our troubles is the Enlightenment: "The crisis of the Western world exists to the degree in which it is indifferent to God." The French Revolution becomes the villain of history, its progeny every godless society of our time. Chambers accepts, of course, the common, crude identification of Stalin's totalitarianism with Lenin's revolutionary state; both seem to him forms of fascism; the New Deal was a social revolution which crippled "the power of business"; and the motto of "the welfare state" is best expressed by his former associate, Colonel Bykov: "Who pays is boss, and who takes money must also give something." Everyone might thus be lumped together: Voltaire, Jefferson, Lenin, Roosevelt, Hitler, Stalin; not all equally evil, but all, apparently, "indifferent to God." A man who thinks in such patterns can hardly be expected to notice—or have much reason to care—that Stalinism and fascism, while symmetrical in their political devices, have different historical origins, class structures, political ideologies, and social rationales. Or that the Keynesian measures of the New Deal, far from constituting a revo-

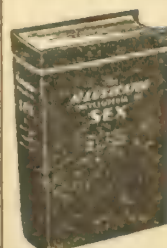
lution, proved a crutch for a stumbling capitalism.

Chambers' approach to history rests, finally, on no social theory at all; it is a return to Manichean demonology. Since for him everything depends on whether one takes God or man to be primary, he can write that "as Communists, Stalin and the Stalinists were absolutely justified in making the Purge. From a Communist point of view, Stalin could have taken no other course. . . . In that fact lay the evidence that communism is absolutely evil. The human horror was

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not evil, it was the sad consequence of evil." The first two of these sentences are historically false: various Communists opposed the purge and proposed other courses of action, among them the removal of Stalin from power. The last sentence is shocking in its moral callousness. In effect, Chambers is saying that those of us who attack Stalinism for its inhumanity are sentimental, lacking in his austere disdain for what he calls "formless good will." Is it, however, more important to attack Stalin for disbelieving in the primacy of God than for killing millions of men? If the killing is to be regarded as a mere "consequence" of first principles, specific moral criticism of it can only seem superficial. But, in fact, the purges were the result of a decision by men in power, a decision for which they must be held responsible. A society is to be judged less by its philosophical premise about God and man, if it has any, than by its actual treatment of men; "the human horror of the purge" was evil, not merely "sad." What matters is not the devil's metaphysics, but his morals.

Chambers' major insight into the problem of Stalinism—and an acute one—is his insistence that in this era of permanent crisis it provides a faith, a challenge, even an ideal. Feeding on crisis, Stalinism offers a vision. "The vision inspires. The crisis impels. The workingman is chiefly moved by the crisis. The educated man is chiefly moved by the vision." This is an important observation and a necessary corrective to vulgar theories which make of Stalinism mainly an atavistic drive for power. But Chambers, ignoring the fact that the vision of Stalinism is corrupt, treats it as if it were a revolutionary movement in the Marxist sense. He takes it as a legitimate form of socialism, and pays slight attention to the counter-revolution that occurred in Russia during the very years he was underground.

Is this an academic matter? Not at all; for the essence of Stalinism, in its Russian form, is that it rests on a new kind of bureaucratic ruling class which engaged in "primitive accumulation" by destroying the revolutionary generation and appropriating to itself total economic and political power. Outside of Russia, Stalinism utilizes the socialist tradition of Europe and the nationalist sentiment of Asia for its domestic class

needs and international power maneuvers. A unique blend of reactionary and pseudo-revolutionary appeals, Stalinism attracts, in this age of crisis and decay, all those who feel the world must be changed but lack the understanding or energy to change it in a libertarian direction. Dynamic but not progressive, anti-capitalist but not socialist, Stalinism causes, in the words of Marx, all the old crap to rise to the top; under its domination, the best impulses of modern man are directed toward the worst consequences. And the problem for the historian is to determine precisely the blend of seemingly contradictory elements that Stalinism comprises.

Chambers himself provides an anecdote which dramatically confirms these remarks. His boss in the underground, Colonel Bykov, was a perfect specimen of the new Stalinist man, the Gletkin type: coarse, obedient, unintellectual, brutal. To Bykov "the generation that had made the Revolution . . . seemed as alien and preposterous . . . as foreigners. They belonged to another species and he talked about them the way people talk about the beastly or amusing habits of cows or pigs." So disgusting was Bykov that Chambers felt, before introducing him to Hiss, that he would have to apologize for the Russian. Yet, after a brief conversation, Hiss found Bykov "impressive." Why? I would guess that it was the attraction of an extreme bureaucratic personality for a mild bureaucratic personality, of one man who instinctively scorned the masses of people for another who had been trained to think of them as objects for benevolent manipulation. If Hiss had possessed a trace of revolutionary or liberal spirit, he would have shuddered at the sight of Bykov, he would have seen on Bykov's hands the blood of Bukharin and Tomsky and thousands upon thousands of others.

Where will Chambers go? His strength lies in a recognition that we live in an extreme situation; he agrees that "it is necessary to change the world." No longer a radical, scornful of liberals, convinced that "in the struggle against communism the conservative is all but helpless," he accepts, formally, the position of those reactionaries *manqués* who edit the *Freeman*. But only formally; for unlike them, he is drenched with the consciousness of crisis, he has none

of their complacency, he continues a disturbed and dissatisfied man, given to extreme gestures and ultimate statements. What remains? Only the fact that estranged personality and reactionary opinion form an explosive mixture.

In his final sentence Chambers hints that he believes a third world war both inevitable and necessary. Yet he yearns for some spiritual reformation, a turn to God. What likelihood there is that spiritual or any other desired values would survive in a world-wide atomic war, he does not discuss. Would there, in any case, be much point in reminding him that religious faith has rarely prevented despots from being despotic? that many of our most precious concepts of liberty are the work of skeptics? that Stalinism thrives in pious Rome as in worldly Paris? that it wins supporters in an Orient which has not known a loss of religious faith comparable to that of the West? that if Stalin is an atheist, Franco is a believer? that the priests in Russia pray for Stalin as in Germany they prayed for Hitler?

Very little point, I fear; little more than to have told him during the 'thirties that Stalinism was betraying the German workers to Hitler or by its trials and purges murdering thousands of innocent people. Those who abandon a father below are all too ready for a father above. But this shift of faith does not remove the gnawing problems which, if left unsolved, will drive still more people to Stalinism; it gives the opponents of the totalitarian state no strategy, no program with which to remake the world; it makes our situation appear even more desperate than it already is. For if Chambers is right in believing the major bulwark against Stalin to be faith in God, then it is time for men of conviction and courage to take to the hills.

Close-up of Boswell

BOSWELL IN HOLLAND, 1763-1764. Edited by Frederick A. Pottle. McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$6.

THIS is the second volume of the popular or "reader's" edition of the Boswell papers which will later be paralleled by a complete, more heavily annotated edition to consist ultimately of at least thirty volumes. It takes up the story where "The London Journal"

left off and it covers that period from August, 1763, to June, 1764, during which Boswell was attempting to follow his father's wishes by studying law at Utrecht. The supplementary correspondence with "Zélide" had appeared previously in the now unobtainable "Private Papers" issued in 1928. Most of the rest of the material is new and presents us with an important addition to the vast Boswell saga.

Readers should perhaps be warned that the form is entirely different from that of "The London Journal." The latter was an artful narrative carefully worked up by the author as though intended for publication. The corresponding journal of the Dutch period was lost in Boswell's own time and what has survived is the collection of letters, practice themes, and brief diary jottings from which the lost journal was no doubt rewritten. Nevertheless its interest, though different, is hardly less great. It brings us closer to the man himself because it is more unguarded if not more frank.

Boswell had left London with a heavy heart bound for a country where he promised himself no pleasure and for studies which did not interest him. He obediently attended the law lectures and, in accordance with what was also his father's desire, introduced himself to Dutch society. Partly because of Johnson's influence he was determined to discipline himself and in the process he exhibited a determination and a fortitude of which one would hardly have believed him capable. Here, one might almost say, is Boswell trying to be someone else and all but succeeding outwardly if not inside. He flirted decorously with both Zélide and with a rich widow but he was sober and hard working. He rose usually at six and besides attending the law lectures he read methodically in Latin and Greek, learning some Dutch, practiced composition in French, and came as close as so irrepressible and ebullient a man could come to turning himself into a grind.

Most of the diary is written in the second person even when its substance is narrative. "Yesterday you did perfectly well. You read much Greek and finished 'The Anabasis.'—You was quite genteel and gay at Assembly—But you talked rather too much. Have a care of being *étourdi*." In addition there are

hundreds of admonitory injunctions written to remind him of what he had resolved to do or not to do. "Be *retenue*" is the refrain and there was, of course, nothing more contrary to his nature. "Have real principles. You have acquired a noble character at Utrecht. Maintain it." Or again, "Remember Johnson."

Obviously Boswell had more of what is called "strength of character" than he is commonly credited with, but the moral of the diary remains nevertheless dubious since he may have paid a terrible penalty for the determined attempt to go against his nature. Again and again he was seized by fits of melancholy so obviously genuine as to remove any suspicion that they were part of a pose. And as he himself came more and more to suppose, they may have been connected with the denial of strong impulses, including, of course, those of his frantic sexuality. Even in London he had failed to achieve his ambition to form a liaison with a woman of fashion, but he had ranged widely among prostitutes of every class including the very lowest. In Holland he was determined—from motives which included prudence, the opinion of Johnson, and religious scruples—to permit himself no indulgences and the serio-comic history of his struggles with himself runs through the entire volume. "Go to Amsterdam," he wrote once, "and try Dutch girl Friday, and see what moderate Venus will do." But it is not clear that he did "go to Amsterdam" and when, on another occasion, he wrote "No whoring except" the last word is struck through with a pen as though to say "No exceptions." Boswell had many gifts but what religious writers sometimes call "the gift of chastity" was not

among them. Since he was by now what he believed to be "a rational Christian" religious principles were important and he was already debating with himself those questions which, as readers of the "Life of Samuel Johnson" will remember, he could not keep out of conversations with the great Cham himself. The example of the patriarchs was a heartening fact but not, he seemed to feel, absolutely conclusive. "Does God forbid girls?" he asks himself on one occasion, and again, more confidently, "Con-

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cubinage is no dire sin." But then, on the other hand, there was the question of what prudence denied even if God did not. "Never do it unless some very extraordinary opportunity of fresh girl that can do no harm; and such a case is impossible"; "Hahn pronounced gravely: No metaphysics, plain common sense. No claps. Women are necessary when one has become accustomed, or retention will influence the brain."

Perhaps in Boswell's case it really did. At least the melancholy, whatever its cause, was genuine enough. In fact the whole of this journal has the effect of increasing one's opinion of the strength and the sincerity of Boswell's character. No other available document makes him appear less dandiacal and less complacent, more deeply troubled and sternly resolute.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Symbolical Apple

DOTING. By Henry Green. The Viking Press. \$3.

HENRY GREEN'S new novel, written almost entirely in dialogue, is a comedy of manners of the amorous chivvying of five characters, three of them middle-aged and two young, and all of them ordinary, average, unimportant. They don't want doting and they do want loving, but they are not

sure which is which, any more than Annabel, a young girl (through no fault of her own) with urgent needs (she hopes) who keeps saying in her helpless search for experience that she is "expendable," knows what she means by the word.

Annabel is expendable; loving, in the usual approximate way, wins out; marriage wins out in the usual proximate way—and all for the wrong reasons. Charles, the friend of the family, finds himself unaccountably choosing married love with Claire (whom he wanted only for doting) when during the course of the very amusing closing scene in a night club he gets drunk enough to see the dreary bickerings of the married couple who give the party as a vision of marital happiness.

The comedy arises from the lack of self-knowledge of the characters whom the reader, who is both one of the characters and the stranger who observes them, gets to know only a little better than they know themselves. The comedy is double-edged, for really no one can know anybody, and nothing ever happens—from the first sentence: "Pretty squalid play all around I thought!" to the last: "The next day they all went on very much the same."

There is nothing in "Doting" that Mr. Green has not done better before. Unlike his other novels, at least in

degree, "Doting" creates no "gathering web of insinuations" which should, as he has stated, "slowly appeal to feelings unexpressed." The comedy dissolves most of the feelings, and those left over fail to spin out into the endless webs of the other novels in which apparent meaninglessness reaches out into insinuations of order and meaning, into intimations of the mystery of feeling that, transcending knowledge, can never be, must be, and somehow is inexplicably expressed.

"Doting" is significant in the development of a novelist who from the first has been obsessed with the conflict between the reality of the objective world and the unreality, the unknowableness, of the subjective world. Mr. Green wants to present the characters in "Doting" with the least possible intrusion on his part, to let them be as they are, almost as if they were objects—the literary equivalent of Cézanne's apples. The danger "Doting" fails entirely to circumvent is that Mr. Green's respect for the object and distrust of feeling—which he sees as the danger but without which the apples are only apples—may produce characters whose "unexpressed" feelings remain unexpressed.

To compare Henry Green's characters with those of Henry James is to take the measure of more than a change in literary style. James's characters, those knowing protagonists of their fate, progress from ignorance to self-knowledge through a disciplined accommodation to alien and external reality. Mr. Green's characters know nothing about themselves, and what they do know is wrong; they say only what they do not mean or feel. They never change, and if they end up happy, as they often do, it is almost in spite of themselves. They destroy the whole fiction of self-knowledge. Only the external world, and as part of it, instinctive impersonal human nature, is real. All the rest is unreal, the created, the symbolical apple. "Only crazy for what I haven't got," says one of the characters in "Party Going," "like any drowning, starving man."

H. P. LAZARUS

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Records

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RCA VICTOR has issued a recording of Toscanini's broadcast of "La Bohème" in February, 1946. Not even Toscanini's performance could induce me to listen to the tear-jerking third and fourth acts then or now; but I can report remarkably clear and agreeable-sounding reproduction of his performance of the first two acts—wonderful in its buoyancy, animation, and gaiety, its plastic continuity and coherence, its precise gearing of the N. B. C. Symphony's playing with the superlative singing of Albanese, Pearce, and others of the excellent cast.

Columbia gives us on one record only a few arias and duets from Verdi's "Otello"—some, but not all, of the most beautiful and effective passages in what seems to me Verdi's finest opera. Steber's singing is very beautiful except for a shrill high note or two in the third-act duet (she should rid her Italian of its sharp American t); Vinay's also is excellent for the most part; Guarnera hasn't sufficient weight of voice in the Credo (this aria, incidentally, is for me Verdi's one failure in the opera—a failure, that is, as a musical embodiment of the ideas of the text), but is very fine in his duet with Vinay; and the singers are effectively supported by the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Cleva's direction. In the first-act duet the singers seem too close to the microphone for proper balance with the orchestra, and distinctness is carried to the point of unpleasant sharpness which requires reduction of treble to minimum; elsewhere the sound is good, though the orchestra lacks luster. If Columbia had issued the entire opera it would have provided the entire text; but it issues these passages without the words one needs to follow the development of the music, and with a synopsis that ranges from inadequate to inaccurate. I should mention that the Willow Song and *Ave Maria* were issued a year or so ago on Steber's record of Verdi arias.

Another Columbia record is devoted to the magnificent singing of the bass-baritone George London in a beautiful

aria from Borodin's "Prince Igor" and less valuable excerpts from Rubinstein's "The Demon," Massenet's "Don Quichotte" (with Rosalind Nadell, mezzo-soprano), and Paladilhe's "Patrie." The Metropolitan Opera Orchestra is conducted by Kurt Adler and Jean Morel. Again treble must be reduced; and again there are no texts.

A similar Urania record devoted to the singing of the late Maria Cebotari gives us, in effect, three soprano voices. In what I would say is an over-impassioned performance of *Deh vieni, non tarder* from "Figaro" (in German) we hear a beautiful voice of remarkable amplitude; in *Martern aller Arten* from "The Seraglio" we hear a less voluminous voice of astonishing accuracy and brilliance in the florid passages and high notes; in the final scene of "Salome" this thinner voice is often tremulously shrill (the duet from "Madama Butterfly" with the tenor Walter Ludwig I didn't listen to). Artur Rother conducts the orchestra of Radio Berlin—not too effectively in the introduction to *Martern aller Arten*—and changes the end of the "Salome" excerpt. Treble must be stepped up for the "Figaro" recording and reduced for the others; bass must be stepped up for the "Salome" recording, which acquires a hash of high-frequency distortion. Again no texts.

As for Urania's recording of Dvorak's opera "Rusalka," it has some engaging arias separated by long stretches of less interesting material. The Dresden Opera performance is excellent and well reproduced.

Re dell' abisso from "The Masked Ball" is well sung by Cloe Elmo on a Victor 45, with an aria from "La Gioconda." Morel conducts a Victor orchestra.

Haydn's *Missa Sancti Bernardi de Offida* (1796), which has been issued by the Haydn Society, turns out to be an impressive work not only in its vigorous and joyous passages, like the *et vitam venturi*, but especially in the slow and quiet ones, like the *Gratias agimus* and *Crucifixus*. And there is fine singing by the Copenhagen Boys' and Mens' Choir with the Danish Royal Opera Orchestra in the well-paced performance conducted by Mogens Wöldike.

Columbia offers Steber's beautiful singing in *I Know that My Redeemer*.

Liveth from Handel's "Messiah," *With Verdure Clad* from Haydn's "The Creation," and other arias by Bach and Mendelssohn. Max Rudolf conducts the orchestra.

On another Columbia record are sixteenth- and seventeenth-century madrigals—many of them very lovely, and one by Gesualdo very strange in its unusual harmonic progressions—well sung by the Renaissance Singers under Lehman Engel's direction. Mr. Engel informs us on the envelope that "most of the music is minutely illustrative of the text," which is "poetry . . . of an enormously high order"; yet the texts are not provided—and they are not intelligible as sung. The recorded sound coarsens near the end of the second side.

Some fine examples of secular and sacred music of the sixteenth century are beautifully sung by the Robert Shaw Chorale on a Victor record. Again no texts.

And Columbia has issued an LP dubbing of its old recording of the excellent performance by Lyons musicians of Fauré's lovely and moving Requiem. The sound is good except for some strident fortes of the chorus.

CONTRIBUTORS

IRVING HOWE has begun work on a history of the American Communist Party. He will publish a book on William Faulkner in July.

H. P. LAZARUS is a member of the English Department of Temple University.

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Letters to the Editors

The Pechan Act

Dear Sirs: Pennsylvania's Loyalty act,
 the Pechan law, in its first two months
 of existence has had exactly the effect
 its opponents predicted. Two school
 teachers with impeccable records have
 resigned their positions rather than sign
 the oath. A public-assistance worker has
 also resigned.

Hans Blumenfeld, chief of Phila-
 delphia's Division of Planning Analysis,
 took the oath and resigned in protest
 against "second-class citizenship."

Philadelphia's District Attorney, Rich-
 ardson Dilworth, refused point-blank
 to take the oath, branding it an "out-
 rageous" procedure resembling the
 methods of the Spanish Inquisition.
 Mayor Joseph S. Clarke, Jr., signed the
 oath but called it "nonsense" and "a
 lot of red tape."

Four young doctors and a nurse at
 Philadelphia General Hospital were re-
 luctantly discharged by the hospital
 board for failure to sign. The board
 chairman, acting without option, called
 it a "worthless law," and eighty out of
 106 staff interns and resident physicians
 denounced the law as "insidiously dan-
 gerous in its implications and pro-
 foundly undemocratic in its implemen-
 tation."

A cheering development resulted
 from the recent primary elections. One
 Democratic state assemblyman from
 Philadelphia, Edward Conway, had been
 particularly active in securing the en-
 actment of the Pechan law. An Ameri-
 can Legion post commander, he had
 associated himself with the Legion's
 blustering lobby and had frightened a
 number of Democratic representatives
 from voting according to their con-
 victions. A committee was formed of
 teachers residing in Conway's district
 for the purpose of defeating him in the
 primaries. By taking advantage of sev-
 eral good breaks, the teachers split the
 machine and gave Conway an impres-
 sive beating. The significant thing is
 that all his successful opponents (in a
 three-representative district) campaigned
 on the Pechan-law issue. One incum-
 bent had voted against the law; the two
 newcomers promised to work for re-
 peal. Thus, the Legion's threats to "get"
 every legislator opposed to the Pechan
 law backfired in at least one district.

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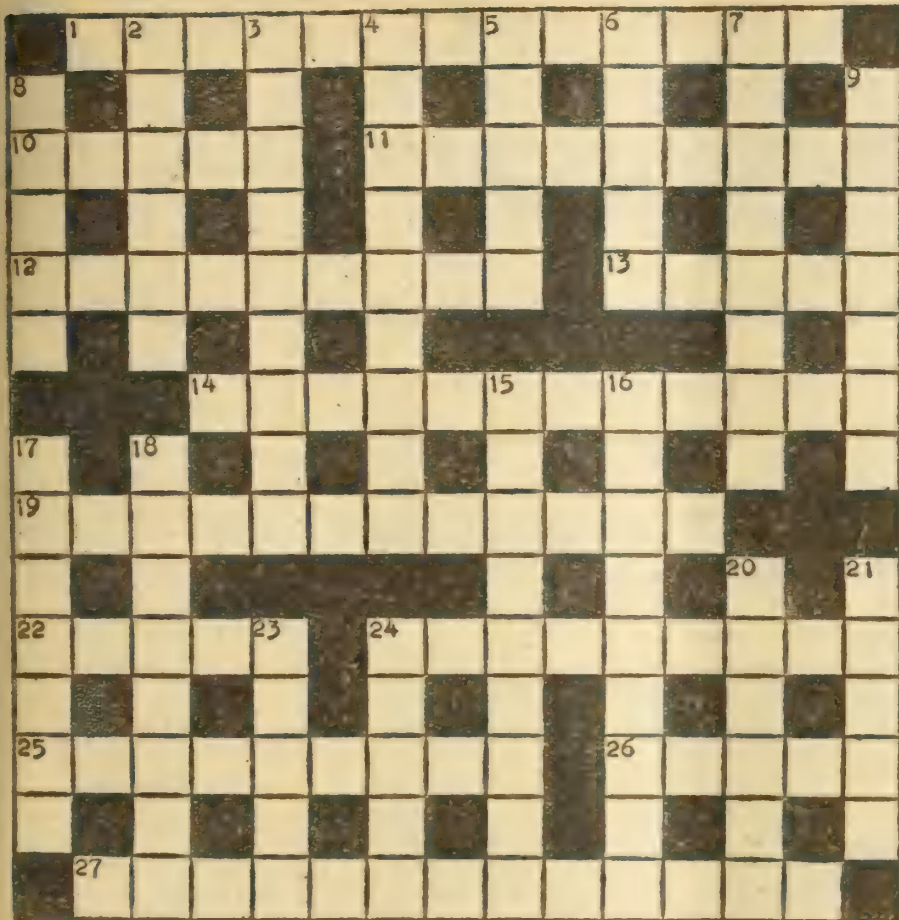
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Crossword Puzzle No. 466

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Cellar bedpost, for those who are on their toes. (5, 2, 6)
- 10 Charybdis personified this pool. (5)
- 11 A battle cape might be square. (9)
- 12 The reason for starving poets, if this is what they dish out! (4, 5)
- 13 The part of a lance which might lead to a vein. (5)
- 14 Are they flooded with extras in Hollywood? (12)
- 19 Something to argue about, when fond parents do. (5, 2, 5)
- 22 Those who run them live dangerously. (5)
- 24 The barter of a twisted yarn manufacturer. (4, 5)
- 25 Discharge the boss at the station, perhaps. (4, 5)
- 26 Would occur yearly if it weren't for a missing void. (5)
- 27 How to put your mother-in-law in a grave position with reciprocity? (13)

DOWN

- 2 Apostrophe to the organ made by the Lord Protector, perhaps. (6)
- 3 Meet, in part, to make the upper Slav safe. (4, 5)
- 4 Discourage a man, but not with soap! (9)

- 5 Are such girls indifferent to sable? (5)
- 6 Jumps out of 21. (5)
- 7 Such a rag never would fit a man who chases things. (8)
- 8 "— — — — — shadow, short — any dream." (M. N. D.) (5)
- 9 Did Luther, in favor of a trial? (7)
- 15 Authoritative, like the Louvre? (9)
- 16 You might need it for a gangster film—so get plastered! (9)
- 17 The first writing of United Press in the wind? (2-5)
- 18 Primitive race? (You've probably never seen such a picture before!) (5-8)
- 20 He makes money, and nothing else (worse luck)! (6)
- 21 A series of changes, perhaps. (5)
- 23 It forms close support to a wall. (5)
- 24 Brer Rabbit had such a patch. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 465

ACROSS:—1 BUFFO; 4 NARGHILES; 9 UNREFINED; 10 WIGHT; 11 DISHCLOTH; 12 TOSTI; 13 SPATTERING; 14 INDONESIAN; 21 IN USE; 22 ENDOCRINE; 23 AND 24 ON THE TELEPHONE; 25 FORETASTE; 26 AND 1 DOWN OUT OF BOUNDS.

DOWN:—2 FOREST; 3 OFFICE; 4 NON COMPOS MENTIS; 5 RED WHITE AND BLUE; 6 HOWITZER; 7 LOGISTIC; 8 SITTINGS; 14 HIT IT OFF; 15 ADJUSTER; 16 INTEREST; 18 SCIPIO; 19 DIE OUT; 20 HEREOF.

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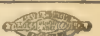
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Discussion

Afternoon Session—2 P.M.

Presiding: Dr. Dewey Anderson, Executive Director, Public Affairs Institute

1. MILITARY BASES AND THE LOYALTY OF PEOPLES

Kingsley Martin, Editor, The New Statesman and Nation of London

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Discussion

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Battle for the Schools—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

*May 31, 1952*

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Revolution Is Our Business

*

Levittown in Bucks County

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

*

Plebiscite in California *Should Parochial Schools Be Taxed?*

BY HANNAH BLOOM

AROUND THE U. S. A.

McCarthy Muddle

Evanston, Ill.

IT IS traditional at Northwestern University to hold a springtime Mock Political Convention in Presidential election years. In this rock-ribbed Republican area, the affair seldom amounts to more than the usual parades, pseudo-political machinations, and the final "bipartisan" selection of a candidate who almost invariably fails to win the following November. The only time in 44 years the Northwestern student body managed to agree with the nation at large was in its choice of Calvin Coolidge in 1924.

This year, however, the M. P. C. attracted widespread interest for two reasons: it chose General Eisenhower for the Presidency and listened to Senator McCarthy, from nearby Wisconsin, as its keynote speaker. The campus reacted strongly to the surprise announcement of McCarthy's scheduled appearance; the pages of the *Daily Northwestern* crackled with letters pro and con. Actually, as members of the convention steering committee pointed out, the Senator had been invited only after other notables—including President Truman, Vice-President Barkley, and Senators Taft and Kefauver—had declined. Moreover, Senators Morse and Douglas were also on the convention speakers' list, so it is unlikely that the invitation to McCarthy was impelled by anything other than a desire to get an additional "big name" for the occasion.

More than 1700 student delegates, observers and townspeople packed the gymnasium to hear McCarthy at the convention's opening. The Wisconsin delegation, blissfully unaware of possible implications, raised two huge gas-filled balloons labeled "McCarthy." Pandemonium broke loose when the Senator entered, cheers and cat-calls about balancing each other. The speaker launched an attack on "the suicidal foreign policy of this nation . . . and the extent to which that policy is dictated from Moscow." His major "case" for the evening was that of Lawrence K. Rosinger, based on Rosinger's views as expressed at the famous round-table discussion on American Policy Towards China sponsored by the State Department in 1949. Mc-

Carthy's attack consisted primarily of charges already aired by Professor Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University, one of the faculty sponsors of the convention, who was seated behind the speaker on the platform.

Both Professor Colegrove and Harold Stassen, who was to speak to the convention the following day, were present at the 1949 round table. McCarthy failed to point out that these two men had been in a minority at that affair; the so-called Lattimore-Rosinger group had the support of William R. Herod of International General Electric, William S. Robertson of the American and Foreign Power Company, and other business representatives—as well as clergymen—who knew the China scene intimately.

From Rosinger, McCarthy drifted into a discussion of the *Daily Worker*, Shakespeare, and God, spicing his peroration with a quotation from *Macbeth* and a dramatic account of a chaplain's last words to McCarthy's marine unit in the Pacific. The Senator bid his audience to have courage and follow him, regardless of "the filth, the mud, the scars and the pain they may make you suffer."

After most of the spectators had filed out of the hall with McCarthy, a motion came from the floor to put the convention on record as supporting the Wisconsin Senator's views. Almost immediately, a counter-motion was introduced to table the first motion. In a shouting contest, the "nays" were declared to have carried, but the noise was so great that a roll-call had to be held which McCarthy won, 543 to 387. So ended the meeting, but not the storm. Late the following afternoon, a handful of delegates were confronted with the civil-rights section of a proposed platform which specifically condemned the "character assassination" methods of McCarthy. With less than a quorum present, a "token vote" was taken which approved the anti-McCarthy plank.

Only three hundred participated in this voice-vote and at the evening session, brief consideration of the plank was squeezed in before the feature speaker of the evening, Harold Stassen. At this time a motion was presented attempting to delete the anti-McCarthy sentiments, but by a standing vote, it

was defeated. It should be pointed out that there was considerable confusion among the delegates as to just what was being voted upon, particularly since this plank was in obvious conflict with the roll-call voted approving McCarthy's speech less than twenty-four hours earlier.

Viewed in retrospect, the Mock Political Convention did not speak well for the political maturity of the students. They apparently had no clear picture of the major issues confronting the nation and were swayed by the emotional shock of the speech of the moment. Thus the delegates, while giving McCarthy a handsome vote of confidence, also formally approved the speech of Senator Morse, whose opposition to McCarthyism should have been known to the students. Furthermore the Morse speech, which was given a rousing reception, was a relentless attack on the Presidential candidacy of Senator Taft; yet the delegates wrangled for four hours before they could steel themselves to vote for General Eisenhower as the convention's choice.

The students' reaction to McCarthy illustrates the way in which a college group, removed from the mainstream of political debate, can shift from a mood of skepticism, even hostility, to one of acceptance under the impact of florid oratory. This was the first formal test of McCarthy's strength on an American campus. The reception he was given suggests that youth can be considered "radical" only if it be understood that "radicalism" can be of the left-wing variety as well as of the left.

PHILIP HALECK

Cultural Attrition?

How are music, opera, and the stage faring in these times of fabulous public expenditures on everything except culture? Included among the contributors to a series on the subject soon to appear in *The Nation* are John H. Mueller, author of the *The History of the American Symphony Orchestra*; Dr. Herbert Graf, stage director of the Metropolitan opera, and Hallie Flanagan Davis, distinguished head of the Smith College drama faculty.

THE *Nation*

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NUMBER 22

The Shape of Things

New East-West Abyss

A last effort by the Soviet Union to prevent the integration of West Germany into the North Atlantic community has failed, and on Monday representatives of the three Western powers and of the Bonn government signed the fateful "contractual agreement." Thus on May 26, 1952—seven years to the month after its "unconditional surrender"—Germany reemerges as potentially the strongest power in Europe. Warnings from the French fell on unheeding ears. Perhaps history will listen to the dramatic appeal by Edouard Herriot, chairman of the French National Assembly, urging the Americans not to precipitate an "irreparable" situation; certainly Secretary Acheson did not.

As for the British, they seem to have given up any shadow of opposition; Anthony Eden limited himself to hoping that some kind of understanding with the Russians might be worked out in the period between the signing and the ratification of the contractual agreement. Moscow, too, seems to be counting on this hiatus. The latest Soviet note on German unification, delivered to the Western powers even as their foreign ministers' pens were hovering over the agreement in Bonn, could not have been designed for immediate effect. But in the weeks ahead the peoples of France and Germany, particularly, will be able to speak out through their representative parliaments, and ratification is yet far from a reality.

As we go to press, rumors are circulating concerning the movement of Soviet troops on Germany's eastern border. Such stories should be taken with the greatest reserve. European chancelleries, while admitting that we have entered perhaps the most critical period since the end of the war, believe that what lies ahead is a great political and diplomatic struggle rather than a shooting war. In any case, May 26 marked the opening of a new abyss between East and West.

Government by McCarran

By a vote of 52 to 18, the Senate has confirmed Judge James P. McGranery as Attorney General. Under any circumstances, the Senate's willingness to brush aside the serious charges against Judge McGranery would

be remarkable; for it to ignore them in view of the present low repute of the Department of Justice is truly shocking. There was, of course, no real investigation of McGranery's qualifications by the Judiciary Committee. Coached by Senator McCarran, who, as the Alsops' widely syndicated column notes, "seems to have a fellow feeling" for McGranery, the nominee had a pleasant session with the committee. The impressive testimony of Richardson Dilworth, Philadelphia's District Attorney, was disposed of by McCarran's reference to the Americans for Democratic Action, of which Dilworth is a member, as "that left-wing organization headed by Francis Biddle." Similarly, discrepancies in McGranery's testimony were waived aside with the generous comment that the events in question "happened seven years ago." Yet a few weeks back, Senator McCarran demanded the indictment of Owen Lattimore for less significant discrepancies relating to matters even more remote in time.

It was doubtless clever of the President to nominate for Attorney General a man to whom he knew McCarran would give "impassioned" support regardless of any embarrassing evidence that might be presented. But it would seem that, in view of the public's concern with "corruption" in government and Administration's promises of a clean-up, the President could have selected a nominee for Attorney General possessing more relevant qualifications for the office than the fact that he is a crony of the President and of Senator McCarran.

Franco in Unesco

The vote of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (Unesco) to admit Franco Spain to membership was a disgrace to the whole United Nations. To have accepted this fascist state into any agency bearing the banner of the "free world" would have been bad enough; to admit it to Unesco, devoted in large measure to international cultural *rapprochement*, was a particularly outrageous act. The leading representatives of modern Spanish culture are either dead or in exile; the culture of the Spanish people, savagely repressed by a dictator, is beyond the reach of Unesco.

By voting "no" Mexico and Uruguay upheld the best traditions of Latin America; Padilla Nervo of Mexico, president of the Sixth General Assembly, and Rodriguez Fabrigat of Uruguay were eloquent in their opposition.

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But the United States, France, and Great Britain voted in favor—a painful spectacle, especially in view of the fact that the fourth great power, the Soviet Union, on this issue voted on the side of democracy.

For two years now we have been betraying the Spanish people in the United Nations, and for two years the Eastern-bloc states have been coming to their defense. One often wonders whether Western policy is not a better propaganda agent for communism than the Cominform itself.

"Political" Passports

The State Department has denied a passport to the Rev. Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, executive secretary of the Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council of New York, secretary of the Department of the Urban Church of the National Council of Churches, and treasurer of the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship. In 1942, Dr. Carpenter undertook a trip to India and China at the request of Dr. H. H. Kung, then Vice-President of China, and with the cooperation of the State Department. A trustee of Keuka College, he also serves on the board of the League for Industrial Democracy and the International Association of Daily Vacation Bible Schools. Some two years ago, Dr. Carpenter, in a church message, voiced a warning against "the infiltration of communism" but apparently he did not voice it loudly enough.

The State Department, which has just issued a lengthy and indignant repudiation of a "red" smear of Secretary of State Dean Acheson, was at first reluctant to offer any explanation for refusing Dr. Carpenter a passport other than the familiar phrase—"not in the best interests of the United States." Later, Mrs. Ruth Shipley, chief of the Passport Division, admitted that the passport had been denied because of Dr. Carpenter's "political activities." It appears that he once signed a statement favoring a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union and also went on record publicly opposing the Mundt-Nixon bill and military aid to Greece and Turkey—grave indiscretions, in retrospect.

The Ice Age

Coming in the wake of the denial of a passport to Dr. Linus Pauling, head of the Department of Chemistry of the California Institute of Technology and former president of the American Chemical Society, the Carpenter incident should be—though unhappily it won't be—the last count in the indictment of the State Department's arbitrary passport procedures. Dr. Pauling, to whom President Roosevelt awarded the Medal of Merit for distinguished wartime service, wanted to visit England in order to take part in a Royal Society conference on the structure of proteins. His application was rejected because of a suspicion that he was a Com-

munist—despite his strong denial—and also because his anti-Communist statements have not been “sufficiently strong.”

Disturbed by this correlation of proteins and subversion, the American Psychological Association wisely decided to hold the 1954 meeting of the International Congress of Psychology in Montreal instead of New York. This action suggests that groups such as the World Council of Churches are now confronted with an insoluble dilemma. If international meetings are scheduled for European cities, not all the American delegates will be able to obtain passports; whereas if meetings are scheduled for the United States, some European delegates are certain not to be admitted. In the end, international gatherings of all kinds may have to be postponed for the duration of the present ice age.

The Loyalty Question

The tragic results of the President's loyalty program in terms of needless suffering, wrecked careers, and a sabotaging of our traditional American liberties is nowhere more succinctly covered than in the recent pamphlet “Loyalty in a Democracy” published by the Public Affairs Committee. Summarizing various viewpoints, the pamphlet reviews the abuses which have developed in legislative and private investigations, and in the enactment of loyalty oath requirements. If the experience thus far shows anything, it holds, it is that grave abuses are almost inevitable once you begin inquiring into men's minds and possible motives.

The darkest aspect of the civil liberties picture, the pamphlet states, is to be found in the reluctance of many of our foremost citizens to oppose the witch-hunt lest they be called subversive. On the positive side, the pamphlet describes numerous local struggles in which individuals and groups have successfully stood up against the forces of repression and suggests that the loyalty problem might be solved by giving the average individual a more significant role in our economic and political life, thus strengthening the fabric of our democratic society.

Freedom for Whom?

An organization calling itself Freedom Clubs, Inc. has come to the defense of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in a ten-page document denouncing the investigation now being conducted by the Senate Elections Subcommittee as “one of the most vicious smear campaigns in American history”—a statement that strikes us as being extremely unfair to Senator McCarthy. Mailed in envelopes bearing the return address of Alfred Kohlberg, leading figure in the China Lobby and close friend of Senator McCarthy, the pamphlet was written by Dr. Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University who

recently testified against Owen Lattimore before the McCarran Committee. Among the members of the advisory committee are: Bing Crosby, Dr. Roscoe Pound, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Lieutenant-General Albert C. Wedemeyer (now active in Senator Taft's campaign), Dr. Robert A. Millikan, Erle Cocke, Jr., past commander of the American Legion, Cecil B. DeMille, Edgar Goodspeed, Rupert Hughes, Dean Clarence Manion of the University of Notre Dame Law School, Felix Morley, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, Eddie Rickenbacker, and George Sokolsky.

But the principal figure behind Freedom Clubs, Inc., according to Dr. Roscoe Pound, is the inimitable Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, founder of Spiritual Mobilization. James P. Selva, public-relations counsel for the club, is also public-relations advisor to National Citizens for Taft, the committee headed by General Wedemeyer. A member of this committee, Felix Wittmer, wrote the vicious attack on Secretary of State Dean Acheson which appeared in the April issue of *The American Mercury*. According to the *New York Times*, over 250,000 reprints of this article have been distributed, some by the National Republican headquarters “and at least one other Republican organization.” The Senate Elections Subcommittee should be encouraged to find out who is financing the public-relations activities of Freedom Clubs, Inc.

Hopping Mad

Rear Admiral Francis C. Denebrink has exonerated the skipper and chief executive officer of the U. S. S. *Reclaimer*, against whom seventy crewmen had filed charges of harsh and unjust treatment. During the five-week hearings in Honolulu, Admiral Denebrink seemed more interested, as we have already pointed out [*The Nation*, April 19], in discovering how the press learned of the charges than in investigating them. In particular, the Admiral's ire seems to have been aroused by the fact that Seaman Bruce S. Hopping, who in civilian life manages a lumber firm grossing \$3,000,000 annually, had retained counsel to represent himself and the other crewmen who had filed the charges. Shortly after the Admiral's report was made, Hopping was convicted by a special court martial of soliciting complaints from seamen and of conspiring with them to embarrass his commanding officer. Given a “bad conduct” discharge, he was immediately confined pending a hearing on his appeal. Judge Delbert Metzger has, however, ordered navy officials to show cause why Hopping should not be released.

Our concern with this case was first aroused by the generally “hush-hush” atmosphere in which the hearings were conducted. This concern has not been lessened by Admiral Denebrink's report which on its face ignores

the central issue on which the charges were based—the question of morale—nor by the promptness with which higher-ups accepted the Admiral's recommendation that Seaman Hopping should be court-martialed. We predict that the navy will not hear the last of this case for a long time.

Nation Associates Conference

In many respects the Nation Associate's all-day conference last Sunday on Freedom's Stake in the Middle East and North Africa was the organization's most successful affair to date. It brought together 600 delegates from ten states to hear an especially distinguished list of speakers including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and (by proxy) Senator Estes Kefauver, who at the last moment wired that he was detained in California by the Presidential primary campaign there. His speech was delivered by the chairman of his New York campaign, Boris Kastelanetz. Among the other speakers were Ambassador L. N. Palar, Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations; David Goitein, Minister Plenipotentiary of Israel; Dr. S. R. Shafaq, member of the Iran Senate and now a visiting professor at Columbia University; M. Jean Louis Manderaeu, Director of Missions Division of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration; Professor E. A. Speiser, chairman of the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Pennsylvania, and Kingsley Martin, editor of the British journal *The New Statesman and Nation*.

The proceedings of the conference—representing, we believe, a constructive contribution to the solution of a vital subject—will be covered more fully in next week's *Nation*. We'd like now, however, to quote Arthur Garfield Hayes who, presiding at the final dinner session, took the unusual step of introducing the audience to the speakers. "You have before you," he told the occupants of the dais, "the intellectual elite of New York and surrounding areas." Geographically, Mr. Hayes' assertion was on the modest side; delegates came from as far away as Utah, which was represented by Chief Justice James Wolfe of the State Supreme Court. The directors of the Nation Associates feel that so long as they can command the support of so dynamic and significant a section of the American community, nobody need worry about the future of the true liberal tradition in this country.

Let 'Em Eat Fresh

On the same day that Congress defeated a bill to increase federal old-age insurance payments to enable the aged to meet higher prices, the Office of Price Stabilization raised the price of canned vegetables by one to two cents a can.

Second Round: Battle for Schools

WITH the publication in the June issue of the *American Legion Magazine* of an article attacking the National Education Association, the "battle for the schools," to which we devoted a series of articles last fall,* has entered a new phase.

In itself the article—Your Child Is Their Target, by Irene Corbally Kuhn—is unimportant. It simply repeats and elaborates standard charges used in all recent attacks on the public schools: failure to emphasize the three R's; the use of Communist-influenced textbooks by "subversive" teachers; and the evils of progressive education. The importance of the article stems from two facts: it appears in the official publication of the American Legion and it directly assails the National Education Association. The largest and most influential of American educational organizations, the N. E. A. has an active membership of 400,000—made up of teachers, principals, and superintendents—and a total or affiliated membership of nearly 800,000.

While Miss Kuhn's article attempts to drive a wedge between the membership of the N. E. A. and the top echelon of its leadership, and concentrates its fire on the N. E. A.'s National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, it can only be read as a direct attack on the N. E. A. as a whole. "One of the strongest forces today in propagandizing for a socialistic America," she writes, "is the hierarchy of the National Education Association." And in a reference to the organization itself she says: "Some of its performances have been more typical of the tactics of a captured labor union, complete with goon squads, than of a respectable national organization." To appreciate the significance of the appearance of an article using such language in the *Legion Magazine*, it should be recalled that the Legion and the N. E. A. have been active allies since the establishment of a joint committee on educational problems some twenty years ago. What exactly has happened, then, to prompt this aggressive and provocative attack by the most influential veteran organization in the United States on the largest educational organization in the country?

THERE is more to the developing feud between the Legion and the N. E. A. than meets the eye. For example, certain sub-surface tensions have been growing over the question of federal aid to education. The N. E. A. has, of course, steadily maintained that federal aid should only be granted to public schools, while the Legion has been under great pressure from a section of its membership to favor federal aid to paro-

* Reprinted in *The Battle for Free Schools*, The Beacon Press, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

chial schools as well. But this issue, on which no real break has yet occurred, hardly accounts for the present all-out attack on the N. E. A.

The key is probably to be found in the success of the N. E. A.'s counter-offensive against the enemies of public education. Drawing a sharp distinction between honest criticism of the schools, however drastic, and organized attacks on public education, the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy has effectively alerted communities from coast to coast to the dangers, and has exposed the activities, of such groups as Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education, the American Education Association, Lucille Cardin Crain's Committee on Education of the Conference of American Small Business Organizations, and other groups which, under the pretext of opposing progressive education and other symbolic targets, are out to capture control of the public-school system. The N. E. A.'s counter-offensive, which Miss Kuhn denounces as "an all-encompassing-umbrella smear campaign," has been so effective, in fact, that in not a single test engagement have the enemies of public education been able to win a clear-cut victory. In Pasadena they did succeed in forcing the resignation of Superintendent of Schools Willard E. Goslin, but only at the cost of alerting the community and the nation to the dangers of their campaign. In Scarsdale, New York; Englewood, New Jersey; and in Denver, Minneapolis, and Palo Alto the "enemy" has been forced to retreat if not to capitulate.

At the same time, there has been a tremendous growth of citizen interest in the public schools; Benjamin Fine, writing in the *New York Times*, estimates, for example, that some 5,000 citizens' organizations concerned with education have been formed in the last five years. Now that the first assaults have been thrown back and this formidable body of public opinion has been organized, the "enemy" cannot resume the battle to capture control of the schools without first bringing into play new forces powerful enough to impose "coordination" upon the N. E. A. If this can be done, then the next objective will be to capture control of the grass-roots committees and organizations that have come into being since 1947. Miss Kuhn hints, for example, that these groups will be "linked together at the appropriate moment." One can readily surmise that the appropriate moment will be when the N. E. A. has been forced to repudiate or disband its National Commission for the Defense of Democracy. As a matter of fact, the Legion attack on the N. E. A. was foreshadowed by a report which the Sons of the American Revolution issued last summer, blasting the N. E. A. as "the chief culprit" in a conspiracy "to force socialism and communism on the United States." A copy of the report was submitted to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The forces that launched the "battle for the schools,"

of which Pasadena was the first major skirmish, have not been able to break through the defenses which were so quickly and effectively thrown up by the N. E. A. and other bodies. These forces are now being regrouped for another assault, the full force of which will not be felt until this fall. The strategy, however, is already clear. It will aim, first, at removing the roadblock which is the N. E. A.'s National Commission, and second, at capturing control of the various citizens' grassroots committees and fusing them into a mass movement under Legion auspices and control. The new congressional committee that was recently established to investigate the foundations will doubtless inquire into the various grants that the N. E. A. has received—a matter which is touched upon, incidentally, in Miss Kuhn's article. It would be difficult, therefore, to exaggerate the importance of the second offensive in "the battle for the schools" of which the Legion article is the first major fusillade.

How Wrong Was It?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

IF ANY paper other than the *Monde* had published the "Fechteler document," the whole thing would have been forgotten in a day or two. The hullabaloo over it, not only in France but also abroad, is certainly a tribute to the *Monde's* authority, influence, and unique position in European journalism. To see it tripped up no doubt embarrassed all those who think the *Monde* not only one of the most courageous and independent, but also one of the best-informed papers in the world; while its enemies were filled with such glee that some screamed for government action and some even for police action. As if there were a paper in the world that had never made a mistake!

But how big a mistake was it? The article written recently in *The Monde* in self-defense by its editor, M. Beuve-Mery, though rather lame in spots, made a number of direct hits. Why, he asked, did the Americans, including Fechteler, dismiss the whole thing as "fantastic" when in reality a large part of the report was a direct transcript of an article in the *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings* by Commander Talerico, an associate of Admiral Fechteler and of Admiral Carney? Why also did Talerico lie low until a bright Dutch journalist discovered where large parts of the "Fechteler report" had been "cribbed" from? And how very inefficient of Fechteler's own men to have "spent a whole week-end searching for any possible basis" of the *Monde* document when all they had to do was to look up a few back numbers of the semi-official U. S. Navy publication.

As far as the top-priority to be given to the Mediterranean in the next war against Russia was concerned, the only mistake the *Monde* made was to attribute the

smoke to a slightly wrong fire; a much bigger mistake was to assume that Fechteler had written the passages concerning the almost instantaneous collapse of the European army, the invasion of England by 150,000 paratroopers, and so on. If this was not part of the Talerico document, where then had it come from? Had it been added by the "editors" of the "Fechteler document" on their own initiative, or had they found it in some other American military or naval expert's article? The most Beuve-Mery found to say on that score was to quote the self-same *U. S. Naval Proceedings* which recently published an article by Commander C. S. Arthur, advocating a "scorched earth" policy throughout Western Europe in the event of a Russian advance, and adding that, from the standpoint of United States strategy, "it would be far better if Europe did not exist at all."

Finally, Beuve-Mery said that if he was "taken in" by the "Fechteler document," which had been procured by somebody in the Secret Service (no names were men-

tioned), it was because certain important French officials who knew about it had also been "taken in."

What Beuve-Mery's defense amounts to in the last analysis is that if the publication of the "document" was a bad *technical* mistake, it was not a major *political* mistake. The truth is that American military and naval experts undoubtedly have been messing about with all sorts of dangerous ideas involving the fate of Europe, and yet anxious that Europe should not know anything about it. And when sometimes Europe does learn about American strategic plans, it is often too late to avoid trouble.

What Beuve-Mery apparently feels is that it would be better if in Europe, at any rate, we did not have a repetition of the "obscurities" of American policy in the Far East; and that Europe is entitled to know a little more about American planning for the next war. The fact remains, however, that the *Monde* made a bad technical mistake.

Switzerland—Cradle of Neutralism

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

SWITZERLAND does not often make the headlines in the American press but its position in the ideological world conflict is worthy of thoughtful attention. For Switzerland is the neutral country *par excellence*. Its neutrality is not a static dogma; it is a subject of controversy not only abroad but among the Swiss themselves.

Officially Swiss neutrality has been understood and respected ever since the Declaration of Paris on November 20, 1815, which stated that "The signatory Powers recognized the neutrality of Switzerland and proclaimed that her inviolability and her independence from any influence are in the interest of all Europe." When, in 1848, Switzerland adopted a federated political structure, neutrality was made the foundation of its foreign policy. The country has remained remarkably faithful to this policy ever since.

Neutrality does not mean isolation. On the occasion of Switzerland's ratification of the Covenant of European Economic Cooperation signed in Paris on April 16, 1948, the Swiss government stated this plainly: "Placed at the center of Europe, our country can neither isolate herself economically nor remain indifferent to the events that take place on our frontiers." A year earlier, when invited to participate in the Paris conference to examine the Marshall Plan, Switzerland declared its conditions for participation: (1) that collaboration would not be incompatible with neutrality; (2) that the country would not be tied by decisions of an economic character taken without its approval; (3) that Switzerland must be free

to maintain its present agreements and conclude any new ones it might desire with countries not participating in the organization created at Paris. The last point was to insure freedom of action in regard to Russia and other Communist countries. In the case of China, in a gesture of loyalty to the principle of political neutrality, Switzerland extended recognition to the Mao Tse-tung government as soon as its authority over the country appeared definitely established.

Western Europe is an important factor in Swiss trade policy, imports traditionally having the upper hand over exports. But since the commercial treaty signed in Moscow on March, 1948, there has been an exchange of goods between Russia and Switzerland, though not on a large scale. Since 1950 trade with Poland has increased, especially the import of Polish coal. Swiss exports to Czechoslovakia rose in 1951. With Rumania and Hungary a normal though modest commerce has also developed. Certain Western powers frown upon this trade; the Swiss government, however, insists that it has taken all kinds of effective measures to prevent strategic goods sent to Switzerland from the West from reaching the Eastern countries. Neutrality does not prevent either the government or the press, the latter one of the best in the world, from openly criticizing certain trends in European policy, such as the Schuman Plan or the frivolous attempt in the Council of Europe to adopt a program of federation—a subject on which the Swiss speak with some authority!

There was at one time a lively debate in the Swiss press as to whether Switzerland, in view of the growing world tensions, should join the United Nations; but the idea was overwhelmingly rejected on the ground that the charter imposes upon members the obligation to support armed sanctions against aggressors. In a poll of 52,000 persons of both sexes, 58.8 per cent of those questioned supported unconditional neutrality; 38.2 per cent voted to maintain the principle of neutrality in the event that Switzerland should decide to join the United Nations, and only 3 per cent called for the abandonment of neutrality.

Neutrality in Switzerland does not imply any lack of determination to defend the country. Great sacrifices are made to maintain a first-class army. The sum of 1,464 million Swiss francs, an enormous total for such a small country, has been voted for military purposes for the years 1951 to 1954. The policy of "armed neutrality" has the solid support of the Swiss people.

Large sections of European opinion enrolled under the banner of "neutralism" have found justification and encouragement in the example of Switzerland. The movement started in France; at the outset it appeared destined to remain the intellectual platform of a group of historians, professors, and writers. The planners of Atlantic defense strategy paid almost no attention to the campaign by Claude Bourdet in the *Observateur*, to an article by the academician Etienne Gilson in the *Monde*, or a single challenging essay by the late Emmanuel Mounier, founder of *Esprit*. Neutralism suffered a reverse when war broke out in Korea but regained impetus as the general international situation worsened.

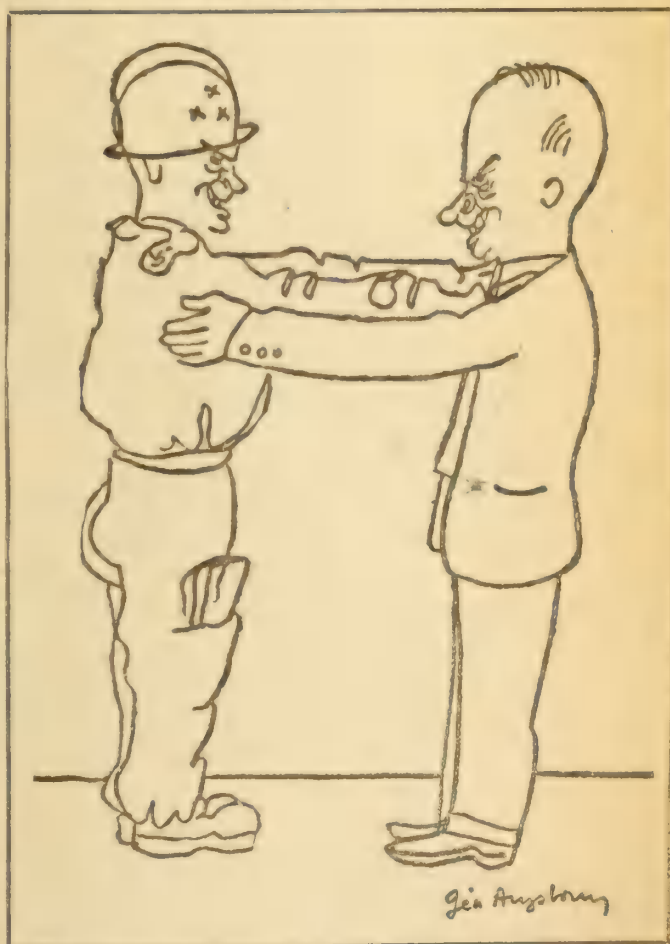
THE mistrust with which the Communists at first regarded a movement which, in their view, confused the issues, gradually vanished. The Soviet note of March 10 on Germany offered the extreme Left a chance to soften their hostility to neutralism. In *Action*, Pierre Hervé, who had previously used his satiric talent to poke fun at the neutralists, wrote: "The Soviet plan may create in the center of Europe a neutral power that will prove that the neutrality of a great nation is not only possible but beneficent." But even before a change of attitude was registered by Communist spokesmen, neutralism was assured of Left-wing mass support. A recent study by the French Institute of Public Opinion reveals that the average French Communist voter is a "neutralist." Only one in five replied "yes" to the question: "Do you believe France should participate in a war between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. if given opportunity to remain neutral?" Sixty-five per cent said "no." An American news agency stated: "This neutralism is the strongest current in French political thought today and the one most difficult to overcome in a push for a defense build-up."

The movement is no longer exclusively a French prod-

uct. In Italy it played a considerable role in the campaign prior to last Sunday's elections. It is spreading in Britain and the Scandinavian countries; in Germany it is tied up with the idea of unification and the withdrawal of the occupying powers. It has been particularly strong during the far-reaching events of recent months—the signing of the new "contractual agreement" with Germany, the signing of the treaty to pool the military strength of France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, and the signing of a protocol to extend to Germany the territorial guaranties of the North Atlantic Treaty. Neutralism is bound to become still more active in the period just ahead, when all efforts to avert the consequences of these events will multiply.

Neutralism has crossed the ocean, though the word is less used in this hemisphere. We see it in the Mexican refusal to enter into a military pact with the United States, in the position taken by such popular leaders as Frondizi of the old Radical Party in Argentina, in the feeling against making precise military commitments which prevails throughout most of Latin America as well as in large parts of non-Communist Asia.

Neutralism is not merely, as has been suggested, fear of an atomic war, cowardice, selfishness, reluctance to pay taxes for rearmament or to exchange butter for guns. It is also the revolt of the best spirits against the hypoc-



La Tribune des Nations, Geneva

Mr. Eisenhower Says Farewell to General Eisenhower

risky of a policy that asks people to be ready to die for principles that are daily betrayed by the very governments that issue the call to arms. An outstanding neutralist—and anti-Communist—explained to me in France last January the reasons for his position:

I simply have come to the conclusion that there isn't any appeal to decent impulse in our foreign policy. They speak of democracy and support Franco in your country. They praise self-determination and identify themselves with the traditional colonialism. They talk of Point Four and withhold the funds necessary to put it into practice.

My friend told the story of how thousands of posters that had been prepared by the United Nations for distribution during the Assembly had been suppressed be-

cause they carried the picture of a dove, which might be mistaken for the Picasso "peace dove." "We have even allowed the Russians to steal from us the symbol of peace," he repeated bitterly.

Not every country is in the privileged situation of Switzerland which has not been invaded since 1815 and has been able to combine neutralism with the most agile and alert preparedness for defense. Only six weeks ago its War Office urged all householders to be ready for any emergency and arranged for the sale of a package containing a one-person ration, as if war were going to break out tomorrow. The Swiss do not fear immediate war but neither do they wish, in this era of growing neutralism, that the significance of Swiss neutrality be wrongly interpreted.

Revolution Is Our Business

BY WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

THERE is much talk these days of war. I, of course, am not in a position to know, but I have a feeling that the fears of America are often misplaced. I have a feeling that we have misinterpreted and misjudged some of the forces in the world.

Soviet Russia, with its hungry appetite for imperialistic expansion, is a military threat, and America must be prepared, of course. But I don't think there is going to be war with Russia at this time. And why?

I think the stakes involved, the immediate stakes are the stakes of Asia and the Middle East. I think that Soviet Russia will not move in a military way until it has on its side the balance of the people of the world. Freedom and justice and equality are the bulwark against any form of totalitarianism, the most virulent of which is communism. . . .

The great struggles for the world today are at the political level. The battle for Asia is at the political level, and in that sense, I think we in America have misinterpreted the signs of the times. It is my deep conviction that the peoples of Asia cannot be won by guns or by dollars. The peoples of Asia must be won, if they are to be won, with ideas.

I suppose that each of us projects into his personal relationships and into his community relationships, the conflicts he has within himself.

That is inevitable because, after all, we are all human beings. If you do not believe in free speech, if you are afraid of new ideas, of course, you will be panicky and alarmed at people like Nehru of India, who believes in experimentation.

If you are suspicious that every one who has a new idea may be a secret Communist agent representing the Kremlin, of course, you will be suspicious of the peoples of the Middle East who are speaking and working and striving for a higher standard of living for themselves. And, if you practice racial discrimination, if you do not believe that a man is entitled to the same opportunities, whatever his religion, whatever his race, whatever his creed, when you turn to the colored people of Asia, you will be confused and in trouble, because you who are not able to recognize equality at home will not be able to recognize equality abroad.

The worst provincialism of which America can be guilty is the provincialism of prejudice, racial prejudice, prejudice against new and challenging ideas. . . .

The most powerful things in the world are ideas, more powerful than all of the atomic bombs, all of the big guns, all of the airplanes. They are the most dangerous things in the world too.

What is this hold that communism has on people? Mostly ideas, and rather shabby ones at that—ideas borrowed from the West and perverted to the Communist goal.

What is the great, powerful thing of which we are proud in America? What is it that we represent? . . . It is our Declaration of Independence, it is our Constitution, it is our Bill of Rights. Those are the things that

This article is a condensation of an address by the Hon. William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, at the 18th biennial convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C. I. O.), held recently at Atlantic City.

set us apart, not our television sets, not our bathroom facilities, not our motor cars, not our buildings, and paved streets. And when the atomic dust settles, if it ever does, we will still have our ideas of brotherhood and freedom and justice and we will go on from there and not turn back.

There are revolutions that are sweeping the world and we in America have been in a position of trying to stop them. With all the wealth of America, with all of the military strength of America, those revolutions cannot be stopped. Those revolutions are revolutions against a form of political and economic organization in the countries of Asia and the Middle East that are oppressive. They are revolutions against feudalism. It is feudalism that is feeding the fires of communism in the Middle East and Asia.

When I say feudalism, I mean a system of economic organization in which a few men own the wealth of the country, where a few men run the politics of a country and where there is a government of the landlords and by the landlords and for the landlords. We do not have that in America. We have in America a broad base for participation in all affairs by everyone. We in America are not perfect. We have much to do, but our standards are right and our ideals are good, and we are striving to live up to them.

But out there in the Middle East and Asia, people like us who have come from the bottom of society, as all of us have, would not have any opportunity.

We would have no schools for our children; we would have no doctors or dentists to take care of ourselves or our families; we would have no hospitals; our income would be barely enough to live on.

We would be tied into a farm-tenancy system in which the owner of the land would get a net return

of about 90 per cent or 95 per cent on the crop and we would get 5 per cent or 10 per cent—a bare subsistence. He would own our land, our houses, our oxen, our plows, our water. He would own our souls.

That kind of a system is not going to survive.

People are on the move. I did not fully appreciate that until I got to the Middle East and spent three summers there and saw what was happening in the villages. People are on the march.

Who are their champions today? The underground Communist Party. Why aren't we their champions? Why aren't we in America standing in the villages of the Middle East and Asia and saying we are for economic justice and social justice and we are going to help you, the peasants, achieve your revolution? Not by throwing bombs, of course. Not by smuggling in guns, not by leading armed insurrections. But through revolutions in the political sense.

What do we do instead? We have been supporting corrupt reactionary regimes, putting money behind governments that are vicious governments, reactionary governments, wasting the wealth of America, trying to underwrite the status quo, trying to stabilize the situation, as our officials sometimes say.

The situation cannot be stabilized with all the wealth of the world, with all of the guns of the world. Things are on the move. Revolutions are in the making. The stakes are civilization. Russia is not going to move in a military way, in my opinion, until the balance of power politically swings to Russia in Asia. So I say, let us concentrate our thinking upon Asia and the Middle East and decide, as a result of our own soul-searching, what we do really stand for. . . .

This is a great country and the people are generous and warmhearted and idealistic. There is today, I think, a great groping for something that is constructive and positive. There is a growing feeling in this country of futility, of frustration. What we are doing is not succeeding while Russia seems to be having political success after political success.

Russia has been winning by default. With very few exceptions, there is no such thing in the Middle East as political parties as we know them. The only political alternative that the people have had, who have been trying to escape from their misery and their poverty, has been the Communist Party. There are exceptions, but the exceptions are not many. We, in our generosity, go to these countries with a vast Point Four program from a technical point of view. With all our medical skills and public-health services, we can move into the Middle East and Asia and we can improve conditions substantially.

In many parts of the Middle East and Asia, eight out



Beyond Comment

A federal judge refused to let five Negro parents send their children to a white high school Saturday, holding that nineteen miles is not an "unreasonable distance for them to travel to a Negro school."—*Dispatch from Knoxville, Tennessee, to the Denver Post.*

Asked about a breakdown of the votes of the members [of the Senate armed services committee] present, Senator Byrd said, "We decided not to announce the results to avoid confusing the public."—*From the Boston Herald.*

"I have found on an around-the-world tour that the principles of the American Legion are as good as those in the Bible."—*Erle Cocke, Jr., former National Commander of the American Legion, as quoted in the Los Angeles Times.*

of ten babies die before they reach the age of one; and it would not take very many American technicians to move through that part of the world and to stop that, by cleaning up water supplies, by teaching vaccination, and so on.

But if that is all that is done, if all you do is keep the babies from dying before they reach the age of one, you have done nothing but increase the number of people among whom you will have to ration the poverty.

You can move in to your agricultural areas of Asia and the Middle East with our wonderful Point Four program and increase the production of the land. But if the net return to the tenant is still only 5 per cent, all you are doing is making a few landlords richer.

I am not exaggerating. I do not think we have any idea of the extent to which the feudal system has fastened itself upon that part of the world. It is about the way Europe was before 1000 A. D.

I met men out there who own farming land greater in acreage than the entire state of Switzerland. One man owned 1,600 villages lock, stock, and barrel. Go into those villages with your Point Four program and increase the production of the land and if the owner takes 95 per cent, what have you gained in the struggle against communism?

There are many raw materials in Asia and the Middle East. There are tremendous industrial possibilities there. Those industrial possibilities fill men like Nehru with alarm and deep concern. Why? Your unskilled labor in that part of the world gets around 25 cents a day. Your skilled labor in that part of the world gets about \$1 a day.

The standards are not the same as they are here. Conditions are vastly different. Of course, Asia needs industrialization. Of course, the Middle East does too. But it will take years and years to get it, in the American sense, unless there is going to be tremendous exploitation.

It cannot be done quickly. It cannot be done in the typical American way of doing things. It must be slow. One of the things that must be imported along with capital is the organization of unions for the protection of the rights of labor. . . .

When one sees how far back in the train of things the peoples of Asia are, industrially speaking, one begins to appreciate the wisdom of Gandhi when he was arguing for the development of home industries and village industries, rather than these tremendous social cancers that would fasten themselves on Asia and India for the benefit of a few men.

Yes, we must go to the Middle East and we must go to Asia. We must help them. We must go with technical programs. We must also go with social and political ideas. If we do not go with social and political

Lillian Hellman's Credo

I am advised by counsel that if I answer the [Un-American Activities] Committee's questions about myself, I must also answer questions about other people, and that if I refuse to do so, I can be cited for contempt. . . . I am not willing, now or in the future, to bring bad trouble to people who, in my past association with them, were completely innocent of any talk or any action that was disloyal or subversive. . . . I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year's fashions, even though I long ago came to the conclusion that I was not a political person and could have no comfortable place in any political group.

I was raised in an old-fashioned American tradition and there were certain homely things that were taught me: to try to tell the truth, not to bear false witness, not to harm my neighbor, to be loyal to my country, and so on. . . . It is my belief that you will agree with these simple rules of human decency and will not expect me to violate the good American tradition from which they spring.—*Extract of letter from Lillian Hellman, playwright, to House Committee on Un-American Activities.*

ideas, our technical program will be of little value in saving that part of the world from Soviet imperialism.

Abraham Lincoln said that the Declaration of Independence was an instrument forged not only for the benefit of Americans on this continent, but one destined to lift the weight off the shoulders of men the world around. That is what people in the backward areas think.

Let us be true to our great traditions. Let us go to the world with ideas of freedom and justice. Let us make the revolutions. Let us make sure that when our technical people go into the villages of the Middle East and Asia the people of the villages know on which side America stands.

You cannot go into those villages and be there a week without taking sides. You are either for the landlord or you are for the peasants. Before we go, let us make up our mind whom we are for; and if we cannot make up our mind, we should not go. If we can hitch the few dollars that we have and the much knowledge that we have to a few simple ideas of economic democracy and political democracy and social justice, and be heard in that part of the world as the advocates of economic and social and political democracy, the red tide of communism will turn. Then we of the West will make a political victory; we will have Asia and the Middle East on our side; we will save those people from the curse of Soviet imperialism. Those are things that we must go to the world with.

We have been hesitant, we have been afraid. We have poured billions of dollars into Europe, and we did

necessarily, I think; but we have never hitched much of our European dollars to ideas.

Why do you think the number of Communists have been increasing in France and in Italy? Why do you think they have been growing? Because we have not hitched our dollars to ideas. Unless we hitch our few dollars to ideas, unless we are forthright in our dealings in the Middle East and in Asia, we are going to go down in history as identified with the worst reac-

tionary imperialistic forces, apart from Soviet Russia, that the world has known. That is not fair to America nor to her people, because America is not made up of people who want to do that kind of thing.

We believe not in terror, but in tolerance; we believe in justice for everyone, regardless of his political faith, his racial origins, or his religious creeds. Those are the strongest ideas that have ever been let loose in the world.

The Depressing German Press

BY MANFRED GEORGE

UNDER Hitler the German people learned to distrust the printed word. The avalanche of lies which Goebbels unloosed practically blotted out any distinction between fact and propaganda. When the Allies marched into Germany they needed a reliable press which did not exist. Most of the old newspapermen had been Nazis and had fled or gone underground. The younger generation had had no political or technical training for the job. The few members of the German press who had belonged to the resistance movement or, being stout Social Democrats or Catholics, had disappeared from the scene during the Hitler period, were therefore pressed into service. In addition, there were numerous prominent journalists who had left Germany in the thirties and returned with the Allied armies.

At present the West German Federal Republic has only one daily with national circulation—the *Neue Zeitung*, published until recently in Munich but now removed to Frankfurt and Berlin. Edited by Hans Wallenberg, a brilliant German exile who became a major in the United States army during the war, it is read by everybody in public life. Its coverage of political and cultural events is of the highest quality. But the *Neue Zeitung*—and this is the important thing—is the official mouthpiece of the American authorities. Although it is widely read and discussed, it is considered a “foreign” paper by the politically-minded German public.

Other German dailies are more or less local papers. Their distribution is confined to the town or city in which they appear, or at the most, to the province. Newspapers in cities like Frankfurt, Munich, and Cologne have of course a fairly large circulation, but it cannot be said that they exercise a definite influence on political opinion. The most important are *Die Welt* (Hamburg)

the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of Munich, the *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung* of Heidelberg (one of the owners is President Heuss), and the *Berlin Tagesspiegel*. West Germany is strictly decentralized; the federal government plays a lesser role than the governments of the *Laender*, or states. For that reason most papers have a narrow provincial outlook, their interests centering in municipal or state affairs.

Almost all the larger newspapers have remained in the hands of the men who started them in 1945. The Nazis who returned to the newspaper field a few years ago have as yet been unable to reconquer it. Although the Allies no longer require Germans to obtain a license for putting out a paper, the liberals have held their own against resurgent Nazi competition. In the midst of a rising tide of Nazism, the dozen leading dailies are still unequivocally anti-Nazi.

Does this mean that the German mind gets healthy nourishment? A look at the average German newsstand will furnish the answer. Slick magazines and cheap “yellow” journals crowd out everything else.

The best approach to a German is still the emotional one. Stories supported by pictures are the chosen medium. Among the weeklies only those that are illustrated and cater to German sentimentality have a country-wide circulation. To increase their appeal by playing on hidden sentiments and suppressed ambitions, these papers soon adopted the nationalist line. The two largest, *Quick* and *Der Stern* (*The Star*), each with a circulation of some 600,000, are definitely nationalist, displaying even a Nazi tinge. Two others are democratic in tone—the *Neue Illustrierte* of Cologne and the *Frankfurter Illustrierte*, whose editor-in-chief is Friedrich Kroner, in pre-Hitler days editor of Germany's best magazine, *Uhu*. Until very recently the *Münchner Illustrierte* also belonged in this group. Hans Habe, the well-known novelist, author of “A Thousand Shall Fall,” edited it, but he has now resigned, and the magazine has become non-political.

MANFRED GEORGE, editor of *Aufbau*, New York German-language weekly, is also American correspondent for the well-known Swiss daily, the *Basel Nationalzeitung*. He visited Germany last year.

(Habe himself has just started publishing a weekly, *Echo der Woche*, with the characteristic subtitle *Independent European Magazine*.) Each of these three weeklies has a circulation of about half a million. *Revue*, which closely follows the nationalist line, sells perhaps 400,000 copies weekly.

To show how the facts are all too frequently distorted: on October 6 last *Revue* carried two letters to the editor which termed the figure of 11,000,000 for the victims of Nazi occupation fantastic and impossible. One letter said the "Quarterly Report of the United States High Commissioner" gave the total number of Nazi victims as 2,000,000. The editor of the "Quarterly Report" replied that the figure of 2,000,000 referred only to victims of the S. S. occupation troops. *Revue* carried this explanation but in a carefully abridged form and surrounded by four other letters which painstakingly quoted obscure sources to prove that Jews always grossly exaggerate the losses suffered under Hitler.

These illustrated weeklies tell more about the German temper than any Gallup Poll could possibly do. After a surprising number of stories about life and happenings in the United States—some giving a false picture of the "American way of life" and some outspokenly hostile—their main features are evocations of the "good old times." For the democratic magazines the "good old times" are the era of the Kaiser. A serial entitled "My Grandfather the Kaiser," written by a granddaughter of Wilhelm II, had tremendous success and increased the paper's circulation by 10,000. The nationalist magazines, under the pretext of presenting documentaries of historical interest, glamourize the Führer and his lieutenants. One series, "Behind the Walls of Spandau," depicted the sad life of war criminals in the military prison near Berlin. A semi-documentary, "Night Without Pity," started out with the assassination of a high Allied officer. Another extremely successful serial was "Hitler's Tischgespräche" ("Conversations at Hitler's Dinner Table"), published ostensibly to show the irresponsible maundering of Hitler's talk but in the final analysis serving a

different purpose which its readers were not slow to find.

In addition to the big six, there are no fewer than thirty-two smaller illustrated weeklies. A number of other periodicals, some of them illustrated, are devoted to the interests of special groups—veterans, refugees, ex-prisoners of war, and so on. During the past few months two have attracted particular attention. One calls itself *Der Stahlhelm* (*The Steel Helmet*) and shows the grim face of a steel-helmeted soldier next to its masthead. Banned by Hitler in 1935, it is again being published as the organ of the reactionary generals, clamoring for restitution of the territories lost to Poland and extolling General Mannstein, a convicted war criminal, as a kind of male Joan of Arc. *Die Deutsche Soldatenzeitung* (*The German Soldier's Weekly*) features an Iron Cross on its front page. It was this paper, incidentally, which published the outrageous demands proposed by General Friessler as the price of Germany's military cooperation within the framework of a European army.

Some of the most dangerous propaganda is spread by weeklies like *Der Sudetendeutsche* (*The Sudeten German*) and the *Ostdeutsche Zeitung* (*East German Weekly*), organs of the ten million German refugees from the eastern provinces and the German districts of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and the Baltic states. These refugees are full of hate against those who drove them from their homeland and support any nationalist movement which aims to reconquer the lost provinces.

On the other side of the ledger, several periodicals live up to the best traditions of the German press. *Die Gegenwart*, *Europäische Hefte*, *Europa Archiv*, *Die Aktion*, *Geist und Tat*, and a few others represent the politically progressive minds in Germany. Unfortunately, they are comparatively few in number, and so are their readers.

There is not much chance that this depressing picture will change. Only if we stop considering a motley crowd of full-fledged reactionaries and semi-fascists our friends just because they profess to be anti-Communist will the progressive press of Western Germany get the encouragement it so desperately needs.

Frankfurter Rundschau
STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG
Die Neue Zeitung
DIE AMERIKANISCHE ZEITUNG IN DEUTSCHLAND
Deutsche Zeitung
wirtschaftliche Zeitung
Sie
Fortsetzung des Taktbuches

California's Church School War

BY HANNAH BLOOM

Los Angeles

CALIFORNIANS will tangle with some turbulent issues in this year's elections, but none more touchy than the referendum to repeal the Waters act, which exempts from property taxes all religious schools of less than collegiate grade. Always "the great exception," California is the only state that, until the adoption of the act last spring, had never granted tax exemption to parochial schools; in fact, the state legislature had rejected the principle on three prior occasions in the last quarter century. In November, for the first time in California or anywhere else, the issue will be subjected to popular vote on a state-wide basis.

It goes without saying, of course, that a question so "hot" as this is already being debated at luncheon clubs, open forums, and on radio and television programs, confirming that "Californians adore being campaigned."

As soon as referendum petitions began to circulate, parochial-school patrons entered the lists. The Parents' Taxpayers Association and the Committee for Justice in Education blasted the petitioners as "religious bigots" and "subversives." Allowing the voters to pass on the Waters bill was condemned as an illegitimate use of the referendum; directors of the campaign were branded as "unscrupulous promoters"; persons distributing the petitions were threatened and accused of "misrepresentation"; the state Un-American Activities Committee promised to investigate charges of "subversion." A month after the referendum qualified for the ballot, with a surplus of 50,000 signatures, the *Los Angeles Mirror* pleaded for a four-month moratorium on the issue because an avalanche of letters to the editor reflected "irrational hatreds and bigotry."

The impetus for the Waters bill was supplied by the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors, which habitually convenes in July as a board of equalization and conducts quasi-judicial hearings on tax relief for religious, charitable, and other single-purpose institutions. Pleading hardship, necessity, or public service, such institutions had gradually won tax reductions amounting in some cases to nearly 90 per cent of the initial assessment. After a 1950 Supreme Court decision, the county counsel advised the board that such high exemptions were invalid, since its authority to correct tax inequities did not include the power to exempt. The remedy for this legal quirk, denominational advisers decided, was complete

tax exemption. Legislation to this end was promptly introduced by Assemblyman Laughlin E. Waters and sponsored by fifty-seven other Assemblymen. Within twenty-seven legislative days the bill was approved by the Legislature with three dissenting votes and signed by Governor Earl Warren. It amends the "welfare exemption" of the state revenue and taxation code and extends "tax exemption to property used exclusively for schools of less than collegiate grade owned and operated by non-profit religious, hospital, or charitable institutions."

ABOUT 160,000 children, according to the *New York Times*, are enrolled in California's 700 parochial schools; the Roman Catholics operate about 453 schools, Seventh Day Adventists 146, and Lutherans less than 100. (The inclusion of hospital and charitable schools in the amendment was a touch of political whimsey, since none is known to exist which meets the full requirements of the exemption.) The bill gives a substantial boost to religious schools but is a boomerang to voters who supported in good faith the 1944 welfare amendment. At that time Charles W. Lyon, then speaker of the Assembly, and Thomas A. Maloney, speaker *pro tem*, assured the voters in the official argument for the measure that "schools other than colleges will not be exempted under this amendment because the Legislature expressly eliminated the term 'educational'." The original intent of the legislators and voters specifically to exclude elementary and secondary parochial schools from the advantages of the welfare exemption is deliberately reversed in the Waters bill.

The referendum temporarily annuls the Waters bill until the voters decide the issue. In the campaign against it prejudice and persecution have been artificially injected and recklessly used as political weapons. Those who oppose tax exemption become the devil's advocate—anti-Christian, anti-religious, or just anti-Catholic. The "character of the principal opposition" is described by the Committee for Justice in Education as "those who believe in a state monopoly of education" and "those who believe in the subversion of our free institutions by inciting distrust, disunity, and controversy." The popular position for public officials and political candidates is to support the religious schools by pleading for religious "unity" and "equity" or emphasizing that, after all, a paltry \$650,000 in tax money is involved. Many will follow the lead of the Democratic and Republican parties and will duck the issue entirely.

Of major political-action groups, only organized

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labor has as yet taken a stand on the question. Union leaders have unhesitatingly indorsed the Waters bill and denounced the referendum. The state A. F. of L. found the exemption of parochial schools "in line with the historical position . . . to advance education every possible way." The C. I. O., referring to the opponents of exemption, was resolved to "root out this cellar society whose purpose it is to breed religious hatred." A few days after Assemblyman Waters said he had a "hunch" that such racists as Gerald L. K. Smith were supporting the referendum, a Los Angeles labor leader expressed "suspicion" of the sources of referendum funds.

While making numerous sorties in other directions, proponents of the tax exemption would like to confine the argument to an analysis of fiscal policies and revenue. If the parochial-school system did not exist, they say, and if its 160,000 students were suddenly thrust upon the public schools, the state would be forced to expend \$43,000,000 in operating expenses and \$150,000,000 in construction costs to accommodate the additional load. The \$650,000 tax exemption is thus regarded as fair compensation for relieving over-crowded public school-rooms of a hypothetical "burden" of parochial-school children. To reward this "public service" with taxes on school property is "discriminatory" and "unfair." Indeed, the "essential functions" of these schools, according to campaign literature, are to "reduce substantially the burden of taxation" and provide a "guaranty that education will not become a state monopoly dominated by political thinking."

The natural appeal of economy is somewhat obscured by the insistence of spokesmen for the Waters bill that "it's not the money; it's the principle of the thing." Familiarity with that principle accounts for much of the determined opposition to parochial-school expansion with public funds. As sponsors and directors of the referendum campaign, the California Taxpayers' Alliance, founded in 1933 to defeat a similar proposal, considers the referendum long-range insurance against future demands upon public tax moneys for buses, text-

books, teachers' salaries, and other services for parochial schools. The Alliance represents a cross-section of opinion which is dormant except when challenged to action. It appeals alike to harassed taxpayers, advocates of a strict separation between church and state, and devoted protectors of the public schools. Prominent Masons, Christian Scientists, and leaders of other denominations participate as individuals, not as group representatives.

The agitation provoked by President Truman's proposed appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican has provided the Alliance, and numerous Protestant synods also protesting the tax exemption, with a ready-made audience. While waging a limited battle "against the continuing purposes of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to attain political power through the eventual control of all education," the Alliance stresses that the referendum "is not a question of the right of religious groups to conduct their own private schools, nor is it an attack upon these schools." Advocates of a school system "which subordinates education to religious instruction and the propagation of one faith to the exclusion of all others" are conceded the right to build and maintain their own schools. If the costs voluntarily assumed "do not justify the ends they seek, then they are free to discontinue their schools and educate their children at public expense."

After the first flood of election hyperbole, major emphasis in the tax-exemption fight will probably settle where it belongs, on the implicit threat to the public schools. California voters must decide whether they want to encourage the expansion of a private, sectarian school system at the cost not of a mere \$650,000 but of loss of pride and confidence in the public-school system. Perhaps the Jesuit magazine *America* is correct when it states, "The Catholic and non-Catholic school systems are absolutely irreconcilable." Certainly, moral and financial support of the public schools is not encouraged when the system is described as "political education," and "the precursor of autocracy," and its defenders are associated with subversion and bigotry.

High Tariffs vs. Foreign Policy

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

DURING the next few weeks governments of many countries will be keeping an eye on Washington to see whether the United States will continue to practice as well as preach the gospel of freer international trade. Before Congress are two bills with an important bearing on this question. One is a measure, supported by the Administration, for the simplification of customs regulations and procedures which would eliminate some of the

hazards and delays that now face importers of foreign goods. Protests by American interests have already led to weakening of this bill and its ultimate fate remains uncertain.

Of greater immediate interest to some of America's trading partners is the bill to extend the Defense Production Act. Although one of the primary purposes of this act was prevention of inflation, representatives of the

dairy states succeeded last year in inserting a clause authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to restrict the importation of milk products. The result has been a drastic limitation by quota of cheese imports which has forced up prices of many types of cheese and brought protests from Denmark, Canada, Holland, Italy, and a number of other countries. Retention of this clause in a new Defense Production Act will suggest to many foreign traders that protectionism is making a comeback.

Another straw in the wind will be the decision of the Tariff Commission, due not later than June 15, on a request by a motorcycle manufacturer for increased tariffs. This application, like a number of others on file, invokes Section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951 which instructed the Tariff Commission to investigate any complaint that a concession granted under a trade agreement has caused, or threatens to cause, "serious injury" to a domestic industry. Since the motorcycle case is the first to be investigated under Section 7, its disposition will provide a clue to the commission's interpretation of the phrase "serious injury."

While awaiting the outcome of these various legislative and administrative actions, foreign observers are also concerned about the party platforms that will be constructed at the July conventions. In particular, as there appears to be a strong possibility of a Republican victory, they are wondering whether the G. O. P. has learnt anything about the facts of economic life during its long political exile or whether it will stand pat on its traditional protectionist plank. This is a question of immediate importance since the Trade Agreements Act will expire next year.

IT WOULD be difficult to maintain that the reduction of American tariff since the first Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 has resulted in floods of imports threatening to drown out American business. During the whole period, in fact, the United States has consistently exported more than it has imported and since 1946 its export surplus has averaged almost \$5 billion annually. Although the balance of trade favors this country so heavily, any increased importation of any particular line of goods is likely to send representatives of the industry concerned howling to Washington for "relief." In the lexicons of many businessmen, farmers, and labor leaders, foreign competition is always unfair competition.

Consider, for example, the claims of the cheese-makers at whose behest Midwestern legislators sneaked Section 104 into the Defense Production Act of 1951. The flood of imports which they assert was threatening their livelihood amounted at no time to more than 5 per cent of domestic production. Moreover these imports included considerable quantities of sheep's and goat's

milk cheese which are not manufactured here on a commercial basis. Nevertheless, the Secretary of Agriculture felt compelled by Section 104 to limit cheese imports for the year ending June 30 next to 30 per cent less than the 1950 total. This is a real blow to some of the best foreign customers of the United States, such as Denmark and Italy, which have depended on cheese for some 10 per cent of their export dollars. It has also been a blow to American consumers, who have seen prices of many varieties of cheese rise steeply since the quota was imposed last August. The wholesale price of domestic Swiss on May 2 was about 33 per cent higher than on August 24, 1951.

In a memorandum sent to the Department of State on April 9, the British Embassy in Washington described the anxiety caused to British exporters by the growing numbers of applications by American industries for relief under Section 7 of the Trade Agreements Act of 1951. British manufacturers, it pointed out, had been urged, not only by their own government, but by the United States, to push their wares in America with a view to reducing the "dollar gap." Now "they are perturbed by the mounting evidence that any marked success in selling their goods in the United States will be encountered by applications from American industry for further protection and the fear that some at least of these applications will be granted."

One British industry that has put both money and energy into building an American market since the war is the motorcycle industry, which has long led the world in the production of medium-weight machines appealing to young sportsmen. In this country the most important manufacturer of motorcycles is the Harley-Davidson Company of Milwaukee, which has specialized in a type of heavy machine favored by police forces and the military. This company has not hitherto stirred itself to produce sports models, yet now that British and European makers have created an entirely new market for such models, it is claiming "serious injury."

The present tariff on motorcycles is 10 per cent *ad valorem*, the rate fixed by the Tariff Act of 1930, while that on parts is 15 per cent. By recent trade agreements the United States has bound itself not to increase these rates. The Harley-Davidson Company wants the Tariff Commission to recommend an increase in the rate on machines to 40 per cent and in the rate on parts to 50 per cent and, pending necessary legislation, asks for a quota on imports of 10 per cent of the previous year's domestic production. In 1950—the last year for which complete figures are available—Harley-Davidson produced 17,024 motorcycles while imports numbered 9,426 (over 80 per cent of which were British). Al-



though imports form a relatively high proportion of the total supply, there is no evidence that they have cut into Harley-Davidson's sales to public authorities: the company's established position and the "Buy American" Act afford it sufficient protection there. However, since filing its application with the Tariff Commission, Harley-Davidson has launched a new model which will have to compete with the lighter imported machines. Thus what it is really seeking is the practical exclusion of foreign manufacturers from a market which they actually created.

This seems such a flagrant bid for monopoly that it is hard to believe that the Tariff Commission will recommend any increase in the tariff. Should it do so, applications for "relief" will pour in from every industry that finds it is in the slightest degree inconvenienced by foreign competition. And foreign exporters in increasing numbers will ask: Why spend money in adapting designs for the American market, in building sales organizations, in maintaining adequate stocks, if as soon as we begin to attract customers, our trade is cut off by higher tariffs or quotas? Better to forget America and urge our governments to hustle up more trade through bilateral agreements.

Tariff propagandists argue that the industrialist who seeks additional protection is strictly within his legal rights. That is true and it is also true that Article XIX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (G. A. T. T.), which was promoted by the United States as a means of breaking down trade barriers, provides for withdrawal of tariff concessions, in exceptional circumstances, by any signatory. Nevertheless, as the British memorandum pointed out, the whole purpose of G. A. T. T. would be defeated if Article XIX were invoked frivolously, and particularly if "the major

creditor country in the world were to set an example of withdrawing tariff concessions whenever they revealed their effectiveness through more vigorous competition between the imported and the domestically produced product."

It is saddening, and even frightening, that this debate should have to be continued at all. Here is a country which is the leading exponent of competitive free enterprise, which has an industrial capacity greater than all Europe put together, which rightly prides itself on its superior technical efficiency, which so consistently undersells foreign producers that year after year its exports vastly exceed its imports. Yet this country believes that unless it continues to cling to the old tariff nurse that protected it in infancy, it will be knocked out by the neighbors.

The American tariff is an anachronism. That fact has been recognized by Democratic Secretaries of State since Cordell Hull, but pressure from vested interests has forced them to move very slowly toward its abolition. As for the Republicans, a majority clearly believe that the tariff plank they nailed to their platform seventy years or more ago is as good as ever. It is almost certain to be reaffirmed at Chicago in July unless General Eisenhower speaks out boldly. He, at least, must have learned from his experiences in Europe that the Western alliance is doomed if this country pursues policies that encourage internecine economic warfare, and must agree with the *Wall Street Journal's* editorial comment: "It is obvious that a return to high tariff protection on our part will be glaringly inconsistent with a policy of appropriating Treasury funds to shore up the economies of other countries in the hope of assuring their political devotion to 'the West.'" It will be interesting to hear General Eisenhower on this subject.

Levittown in Bucks County

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

Bristol, Pa.
WHEN 300 workers from the powerful Building Trades Council of Philadelphia (A. F. of L.) recently threw a picket line across the entrance of the mammoth Levittown housing project near here, it was a familiar story to builder William J. Levitt. The same thing happened to him during his debut into the mass-housing field on Long Island in 1947—and for the same reasons.

Levitt's local project is part of an industrial and gen-

eral building boom which is threatening, among other things, to chase the artists and writers out of historic and beautiful Bucks county. The biggest single industrial development in the area is the \$500,000,000 United States Steel Corporation plant—called Fairless after the firm's famous executive vice-president—in neighboring Morrisville. It has been predicted that the industrial boom will bring at least 100,000 workers into the area and Levittown is designed to accommodate 50,000 of them.

Levitt has been called the Henry Ford of the housing industry; he mass-produces his houses in "cycles." First

CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR., is a free-lance writer.

a team of bulldozers scoops out a block of perhaps fifty foundation excavations; a crew follows to lay down the foundations; another crew sets up the walls in assembly-line fashion. Roof and interior soon follow, and then detail and trim. Here at Levittown the schedule calls for construction of nearly 6,000 houses a year for three years—an average of nineteen per working day.

The picketing union workers charge that while Levitt likes to deal with materials *en masse*, he prefers to deal with his employees on an individual basis. Specifically, members of the Philadelphia council charge that 400 of the 600 men employed in building Levittown are non-union; that skilled mechanics are made to perform a variety of jobs which cut across craft lines and thereby violate union rules; that many of the workers are paid on a piece-work instead of an hourly basis.

Ralph W. Myers, Levitt's public-relations man, admits that "some of the work is done on piece-work basis," but insists that in most cases wages are paid on an hourly scale. On the open-shop charge, his reply isn't at all evasive: "Mr. Levitt, biggest builder in the country, has been in business for twenty-two years and has never had a union shop." Presumably he never intends to have one. Last week he got a county court order enjoining the pickets. The injunction was not obeyed and state police were called out by Governor Fine to "provide whatever assistance is needed" to preserve order.

LEVITT is likely to meet trouble in fields other than labor. There is the question of racial discrimination. According to the Philadelphia Housing Authority, about a half-million Negroes live in the metropolitan area and a lot of them are going to be employed in Bucks county. Where will they live? In Levittown?

The other day I dropped into a Levittown office and applied for a house. "But," I told the salesman, "there's something I want to ask you about that's very important to me." The salesman lifted a reassuring hand. "You mean the talk that's going around about colored people living here?" he asked. "Listen, this is the point of sale—strictly between you and me—and believe me, we sell to whites only, mister."

Under Pennsylvania law, housing for Negroes is guaranteed in all residential construction aided by public funds—as is Levittown. Confronted with this issue, Levitt said he wasn't planning to make any "noble experiments" but added that, if necessary, he would build a separate community for Negroes "with their own clubhouse." The builder's efforts to maintain a "lily-white" clause in his Long Island leases were defeated by the stubborn opposition of liberal New Yorkers. But here, as there, he can attempt to keep his community white by adroit manipulation of his sales instead of his leases.

Levitt's disinclination for "noble experiments" extends into other areas. For instance, he doesn't like to mix varied economic groups in a single area. His "Country Clubber" houses, most expensive of the Levittown models, sell for \$17,000, and are separated from the \$10,000 homes designed for housing-starved veterans and defense workers. Moreover, there are reports that he doesn't like to mix Democrats with Republicans, either. The story is that he has assured Joseph R. Grundy, boss of the Pennsylvania Republican machine, that Levittown won't become infested with too many Democrats. It would be a neat trick, though obviously difficult of accomplishment.

Levittown is only one factor—albeit an important one—in the metamorphosis of Bucks county from bucolic retreat to factory-plus-suburb. Other similar developments are beginning to dot the rolling countryside, including one being built by United States Steel. Public-spirited citizens complain that there is no overall planning, no proper zoning, no proper conservation of the area's natural beauty. The Philadelphia Housing Association has warned:

The open green of the countryside can all too easily be changed . . . into the dirty, foul-smelling crowded landscape of badly-planned factories, hot-dog stands, service stations, and a wilderness of trailer camps and jerry-built speculative developments.

The United Automobile Workers of America (C. I. O.) and the United Steelworkers of America (C. I. O.) have expressed similar uneasiness, and not only about the physical changes in the region. Charles Ford, regional director of the Steelworkers union insists that "democratic growth" must accompany material well-being in an intelligently-planned community. Drayton Bryant, imaginative and dynamic assistant to the Executive Director of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, points out that Levittown failure to adopt a program of racial integration can mean:

. . . separate housing, separate schools, plus lines of tension in home and community facilities. . . . The steps are short from separation and ignorance to suspicion—from fear to hatred and then violence. Levittown and Bucks county have now become an outstanding opportunity and a national front line for the growth of a strong but adolescently fearful American democracy.

Acutely aware of the dangers implicit in the shattering of the Bucks county idyll, a group of representative citizens have formed a Human Relations Council under the chairmanship of Clarence Pickett, honorary secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. The council will seek to make sure that the area has enough schools, playgrounds, and other facilities and does not secede from the Bill of Rights.

That Nietzsche Book

By ALFRED WERNER

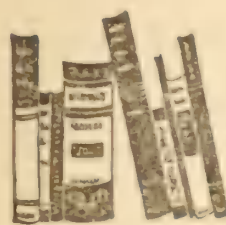
PERHAPS the most sensational book of the winter season was a volume entitled "My Sister and I" which was published, advertised, and reviewed as the autobiography of Friedrich Nietzsche which the German philosopher is supposed to have written in a psychiatric clinic in 1889. The book recounts an astonishing tale of sexual abnormality which begins with a description of an incestuous relationship between the philosopher and his sister.

The autobiography is said to have been posthumously discovered, but there is mounting evidence, circumstantial but nevertheless very persuasive, that the manuscript on which the book is based was also posthumously written. This belief is fortified by the opinion of Nietzsche experts that from 1889 until his death in 1900 the insane Nietzsche was quite incapable of writing anything which required mental exertion, especially a reminiscent and philosophical work. In addition, the book contains many ideas and attitudes which were not current at the time "My Sister and I" was written. For example, although Sigmund Freud's main theories were not published until about 1900, Nietzsche was apparently familiar with them in 1889. Nietzsche also exhibits a miraculous power of foresight. He prophesies, for instance, that his superman concept would be distorted to serve evil ends; he also predicts that "in the 20th century in a fit of nihilistic frenzy they [the Germans] will turn all Europe into a butcher's slaughterhouse and wash away their sins in the blood of Israel." Anticipating the day when Karl Marx would be put on the political index of the West, Nietzsche says, "I avoid reading Marx as passionately as I pursue every new paragraph of Heine's." (This passage is suspect on other grounds as well. There were no "new" paragraphs by Heine in 1889 for the simple reason that the poet had been dead for more than thirty years at the time Nietzsche was committed.) Incidentally, there are no references to Marx in the philosopher's collected works.

The most questionable aspect of the book, however, is the autobiographical material it presents. According to Nietzsche authorities and his contemporaries, the philosopher led a temperate, modest life except for a tragic experience in his youth. In "My Sister and I" "evidence" is produced for the first time which runs counter to this well-authenticated body of opinion. The author of the "autobiography" traces Nietzsche's sex life from one excess to another, his alleged conquests including Richard Wagner's wife, Cosima, a sadistic

"countess," and a number of women of less repute.

A third count against the authenticity of the book is the fact that it is supposed to have been translated by the eminent German-born scholar, Oscar Levy. If this occurred, according to his daughter, Maud Rosenthal, it is the only work of Nietzsche he ever translated. Since Dr. Levy was the editor of the monumental eighteen-volume English translation of Nietzsche's works published between 1910 and 1927, it seems strange indeed



that he did not include the "autobiography" which Samuel Roth, publisher of Boar's Head Books, claims to have turned over to him in 1921 for translation. A host of other questions spring up around the authorship of the translation and the introduction which is also credited to Dr. Levy. Why, for example, did Dr. Levy, who lived in England, use so many Americanisms? Why, to quote Dr. Levy's son-in-law, is there "complete nonexistence of any written or verbal allusion to the work during the twenty-four years in which Dr. Levy is said to have had knowledge of the 'text'?" How could a scholar of Dr. Levy's reputation and vast knowledge commit the simple academic errors which appear throughout the preface? Is it really possible, as the publisher insists, that the original manuscript was lost when John S. Sumner, head of the Society to Maintain Public Decency, raided his office in 1927? If so, where is the manuscript of the translation? Why did Samuel Roth tell this reporter when he was trying to authenticate the translation that Dr. Levy had died a bachelor? If the publisher would produce the translation it could easily be proved whether it was typed, as Mr. Roth claims it was, on Dr. Levy's typewriter (still extant) and whether the spelling of various words was originally British rather than American as they appear in the book.

If these questions could be cleared up and the apparent errors and distortions in "My Sister and I" satisfactorily explained then the book would be, as it has been called by so many critics, one of the most sensational literary discoveries of the last fifty years. On the other hand if they cannot, as this writer firmly believes, then the evidence would seem to indicate that, as Walter A. Kaufmann of Princeton and other Nietzsche scholars insist, a malicious hoax has been perpetrated.

Among many important books to be reviewed in *The Nation* during coming weeks are Reinhold Niebuhr's "The Irony of American History," to be reviewed by Francis Biddle, and two works by important British writers: Chester Wilmot's "The Struggle for Europe," to be reviewed by H. A. DeWeerd, and D. W. Brogan's "The Price of Revolution," to be reviewed by Philip E. Mosely.

ALFRED WERNER, formerly editor of *Gerechtigkeit*, Vienna, is a contributor to literary and political magazines.

BOOKS and the ARTS

AN UNDISCOVERED LANGUAGE

BY HELEN M. LYND

ONE reason for wanting to be alive five hundred years from now is curiosity about how future generations will appraise the interpretation of human nature which stems from Freud.

No such curiosity disturbs Andrew Salter. He has no doubt of the verdict. He says of his recent attack on psychoanalysis,* which follows his earlier "Conditioned Reflex Therapy": "There is no need to lie or to quote out of context. The truth is preposterous enough, . . . Freud himself provides the evidence that refutes him . . . [the] underlying theories of [psychoanalytic therapy] are not only incredible but . . . unsound, the therapeutic principles derived from them can only . . . serve as guideposts on the road to . . . futility."

The book sets out to show that Freud himself has made such a burlesque of psychoanalysis that attempts by his critics to demonstrate its absurdity are superfluous. It is not difficult to select statements from Freud which can be presented in a ridiculous light. Salter does, nevertheless, find it necessary to suppress counter-evidence and to isolate quotations from context and implication in order to carry through his burlesque. He relies heavily on Robert R. Sears's "Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts," a survey singularly lacking in imaginative grasp of the materials it deals with, and making use of piecemeal methods as inadequate for appraisal of psychoanalysis as elementary algebra for dealing with quantum physics.

Salter's way of treating evidence appears in his use of the 1940 symposium on "Psychoanalysis as Seen by Analyzed Psychologists." Eight well-known experimental and clinical psychologists all of whom had been analyzed contributed to the discussion. Of these Salter quotes only two, Carney Landis, the one most critical of psychoanalysis, and Edwin G. Boring, who expressed grave doubts

about the personal benefits and the scientific value of psychoanalysis. He makes no mention of the other six, all of whom, although they made specific criticisms of method and theory, were in varying degrees favorable to psychoanalysis because of the personal insights they had gained from it and of their belief in its contributions to the science of psychology. Henry A. Murray, for example, says: ". . . Psychoanalysis . . . furnishes—despite its logical fallacies and omissions . . . the best cornerstone for the future development of psychology." Elsie Frankel Brunswick, David Shakow, and the others make similar statements about the importance of psychoanalysis for psychological theory and of the experience of personal analysis for the academic psychologist. All of this Salter ignores.

Similar biased selection and juggling of evidence appears in the use Salter makes of Freud's own writings. He blames Freud severely for saying that all people are alike in suffering from an Oedipus complex, but later he himself makes an equally over-simplified judgment of all people: ". . . in essence Pavlov's *conditioned reflex therapy declares that fundamentally everybody has the same problem and the same cure* (italics in original)."

His quotation from Freud's "The Question of Lay Analysis"—"Among the causes of and occasions for neurotic complaints sexual factors play an important, an overweening—even perhaps a specific role"—is taken from a section where Freud's main emphasis is on the moral responsibility of observing confidence in analysis because of the intimate nature of the material. He says that "psychoanalysts are of the opinion that the *only way* to cure patients is to influence them by sexualized suggestion—*transference*, as they call it," although this contradicts what Freud explicitly said in the passage

quoted above and elsewhere about the necessity for the analyst not to introduce "sexual suggestion" and what he has said elsewhere about "transference."

This slippery treatment of evidence is bolstered by invective and vulgarizing figures of speech: the patient lies on the analyst's couch "as in an undertaker's parlor"; "Freud made no fundamental change in his recipe. The psychoanalytic cake remains completely sexual. Only a few scattered raisins of death instinct and aggression have been added." ". . . the psychoanalytic grab bag of conceits has had new booby prizes added to it."

The most significant questions raised by Salter's book, however, do not concern its obvious defects in taste and accuracy; they do not prove anything one way or the other about Freudian theory. Eulogies by ardent pro-Freudians have shown similar lack of discrimination. Furthermore, all misrepresentation aside, there is still the fact that Freud did at times speak of id, ego, and super-ego, of Oedipus complex and death wish, as if they were not figures of speech attempting to describe elusive phenomena, but as if they had a kind of substantial existence established by some equivalent of scientific proof. And it does not need Salter to point out people for whom psychoanalysis has been a failure.

What then? We do dream. We are beset by anxieties, compulsions, and seemingly senseless errors whose source we can not readily trace or control. Our illness and our health appear to contain psychological as well as physical elements. If such "irrational" phenomena are not to make cowards of us all we must seek some way of understanding them. Freud with a wealth of clinical observation attempted to explore this undiscovered country and to establish a continuum between these aberrant aspects of human behavior and "rational" waking life. He developed bold

* *The Case Against Psychoanalysis*. By Andrew Salter. Henry Holt and Company, \$2.50.

hypotheses to explain what he found and shaped a new vocabulary or extended the meaning of older words to express his theories. It is easy enough to ridicule, as Salter has done, his words, any particular theory or metaphor, or any particular outcome of therapy. But what are we to do with the phenomena Freud attempted to explain? We must either deny that dreams, fantasies, neurotic illness have any meaning in relation to other human experience or attempt to discover what that meaning is.

Two books* by Dr. Marguerite A. Sechehaye, a Swiss psychoanalyst, record such an attempt at discovery. The main difference between Salter's and Sechehaye's approach is not that the one is anti-Freudian, the other pro-Freudian (Dr. Sechehaye is not pro-Freudian in any rigid or orthodox sense); not that the one resorts to misrepresentation to prove a case and the other is a careful descriptive account (there are doubtless errors as there are clearly omissions in Dr. Sechehaye's record). The difference lies in the contrast between thinking that the explanations of "irrational" human experience are easy or self-evident and the recognition that they are incalculably difficult; between thinking that only the more obvious and observably repetitive aspects of human existence are of serious importance and the belief that no human experience however unusual or rooted in the "foul rag-and-bone shop of the heart" is without meaning or can be excluded from the attempt to understand.

"Reality Lost and Regained" is the autobiography of a schizophrenic girl from her first recalled disturbing experience of unreality at the age of five to her resumption of normal life in her late twenties, with an interpretative note by Dr. Sechehaye, who supervised or carried on her treatment from the time she was eighteen. In "Symbolic Realization" Dr. Sechehaye gives a more detailed account of the various methods of therapy attempted during a period of ten years, those which failed and those which finally led to recovery. This book also includes a series of drawings by the patient which portray her systema-

tized fantasies at various stages of her illness.

In one sense there is nothing new in these books. There have been other accounts by a patient of a mind that found itself. Other analysts, Harry Stack Sullivan, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, Kurt Eissler—not to mention their historical antecedents—have made similar attempts at exploration. They, like Dr. Sechehaye, have shown almost infinite imagination and patience in their attempts to learn the language and to understand the imagery of schizophrenic individuals in order to establish the communication which must be the preliminary to recovery. They have, also, shown the error of the earlier assumption that the schizophrenic is either happy or without feeling, and the difficulty of understanding with each individual the meaning of his particular expression of feeling. But I know of no other records which bring together in the life history of a single person the autobiography of the patient, the drawings which present different stages of the illness, and the account of the analyst of successive efforts to reach communication.

This is by no means to say that these accounts leave nothing to be desired. There is naiveté and stiffness in Dr. Sechehaye's phrasing, which may be due in part to defects in translation. Her use of "symbol" is not clearly enough distinguished from sign, image, and certain types of concrete experience. In some places there are omissions where fullness of detail would be particularly desirable. Dr. Sechehaye's theoretical explanations are not as convincing as her descriptions of what took place.

But the inadequacies do not lessen the importance of attempting to understand what these records represent. From the side of the patient they give a poignantly vivid description of the shifting appearance of the world of unreality which gradually encompassed her: the "illimitable vastness, brilliant light and the gloss and smoothness" as well as the hardness and separateness of material things; the horror of being unable to find ways to communicate the altered sense of space, size, and detail which so frightened her. She relates, too, why certain seemingly slight changes in treatment brought to a full stop her sense of hope of being understood and

helped, and why other changes gave her the confidence to try to surmount alienation and find ways to express what she felt. She explains how what appeared to the doctors as delusions were, in some instances, attempts to make less frightening what she could not find words to describe in any other terms which would be understood. It must be remembered that this is the record of a person whose illness would until recently have meant the abandonment of all hope, who had to be forcibly fed, subjected to restraints, and who was for long periods without any means of communication whatever.

Dr. Sechehaye's report on the various methods of treatment which failed (hypnosis, Freudian methods, and adaptations of Freudian methods) show that trained analytic skill, patience, love, and consistent efforts at understanding may not in themselves be adequate to the treatment of severe mental illness. For six years she tried all of these in various combinations and failed, failed sometimes after much progress had been made because she did not interpret correctly a cue from the patient, or because she did not take sufficiently into account the patient's hypersensitivity to any hidden, unspoken mood of the doctor. It was only when she had learned the language of her patient (including the special meaning to her of certain gestures, colors, tastes, and objects) that she could find ways of translating her skill and patience and love into ways of communication which would reach the schizophrenic. This was a learning process for the doctor. Only after this process had been mastered so that she could enter into the total world of this particular patient was there the confidence and interchange which made it possible for her to begin to bring her patient back to the language of "reality."

Specialists in the treatment of serious mental disorders will appraise this account in terms of its technical value to them. For others, psychotherapists dealing with milder difficulties, teachers; and parents, its chief value lies in what it suggests about the art of communication in the broadest sense. The schizophrenic forces upon the analyst the need to learn a new language; if he is to communicate at all the more conventional and less discriminating rubrics will not serve. Although analysts may appear to get by without this effort in

* *Reality Lost and Regained: Autobiography of a Schizophrenic Girl. With Analytic Interpretation* by Marguerite A. Sechehaye. Grune and Stratton, \$2.75.

Symbolic Realization: A New Method of Psychotherapy Applied to a Case of Schizophrenia. By Marguerite A. Sechehaye. International Universities Press, \$3.25.

dealing with less disturbed individuals, it is coming to be more recognized that comparable although less dramatic diversity is present in the linguistic expression and emotional life of all persons. The patience and imagination which Sechehaye and Fromm-Reichmann use with schizophrenics need not be confined to treatment of the most severe disorders. As analysts are able to use similar methods with neurotics their treatment may give less basis for the complaints of Salter and others of fitting each patient into the mold of a particular analytic school, and the results may show as marked improvement as there has been in the treatment of more severe illness.

In much the same way education of normal children has often benefited from methods first developed with the ill or retarded; and teachers still have much to learn from such accounts as Dr. Sechehaye's. Would the aims of education and child rearing be more fully realized if more imaginative effort were used in learning the language of the individual child (not just the language which Freudian or any other theory assumed in advance that he has) before teaching him the language of the adult or of the assumed child world? Such studies as Jean Piaget's and Ernest Schachtel's "Memory and Childhood Amnesia" suggest that this may be the case, and that all the recent emphasis on seeing the world through the eyes of the child still fails to take full account of the possibilities. Stress on learning the language of individuals does not contradict Sullivan's statement that we are all more simply human than we are diverse. But it does suggest that we may have prematurely classified differences, and that we are currently at a stage where inductive study is once again needed. Only after we have learned how to become at home in the world of a particular child, a particular schizophrenic, a particular neurotic can we begin once more the search for common human elements.

The question of finding ways of testing Freud's hypotheses still remains. It cannot be solved by viewing them wholly from the outside as Sears and Salter do, nor wholly from the inside as some Freudians have done. It is no criticism of Freud's theories that he himself changed and criticized them and

that later workers have continued to do so. Any future appraisal of Freud and his work must give full weight to such records as Dr. Sechehaye's. There is a world and a language which lies outside the range of rational adult life, and the exploration of the meaning of this language is no insignificant part of the human endeavor.

World Government

HOW TO CO-EXIST WITHOUT PLAYING THE KREMLIN'S GAME. By James P. Warburg. The Beacon Press. \$3.

IN AN up-to-date and pungent analysis of the perilous state of world affairs Mr. Warburg has pointed out what he regards as the strong and weak points of American foreign policy and urges his fellow-citizens to do something, or various things, about it. His comments and criticisms are often penetrating, and in speaking out he is performing a patriotic duty. Certainly, American foreign policy, if it is to receive widespread support among democratic allies, must be, basically, a coalition policy. Undoubtedly, racial discriminations are a tragic anachronism in America, and abroad they make millions of enemies for this country. Granted, American foreign policy cannot rest (when has it?) solely on military power, but must make plain, for people everywhere to see, that it seeks to promote self-advancement and freedom through economic and political cooperation. Admittedly, the claim of America to stand for intellectual freedom is ominously weakened when admission is denied to scholars and artists, as well as less gifted persons, on grounds which remain undisclosed and hence unchallengeable by common sense.

Even if these and numerous other correctives to a strong tendency toward national self-righteousness (called "hypocrisy" by friends as well as enemies) be accepted and taken to heart, the question still remains whether Mr. Warburg is advocating a consistent foreign policy. It is clear that he disapproves, at least mildly, the Uniting for Peace resolution, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1950, and feels that its critics are justified in regarding it as "illegal," even though he considers the

United Nations a political device rather than a rule based on law. On the other hand, the United States is at fault also, he feels, in not having worked harder to strengthen the United Nations between 1945 and 1948. Apparently, the United States was at fault when it tried to work within the original concept of great-power dominance within the United Nations, and it is again at fault when it strives to make the United Nations more than a bureau for registering Soviet vetoes of actions approved by a large majority of its members.

Mr. Warburg is convinced that in 1945 it was possible, by American fiat or American force, to create "an au-

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thority superior to the nations—an authority created by all the world's peoples in order to outlaw force or the threat of force as a means of settling disputes between national governments, and in order to remove the instruments of force from the reach of any national government." And he believes that even today such an initiative would win the support of all except the Soviet and Soviet-controlled governments.

Just when Mr. Warburg's position seemed clear, though too optimistic and too much inclined to believe in a universal acquiescence in a *Pax Americana*, this reviewer was surprised to see a warning finger raised. Suddenly he read that "we shall never succeed in transforming the United Nations into an effective world organization, if we yield to the admittedly great and understandable temptation to renounce the principle of universality and to convert the United Nations into an anti-Soviet coalition." However it is read, this argument appears to assume that a world government (not of the Soviet type) can be established with the active cooperation of the Soviet government. Perhaps Mr. Warburg has some private evidence that the Soviet leadership may wish to destroy itself in this manner; without it, the assumption seems farfetched.

Mr. Warburg assumes that the Soviet government maintains an iron curtain through "fear of espionage and sabotage; fear of discontent, if the Russian people were allowed to compare their living standards and conditions with those prevalent in free societies; and fear that a free flow of information might expose the errors of the Kremlin and undermine the doctrine of Kremlin infallibility." These are motives which might guide any old-fashioned, slipshod, authoritarian regime. The Soviet leadership, however, feels a positive duty, not merely to exclude undesired influences, but actively to mold, direct, and exploit to the maximum the psychological or spiritual resources, which it has appropriated or "monopolized," of its subjects. It is hard to see how Mr. Warburg can expect leaders who have risen to vast power under such a system to accept and implement his proposals for establishing a universal world government based upon free consent freely given and renewed.

PHILIP E. MOSELY

Literary Bazaar

NEW WORLD WRITING. First Mentor Selection. New American Library. Fifty cents.

ONE of the great cultural paradoxes of our time is the increasing isolation of American writers in the midst of the largest potential audience any writers have ever had. The powerlessness of the literary intellectual, his awareness that he can no longer assume a stable audience to which he may address himself, although the mass audience for the subliterate products of mass culture is constantly growing—these have impelled critics to a number of wrongheaded conclusions.

We have had serious artists condemned for being out of step with "the masses"—whether because they would not write patriotic tracts, or proletarian novels, or *kitsch*—and on the other hand we have had the avant garde exhorted to stand fast against the advance of the comic-book barbarians, who attack to the sound of singing commercials. But there have been almost no thoughtful attempts, with a few honorable exceptions such as the books of Gilbert Seldes, to bridge the widening gap between serious art and popular culture. Wherefore we have cause to be grateful to the New American Library for the initiative and resourcefulness it has displayed in extending its hospitality—and its publishing and merchandising resources—to novelists, critics, poets, and short-story writers, in the manner of the British Penguin New Writing series.

"New World Writing," however, is more than merely another little magazine, if only because of its circulation as a Mentor Book, which will place it within reach of many thousands of Americans who might otherwise never have the opportunity to discover the younger writers. The sheer quantity and variety, furthermore, are closer to an anthology of current writing, or a "bazaar" as the editors call it, than to a periodical which is more restricted both in space and in range of interests.

Naturally with such variety there are bound to be corresponding extremes of quality; but among the essays, for example, Charles J. Rolo's glib and superficial revelations about Simenon and Spillane, and Oliver Evans's earnest and

stuffy treatment of Carson McCuller are more than balanced by such excellent pieces as a chapter on Negro writers (although it oddly omits mention of James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison) from Alain Locke's forthcoming "The Negro in American Culture" and a well-illustrated and intriguing analysis of "The Buildings We See" by Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip C. Johnson.

The poetry, carefully chosen so as not to overwhelm or frighten the casual reader, ranges from the cerebral to the lyrical, and presents several younger poets, in addition to Merton, Nemerov, Brinnin, Frankenburg, and Moss.

But it is the fiction that raises the most interesting questions about the nature and function of a pioneering enterprise like "New World Writing." There is an international flavor which is all to the good: French and Italian novelists are represented in translation, besides a fine cross-section of Americans, and there is surely reason to hope that future issues will bring us samples of the work of the younger English and German prose writers. There is also, however, a flavor of the excerpt yanked from its context, of the chapter from a longer work rushed into print for reasons other than its intrinsic interest as a self-contained aesthetic statement.

One reads the fourteen fiction pieces and observes that six of them are excerpts from novels (this does not include the non-fiction pieces also taken from larger works), and one wonders whether this indicates a resurgence of the attraction of the novel for young writers and a corresponding weakening of the appeal of the story form, even when writers are invited to display their wares in a perishable soft-cover periodical. Of course there are valid reasons for both editors and contributors to publish excerpts of works in progress—it has become a standard practice in the quarterlies, where chapters of novels are often the only fiction presented; but one feels bound to note that when half a dozen sections from novels are included in one volume, there is inevitably an effect of scrappiness. Certainly the most satisfying work of fiction in this volume is a remarkable long short story, *Faces of Hatred and of Love*, by the brilliant young Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste Rossi.

At any rate it seems apparent that

he editors of "New World Writing" are receptive to writers who have few outlets for their serious work, and one can hope that this receptivity will encourage new writers to be faithful to themselves, and to grasp the opportunity to be free of the restrictions of length and style imposed by other large-circulation magazines. One of the most praiseworthy aspects of this exciting new venture is the modesty and straightforwardness with which Arabel J. Porter and the other editors have gone about their task: they neither condescend to their readers nor patronize their writers.

My major complaint is that my copy of "New World Writing" fell apart before I finished one reading, and while you can't have everything for fifty cents, perhaps the publishers will be able to devise some way for the book to hold together for the thousands of readers who may, one hopes, accept it with even more seriousness than those who were farsighted enough to offer it to them. If the public's reception makes possible the regular publication of this literary book-magazine, perhaps other paperback publishers will be encouraged to follow suit. In that case this little book may turn out to have been an important first step in breaking down the barriers separating writers from a large reading public that deserves so much better than it has been getting, and that has already demonstrated its willingness to accept the best—if it is made available.

HARVEY SWADOS

Derelict Youth

WHO WALK IN DARKNESS. By Chandler Brossard. New Directions. \$2.75.

THE young and lost have always had a peculiar fascination for American readers. It's almost as if our writers endowed us, as a people, with the immaturity, the misplaced sensitivity (so close to megalomania), the inability to focus on problems requiring adult responsibility, which characterize the *enfant terrible*.

Starting with World War I, our "young and lost" have always been of age, or well past it. The little lost boy in the adult male, the fragile girl-wife, these and the familiar galaxy of unregenerate, overage children who peo-

pled the literary scene of the twenties, have chiefly occupied our writers until now (with a parenthesis for the proletarian novel and a no less valid one for the novel of war experience). Only now, after World War II, when slews of legal infants (under eighteen) are so visibly, palpably lost, have the new writers begun to train their sights not on the immature adult but on the rootless young.

This derelict youth, buffeted by every wind and unstable as soot, has been good copy since delinquency hit the front page, and lately we have had a spate of novels which, by implication, place the responsibility largely where Cocteau placed it a generation ago, on the *parents terribles*. Two that have packed a punch are "Flee the Angry Strangers" and "Who Walk in Darkness." The former, though the stronger, better constructed, and more absorbing, is so highly specialized in the problem it treats (drug addiction in an adolescent girl) that it somehow misses the wide target. Brossard's book, instead, hits straight to the center. A sense of waste, of betrayal, of unfocused, almost footless rebellion marks each of the principal characters.

The novel deals with a group of casual yet close acquaintances who drift from job to job or, jobless, consider which is the better choice, to continue on unemployment insurance or to find some uninvolved work, like hotel clerking, the better to preserve their intellectual integrity.

The protagonist—at least, the most irritating character—one Henry Porter, is a heel who has the unattractive habits of slickness and opportunism which permit him to get on at some minor literary activity (never specified) apparently without moral qualms. There is Porter's girl, Grace, a finely drawn Italo-American whose love for and dedication to Porter are his redeeming features (he can't be all bad so long as Grace sticks with him, and conversely he becomes all bad when at last Grace drops him, losing first, painfully, her ability to find him important). Then there is Harry, a young New Englander whose fastidious reaction to the phony Porter is one of the few authentically funny things in the book. Harry convincingly portrays the quite bright but distressed young man who goes through

life apologizing for having been born solvent. There are, too, Max Glazer, ubiquitous sponger; the narrator, Blake, who falls heir to Grace (and who reminds me of no one so much as of O'Neill's Good Old Charlie); the two models, Gloria and Margaret. And, briefly, there is the world of the big fights (Brossard, having got "Who Walk" out of his system, should, please do some more work on the

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fighths: they too are part of the current show and on them he is all good).

Brossard's group of young people ends by being, and I think it was his intention that they be, damn dull company. Though the narration, and at times even the dialogue, are flawed and clumsy, the world he recreates pulses with a true beat. What it adds up to is that self-absorption has taken the place of self-reliance, either intellectual or moral. Impotence to love or let love, to create or appreciate, has robbed these token citizens of the juice of life. Loneliness hag-rides them into pleasureless association with one another and even their rebellion seems fruitless, as they have never stopped to define what they are rebelling against or to what end they erect their barricades.

FRANCES KEENE

Books in Brief

ALEXANDER POPE: CATHOLIC POET. By Francis Beauchesne Thornton. Pellegrini and Cudahy. \$4.75. Pope's adherence to the faith of his parents was a notorious disadvantage in his own day, the early eighteenth century, when in England legal sanctions were enforced against religious minorities. In this book Mr. Thornton gives a full treatment to the poet's life and writings, attempting to wring out of them every possible drop of evidence that will show not only Pope's nominal status as a Catholic but also the devout piety that pervaded his life as well as his writings. To be reminded of Pope's religion is useful in dealing with his personality and poetry, for its influence is often overlooked; but it will seem to many that here the thesis is driven far beyond its reasonable limits. In the intellectual circles where Pope rotated, as his letters to non-Catholic friends show, dogma and faith were not taken very seriously. His most extensive treatment of religion is his "Essay on Man"; and when we consider that the poem's strongest personal stimulant was Bolingbroke, a deist, and its chief defender was Warburton, a Church of England clergyman, we get some idea of the protean character of Pope's mind in this matter. Like his "Essay on Criticism" it is a statement of many philosophical and religious cur-

rents in the atmosphere of his day; Pope's main contribution to them was to say "what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed."

NEW DIRECTIONS 13. Edited by James Laughlin. New Directions. \$5. If the contents of this anthology point to the new directions that writers are taking today, then they are knocking themselves out standing still. The best prose pieces here are conventional ones that might have been written when our grandmothers were alive—those of De Lanux, Creeley, Kerner, and Paulhan, for example. And when a new direction is actually tried, it usually turns out to be a dead end; Maude Hutchins's short play is killed by cuteness, May Swenson's story by sheer ponderosity. The poetry is more varied and more interesting, much of it sparked by metaphysical wit. And of the essays Harold Guinzburg's reprinted piece on the publishing business is good common sense, Mr. Laughlin's introduction is, as usual, full of sound and fury, and J. B. Pick's meditation giving the average Englishman's thoughts about the present war crisis is eloquently and sweetly reasonable.

A LAND. By Jacquetta Hawkes. Random House. \$3.75. This original and often stimulating book oddly combines reverie with scientific fact, mystical speculations with geological data. The author, wife of an Oxford professor of archaeology and with considerable scientific experience of her own, believes like Mary Austin that the land influences the spirit of a people and also, more curiously, that they influence it. To her geologists and archaeologists are "engaged in reawakening the memory of the world." Historical personages, Newton for example, are fossils whose age could be determined by the strata in which they are found and the work of Proust is related to that of the geologists because both have something to do with the fact that "we are returning to an awareness of our unity with our surroundings, but an awareness of a much more exalted kind than anything which has existed before." The industrial revolution violently reversed an old process by removing man from the context of nature to that of the machine but it is still possible that we may find

our way back. The publishers compare "The Land" with the vastly popular "The Sea Around Us" and the comparison is not too inapt though the emphasis in the one book is the reverse of that in the other. Miss Carsen presents facts with a mystical overtone. Mrs. Hawkes presents many facts but they are used chiefly to support her often elusive but often stimulating speculations.

THE WORLD OF GEORGE JEAN NATHAN. Selected and Edited with an Introduction by Charles Angoff. Knopf. \$5. This is an anthology of nearly five hundred pages drawn from Mr. Nathan's thirty-nine books and published for his seventieth birthday. Besides criticism of the drama there are substantial selections from his essays on women, bachelorhood, etc.; reminiscences of Mencken, Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Eugene O'Neill and others; together with assorted pensées such as "Criticism is the art of appraising others at one's own value" and "I drink to make other people interesting." Those who think of the author as playboy and show-off will be surprised at the seriousness and solidity of much that he has to say. He learned his manner and assumed his more superficial attitudes in the teens of this century but he has survived as most of his contemporaries have not because his knowledge and his intelligence are genuine and impressive. Despite bad-boy flourishes he seems to have read everything even remotely connected with the drama and he remembers most of it. Despite characteristic stunts like enumerating which plays with dogs in them have failed and which have succeeded he can also quietly marshal opinions from Dryden to Shaw on any important question. Partly because he has scorned to follow changing fashions he will probably last a good deal longer than younger commentators who seem at the moment so much more serious.

DRYDEN: POETRY, PROSE AND PLAYS. Selected by Douglas Grant. The Reynard Library. Harvard. \$4.25. This latest edition to the series of "compendious books" is more than usually welcome since neither the complete works of Dryden nor any other really representative collection of his prose

nd verse is currently available—an astonishing fact when one considers how its virtues have been celebrated in recent years by Eliot and his disciples. The editor contributes a sound sensible introduction which Dryden himself would have approved and gives substantial representation to all the principal kinds of writing Dryden did. Nearly nine hundred pages from one of the best writers of the English language is good money's worth.

CHIVERS' LIFE OF POE. Edited with an Introduction by Richard Beale Davis. Dutton. \$5. Since the days of Woodberry Poe students have made some use of the material left by Chivers but this is the first publication of all the most significant parts of it from the MS now in the Huntington Library. Chivers was a bad but enthusiastic poet who liked to believe that he had influenced Poe's style and the relations between the two were not always perfectly amiable. He was, nevertheless, an ardent champion after Poe's death and his reminiscences are of real value to the student as well as of some curious interest even to the casual reader who will find in Chivers's exalted and exclamatory style some of the charm of the what-not and antimacassar. The editor has written a sound informative introduction and provided elaborate annotation. For a book of one hundred and twenty-five pages the price seems a bit steep.

THE WILD WHEEL. By Garet Garrett. Pantheon. \$2.75. An odd and interesting book on Henry Ford, "the extreme and last pure event" in the history of free private enterprise. "A divine mechanic," Garrett calls him, "who thought with his hands; the ultimate child of his era, acting upon his world with ruthless and terrible energy by instinct and intuition." A helter-skelter book, repetitious and disorganized, but with flashes of insight and passages of first-hand observation that cut deep into the Ford mystery.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"The Private Papers of
Senator Vandenberg"

Reviewed by Wayne Morse

Films

MANNY
FARBER

THE SNIPER—the story of a sweet-faced laundry driver who compulsively murders pretty brunettes because "someone did something mean to him when he was a kid"—is a smooth, technically astute, 100 per cent dull melodrama. It was made by a progressive producer, Stanley Kramer, whose films often fight prejudice with all the usual antiquated prejudices. For example, he has gone to unusual lengths to build sympathy for the underdogs of society—the oppressed Negro, mother-fixated tenement kid, or paraplegic—while sniping at publishers, business men, government officials, etc. Here, he has cast the role of a sex offender with an actor (Edward Franz) whose nice manners and muffled personality make him appear to be the movie's most wholesome American. The only thing interesting about the figure is that he is so unlikely as a "maniac." He has a neat way with guns, cars, baseballs, and laundry deliveries. When he spots a likely victim, he picks himself out a rooftop, calmly removes a telescopic carbine from a briefcase, efficiently puts it together, and puts one bullet cleanly

through the girl's temple. Then he goes home, locks the carbine in the top bureau drawer, and writes a note to the police begging them to capture him ("Stop me—Find me and stop me—I'm going to do it again."). Aside from the fact that Franz is an expert driver and takes his laundry truck into picturesque San Francisco locales, his behavior is pretty colorless in a movie where the more normal citizens knock themselves out acting angry, cocky, pompous, or mean.

Though Kramer never tires of exposing ugliness in society, his movies are peculiar for an absurdly well-organized look: they move well, have a laundered kind of slate-toned photography, and never get tangled up in any event. It is typical of his Business Machine style that when the boy is finally spotted by a painter working a block away on the top of a factory chimney, the kid brings him down with a single bullet (the body slides down so photogenically on a pulley contraption that it must have been engineered by a Phi Beta Kappa in movie stunt shots). Another interesting example of Kramer's efficiency is the way his females act when the bullets hit them. They go into a cyclonic version of Leon Errol's rubber-legged walk before smashing into a brick wall or table; this is a difficult thing to do, but it is managed with fascinating skill by other-

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wise wooden females. Finally, there are the scenes between aroused civic leaders and police officials, in which "liberal" and "anti-social" remarks turn up with perfect timing and placement. A newspaper publisher, played by a stock Republican type, says some asinine thing ("We want this fellow caught, and punished, punished, punished."), and is immediately put in his place with a remark that sounds like it hurried in from a Barry Gray disc-jockey show ("Your paper slants the news, exploits killings."). Because of his spic-'n-span technique and the predictable left-wing slanting of characterization, "The Sniper" is a movie that you'll have to fight to enjoy.

"The Pride of St. Louis," another ultra-civic-minded work manages to kill the idea of baseball as the national pastime. The script-writer (H. Mankiewicz) decided that Dizzy Dean is a democratic Ozark peasant, more important for his clean habits and civic behavior than for his fast ball. He has confined the movie to shots of Dizzy (Dan Dailey) glad-handing customers and developing, via talk, into a good citizen, while his career is described by radio announcers and newspaper headlines. When the movie occasionally gets around to baseball, it shows Dailey doing a hammed-up burlesque of pitching—so intricate that he doesn't seem to be throwing the ball. Odd note: Dailey, in certain profile shots with his hair dry and bushy, looks a bit like Dean's old-time rival, Carl Hubbell.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THIS comment on Roger Sessions's "The Musical Experience of Composer, Performer, Listener" (Princeton, \$2.50) is late because the book (originally a series of lectures at the Juilliard School) was to have been reviewed by a composer, performer, and listener who after many months reported himself unable to produce a review. And I could understand why when I came to read the book myself: the writing is diffusely unprecise and unordered, which means that reading for continuous sense one has great difficulty in getting hold of the thought for reporting and comment.

Mr. Sessions begins with the psycho-physiological basis of musical feeling, expression, and communication—the fact, for example, that a melodic motif or phrase, which "is in essence and origin a vocal gesture . . . a vocal movement with a clearly defined . . . profile," is "sensitive to infinitely delicate nuances of tension and relaxation, as these are embodied in the breathing which animates the vocal gesture and shapes its contours"—an instance of this being the "sharp, irregular accents, or successive violent contrasts in pitch" which "call forth subconscious associations suggesting the kind of agitation which produces violent or irregular breathing." I understand Mr. Sessions to contend that awareness of this basis is necessary for the composer, the performer, the listener, and the reader of a book about all three; but to me it seems no more necessary than the awareness of what anthropologists have established as the basis of linguistic communication is necessary for the writing or reading or discussion of poetry. One can accept as fact the operation called language, and begin with its use in a poem; and one can, I think, similarly accept the operation called musical communication, and begin with what is done in or with a piece of music. And Mr. Sessions himself goes on, in subsequent chapters, to talk about the external manifestations of the operation of the composer's or performer's mind in the music or performance, without relating them back to their internal basis in conditions of his body.

It is in these later chapters, when Mr. Sessions's mind is engaged with actual music, that he produces the valuable material of his book. When, for example, he points out that a musical idea, "the starting point of a vital musical 'train of thought,' can be virtually anything which strikes a composer's imagination"—not only a theme, a motif, but a chord, a sonority, a rhythmic figure, a relation between two harmonies or keys. Above all when he illustrates this by showing in quoted passages of music what the composer's mind works with and what it does with this material. (To have Mr. Sessions seated at a piano with a score in which he points out the course of events in the music should be an illuminating experience.) And so when he discusses performance,

and says that the composer indicates in his score how the outlines of the music embodying its movement or gesture can best be made clear by the performer, whose playing must reveal his understanding of the music "in terms of its articulation, its contours, and its proportions" (he must play "not so much notes as motifs, phrases, periods, sections . . . rhythmic groups") and his awareness also of "the melodic and harmonic values."

In an ordered progression the next step would be to discuss the listener's apprehension of the course of events indicated in the score and made explicit in the performance. But Mr. Sessions begins his chapter on the listener by describing derisively the enormous number and variety of books, courses, and radio programs—including some that would appear to perform a useful function—which undertake to "prepare the listener fully for the strenuous task of listening to music." Why all this unnecessary concern about the listener, asks Mr. Sessions. And his explanation is that the musical public has increased to the point where entrepreneurs and musicians ("I am of course speaking of performances rather than compositions") are involved in large-scale business enterprise as producers for a mass consumer; that the producers must therefore consider their buyers' tastes, must persuade them to buy their goods, and must "do everything possible to enhance the value of the goods sold"—which, in logical connection with what has led up to it in the sequence of thought, can mean only that the courses and books are the performance industry's means of "selling" its products to the public. Mr. Sessions himself doesn't explicitly state this implied meaning of the conclusion of the sequence in logical connection with its beginning, doesn't think back to the courses and books after they have enabled him to talk about music as big business—logical connection, in this sequence, being only a means of bringing in one thing after another that he wants to get off his chest. And the next such thing is that in the situation in which the listener is only a consumer, the musician is "no longer a cultural citizen, one of the cultural assets of the community with purely cultural respon-

sibilities, but . . . a cog in the economic machine," with the responsibility of producing what consumer demand makes economically profitable.

In most of this I recognize one of the schematic ideas with which the late Artur Schnabel held his disciples spell-bound and persuaded them that he was one of the great minds of the century. And if I am less impressed it isn't because I am unaware of the situation today, but because I am aware that it is only one variant of the situation at all times—because I recall, for example, that the eighteenth-century musician produced for the eighteenth-century consumer what that not always enlightened consumer demanded, and was treated not as a cultural citizen and asset of the community but as a cog in the eighteenth-century musico-economic machine—that is, wore the consumer's livery and ate at his servants' table. For the rest, Mr. Sessions, as I understand him, notes the many courses and books which represent a concern with the large musical public; notes that the performance industry has a concern with the large musical public; and derives from the two observations the idea that the courses and books represent the performance industry's concern with the public—whereas actually, I need hardly point out, they represent the various concerns of schools, colleges, writers, and publishers with the public, and serve the performance industry's interest only incidentally. It appears that when Mr. Session's eye is not on the course of events in a piece of music he operates as an angry man with a muddled mind.

The muddled mind also contrives the pretexts first for having dragged in this irrelevant material and then for getting away from it and back to what the book is concerned with. If we are to understand the listener, says Mr. Sessions, "we must see him . . . not as an abstraction but as an existing and concrete figure in our musical society"—which is not the way we have had to understand the composer, and not really the way we have to understand the listener, in this book. "But it is not mainly in his role of consumer that I wish to speak of the listener. The question for us is rather his own experience of music"—which in fact is the only question in this book.

RECORD NOTES

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 1; Gulda with Vienna Philharmonic under Böhm (London); Gulda for the most part first-rate, orchestra quite poor; recording badly muffled and blurred; noisy surfaces.

Piano Concerto No. 4; Backhaus with Vienna Philharmonic under Krauss (London); Backhaus fair in first two movements, brutal in the last, orchestra throughout undistinguished; piano tone muffled, and occasionally blurred.

Serenade for flute, violin, and viola, Op. 25; Baker, Joseph and Lilian Fuchs (Decca); superb performance.

String Trio, Op. 9, No. 3; Joseph, Lilian, and Harry Fuchs (Decca); superb performance.

Brahms: Alto Rhapsody; Anderson with RCA Victor Symphony and Robert Shaw Chorale under Reiner (Victor); good performance apart from Anderson's current tremolo.

Double Concerto; Milstein and Piatigorsky with the Robin Hood Dell Orchestra under Reiner (Victor); fair performance.

Symphony No. 2; Furtwängler with London Philharmonic (London); performance spiritless and slack; recording very muffled, noisy surfaces.

Symphony No. 3; Szell with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); excellent performance; recording a bit muffled, swish in the third movement.

Symphony No. 4; Walter with the N. Y. Philharmonic (Columbia); good performance, in Walter's familiar relaxed style.

Chopin: Recital by Maryla Jonas (Columbia); familiar waltzes, etudes, and the Berceuse; second class performance in the conventionally mannered style.

Dvorak: "New World" Symphony; Kubelik with the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); good performance, noisy surfaces.

Franck: Symphonic Variations; Brailowsky with the RCA Victor Symphony under Morel (Victor); effective performance in the virtuosic manner.

Handel: Sonatas for violin, Nos. 13, 14, 15; Elman and Rosé (Victor); Elman's performance vulgar almost beyond belief, Rosé undistinguished.

Liszt: Todtentanz; Brailowsky with

RCA Victor Symphony under Reiner (Victor); effective performance.

Mahler: Kindertotenlieder; Anderson with San Francisco Symphony under Monteux (Victor); sumptuous performance, a bit heavy compared with the Ferrier-Walter recording.

Schumann: "Spring" Symphony; Münch with Boston Symphony (Victor); fine performance; recording occasionally blurred.

Strauss: Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme; Strauss with the Berlin State Opera Orchestra (Decca); heavily light music; fine performance; acceptable dubbing of a very old recording.

Tschaikowsky: Symphony No. 4; Kubelik with the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); excellent performance except for an occasional loss of pace in soft passages; noisy surfaces.

Weber: Overtures to "Oberon," "Euryanthe," "Preciosa," and "Peter Schmolli und seine Nachbarn"; Böhm with Vienna Philharmonic (London); the unfamiliar pieces are pleasantly inconsequential; good performance.

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Letters to the Editors

Is Hiss a "Liberal"?

Dear Sirs: A typographical mix-up in the first paragraph of my review of Whittaker Chambers's "Witness" may lead to misunderstanding. In a context suggesting Alger Hiss, I referred to "a liberal who was recruited from the idealistic wing of public service." The surrounding quote marks that should qualify the word "liberal" were unfortunately omitted; as the review itself makes clear, I do not believe nor could I say that Hiss is, or was, a liberal. One of the few things on which I agree with Chambers is his political characterization of Hiss.

Princeton

IRVING HOWE

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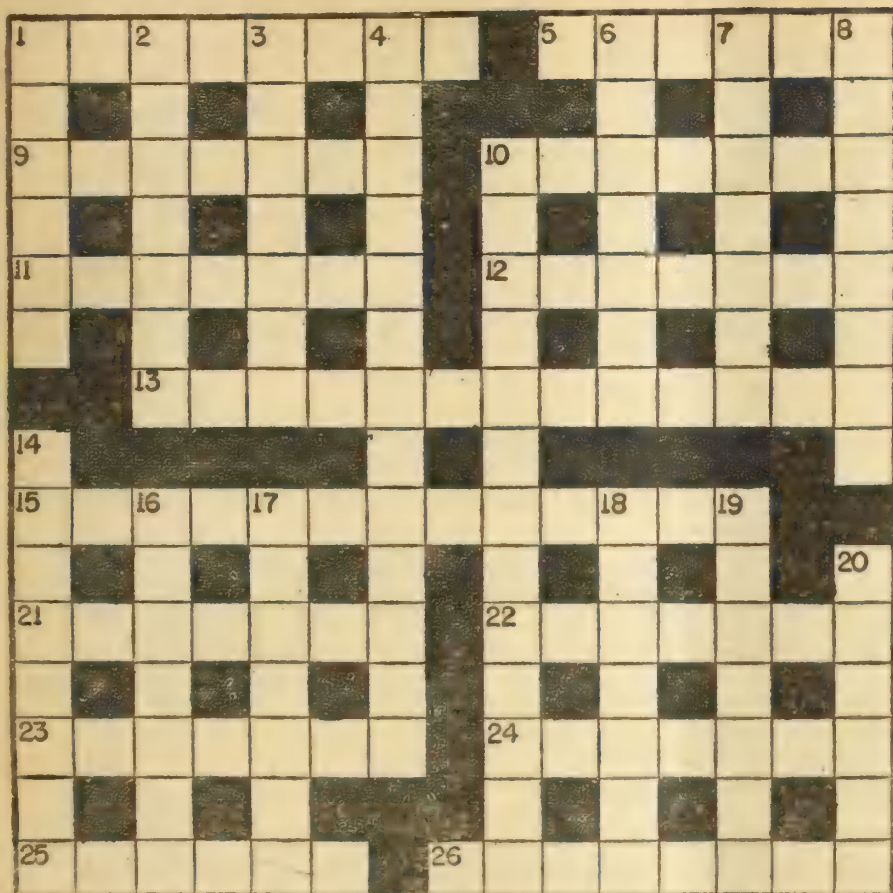
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Crossword Puzzle No. 467

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Scalp? (You could get sort of elated about the wrong type.) (8)
- 5 Cowers, perhaps, at the outcome of the deed. (6)
- 9 Fighters' exercise? (3, 4)
- 10 Capital city of Sen. Knowland, according to his critics. (7)
- 11 Not even a crew left, for example, to make the weight? Certainly! (7)
- 12 A connection run by Truman's state-ship? (7)
- 13 Jefferson Davis, for example, might fit into the Carboniferous period. (12)
- 15 Is Fido haunted by them? (6, 7)
- 21 No birch branches, even in the "dead man's chest"! (7)
- 22 Immoderate. (7)
- 23 Thucydides said the ones of Athens were purchased by valiant men. (7)
- 24 The need for them is dependent on the brightness of outlook. (7)
- 25 And in Formosa she seems part of the outlook mentioned above. (7)
- 26 He used to be responsible for an official dispatch. (8)

DOWN

- 1 and 4. Needs what is in photos for the direction of naval personnel. (4, 2, 3, 3, 2, 5)
- 2 Rap, on my word, for wisdom to wise. (7)

- 3 Neither the Hanseatic nor the American were the sort covered by Capt. Nemo. (7)
- 4 See 1 down.
- 6 Kind of cup? Well, you've put your foot in it! (7)
- 7 Under-water actor in Spanish Guinea? (3, 4)
- 8 Being responsible for trauma, perhaps. (8)
- 10 You might expect to get a letter of character if you do. (13)
- 14 They accompanied royalty with title —yet their heads could roll! (8)
- 16 I go with a bad sort of tribesmen. (7)
- 17 Impute to be like a writer? (7)
- 18 Vocalized a sort of dentition without it. (7)
- 19 Backbone? Quite the opposite, despite its sound. (7)
- 20 An ocean lad, or salt, perhaps! (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 466

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JAIL DEAL—*Daily Mirror*

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PW PACT—*Daily News*

We Blush for America

- ▶ For these headlines from the May 15 issue of New York papers.
- ▶ We recall from school-day study of the Declaration of Independence:
- ▶ Men gathered to set down on paper the stirring call that was to lead them on the road to freedom, writing, "When in the Course of human events..." etc., etc., etc., "A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRED..." etc., etc.
- ▶ In the support of their Declaration they pledged "each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor."
- ▶ Decent respect to opinions of mankind... sacred honor.
- ▶ In 1776, a little band of brave men without atom or napalm bombs, with only the muskets they held in their hands, could pledge their honor to a cause which they laid before the world to inspect.
- ▶ Today, a mighty nation, self-appointed leader of the "free" throughout the world, armed with the most frightful weapons, careless of honor, callous to the opinions of others, we repudiate the written pledge of a general of our army made to a group of prisoners of war.
- ▶ We blush for America—for to what heights have we risen that we can fall so low? What priceless treasure, what precious secret, did these concessions hold that we stoop to such indignity?
- ▶ We remember that one of the grievances detailed in the Declaration said: "He (King George) has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power."
- ▶ We blush for America, but we fear for our children that billions poured into war machines may once again raise the military to heights of power beyond the control of civil authority.
- ▶ War, not peace, is the use for which armies are fashioned, but peace, not war, is in the hearts and yearning of those of us who still hold honor high and desire the decent respect of the opinions of mankind.

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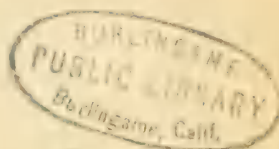
WASHING MACHINES ■ RADIOS ■ ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES

Jim Crow, M.D.—Robert M. Cunningham, Jr.

THE *Nation*

JE-952

June 7, 1952



Another View of Ike

BY JOSEPH C. HARSCH

✱

France's Fatal Indecision

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

✱

Freedom's Stake in North Africa and the Middle East

A Report on the Nation Associates Conference

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Berkeley's Example

Berkeley, California

DENIED the use of a public auditorium in San Francisco and Oakland, the Negro Labor Council, seeking a hall for a Paul Robeson concert, requested the Berkeley Board of Education for permission to use the magnificent new Berkeley Community Theater. On May 6 the board met to vote on the request. Mrs. Eileen Ready, chairman, and member A. K. Sackett voted "no" on the ground that to permit the noted singer to appear in the school auditorium would be "giving support to communism which we are fighting in Korea." But three members of the board voted "yes": Mayor Laurence L. Cross, who is also minister of a local community church; Mrs. Mildred Brown, and David P. Smith, active Republican, who laid down the sole condition—which the Negro Labor Council was glad to meet—that no political speeches be made at the concert.

The majority vote in favor of permitting Robeson to appear created a city-wide furor. Hundreds of letters supporting the majority decision were sent to board members and to the press; on the other hand, veterans' and other patriotic organizations publicly attacked the three who had voted favorably. J. Frank Coakley, district attorney of Alameda County, warned: "If Mr. Robeson were to appear in a public school building, it is possible that a disturbance might occur that would result in injury to persons and damage to property for which your school district and the city of Berkeley would be liable." But Mayor Cross replied that he had full confidence in the ability of the Berkeley police to maintain order, and Police Chief John Holstrom added that his men would carry out their responsibility to "maintain public peace and prevent injury."

In response to pressure, Mrs. Ready, as chairman of the board, called a special open meeting for May 10 to review the case. More than 1,200 Berkeley citizens crowded into the board chamber to participate in the proceedings.

The first item on the agenda was the reading of a letter from the district attorney which said, in part: "Your board could reconsider the matter and rescind

Tuesday night's action whereby the application was granted. . . . It is common knowledge that Mr. Robeson has made certain inflammatory and highly provocative remarks and that his appearance in other parts of the country have precipitated riots and disturbances of the peace."

Members of the board then made public statements explaining their position. It was clear that no member had as yet changed his mind. Mayor Cross commented forcefully on the district attorney's letter. "I consider this letter as one which is inciting to riot. I have full confidence in the ability of the police to maintain order. Paul Robeson appeared in a concert in San Francisco only a few months after the Peekskill [New York] trouble and there was less disturbance than there would be at a Presbyterian prayer meeting."

David P. Smith asked the audience to indicate by show of hands how they stood on the majority decision to grant Robeson the hall. The vote was at least four-to-one in favor. Smith then said:

I am concerned over the spread of communism, but I do not believe we can stop it by such action as those of you in the opposition would have us take. Since World War II 600,000,000 people have been won over by the Communists without the Red Army having fired a single shot. There are still hundreds of millions wavering. . . . We cannot win this fight by guns or bullets. . . .

Why then are the Russians winning this battle for the hearts and minds of people? One of the major factors is that although we preach freedom regardless of race, color, or creed, unfortunately we do not always practice it. . . . If we turn down this noted singer, the action would be proof to the people of India and Indo-China, even to minority groups here, that Paul Robeson was denied a place to sing because he is a Negro. I beseech you . . . to prove to the world by example that democracy does work.

After the board members completed their statements, comment was invited from the audience. About fifty people spoke, most of them in support of the board majority. Several veterans—both Negro and white—read petitions signed by fellow-veterans urging the board to stand by its decision. One veteran stressed that "to allow free expression of ideas in a building dedicated to the memory of our war dead would indicate

that their deaths in fighting for the principles of democracy were not in vain."

A school teacher declared: "Robeson has a special place in the cultural life of this nation. As a high school student I heard recordings of his Shakespearean roles. I checked our library shelves the other day and found three books written about him. If we deny him the chance to be heard, isn't it only a short step toward removing his recordings from the library shelves and finally toward burning books. . . ?"

A minister thus summed up the danger involved in excluding Robeson:

To my mind the real threat to democracy lies not in the ideas which Robeson may have, but in the use of the fear of communism as a justification for the undermining of all the constitutional safeguards of individual rights. It was precisely this supposed danger from Communists first, and other minorities later, which the Nazis used to silence all opposition while they hacked away at the very foundations of government in Germany.

The reason I deplore the type of argument used in the district attorney's letter is that it says in effect: our democratic processes are not strong enough to withstand the threat of force and violence—hence we must abandon them in favor of the use of force and violence ourselves. . . .

The meeting adjourned at midnight with the board's majority vote in favor of permitting Robeson to sing standing unchanged. On May 23 Mr. Robeson appeared, as scheduled, before a capacity audience. There was no trouble.

ALICE S. HAMBURG

In An Early Issue

As a follow-up to Hugo Ernst's article *Labor Views the Campaign*, which appeared in the May 10 issue, *The Nation* will soon publish a statement on the same general subject by George M. Harrison, grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (A. F. of L.), one of labor's most influential spokesmen. With the Harrison statement will also appear a summary of the views of a number of other labor leaders on the great issues of the 1952 campaign.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Strange Inconsistencies

One of the most disturbing things about the signing of the two European treaties last week was the absence of any important reaction in the United States. The West German peace contract and the European Army agreement, between them, committed this country to the defense of a frontier on the Elbe River. They have committed us to military expenditures of proportions impossible to estimate over an indefinite future. Perhaps the country has weighed these commitments soberly and concluded that it has no choice but to accept them; their early ratification by Congress, without important debate or partisan division, seemed assured as the week began. But if that is the case, there are strange inconsistencies in the picture, chief among them the lopping off by Senate and House of a billion dollars or so from the Administration's foreign-aid measure—a procedure totally incongruous with the agreements signed at Bonn and Paris.

It is our view that the people of the United States have neither understood nor consciously prepared themselves for the policy these fateful acts express, and that it is past time that they woke up. An election campaign is upon us and several of the men responsible for our foreign relations are seeking the Presidential nomination. Questions should be asked, and quickly, of General Eisenhower and Mr. Harriman and Senator Taft; the issue of foreign policy should be pushed to the front. It would be strange indeed if the United States were to leave the job of debating German rearmament and all its imminent consequences to the parliaments and peoples of Europe.

Another Miracle Needed

By reversing the ban on "The Miracle," the Supreme Court has made it clear that motion pictures fall within the free-speech guaranties of the First and Fourteenth Amendments. At the same time the court has given the New York Board of Regents who banned the film a timely lecture on the historically-restricted meaning of the term "sacrilegious" and the irrelevance of that concept in a nation which does not support an established church or state religion. "It is not the business of government in

our nation," the court points out, "to suppress real or imagined attacks upon a particular religious doctrine, whether they appear in publications, speeches, or motion pictures."

Surprisingly enough the decision was "hailed" with delight in Hollywood by executives who had just granted the American Legion a power over the industry that Cardinal Spellman, who precipitated the controversy over "The Miracle," has never asserted. Employees whose names appear on lists submitted by the Legion must be screened and proper clearance obtained before they can work on future productions. If the craftsmen who make motion pictures must submit to political tests of this character, the obvious implication is that they had better not put out films of which the House Committee on Un-American Activities and other agencies consulted by the Legion might disapprove. Indeed censorship is implicit in the statement of James F. O'Neill, editor of the *American Legion Magazine*, that the Legion's program is one of "watchful observance" of persons employed in radio and television as well as motion pictures and the theater.

Encouraged by the Supreme Court's decision, the industry executives who have been entertaining Mr. O'Neill in Hollywood should permit him to return to his editorial duties in Indianapolis. Or can it be that the Legion will successfully assert a power which the Supreme Court has just decided the State of New York does not possess?

Ridgewood's Littler Point Four

Citizens of Ridgewood, New Jersey, a commuters' community of some 18,000 population forty minutes from Times Square, has launched a program not unlike Norway's "Little Point Four" described by Erling Bjøl in *The Nation* of May 24. Last year Octavius Pitzalis, operator of a barber shop and beauty parlor and one of Ridgewood's highly respected citizens, paid a visit to his native village of Nuri (population 6,000) in Sardinia. While there he organized a cooperative agricultural project and invested \$3,500 of his own money as the down payment on a tractor and other farm equipment. Learning of this, the citizens of Ridgewood decided to back the project as a community enterprise. At the present time they are raising funds by subscription for the purchase of additional farm equipment for Nuri.

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While projects of this sort could be used to divert public attention from the lack of government support for an effective national Point Four program, they can also have a quite contrary effect. Apart from their practical value they provide one of the best means of arousing popular interest in the possibilities of an enlarged Point Four. Other communities might well profit by the example of Ridgewood and Mr. Pitzalis who, instead of firing a shot heard round the world, made a sensible down payment on a tractor and a plow.

Grass-Roots Common Sense

An award for the week's outstanding contribution to civic sanity should go to Berkeley, California. Apparently concerned by local excitement over the Robeson incident (see this week's Around The U. S. A.) a group of civic leaders organized a public forum, chaired by Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, on Our National Security and the American Tradition of Freedom. Speakers were asked to address themselves to three questions: What is Freedom? How do we maintain it? And how do we strengthen our defenses against communism? Out of this meeting has come the Berkeley Committee for Security and Freedom sponsored by such diverse organizations as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Americans for Democratic Action, Young Republicans, the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., and the Berkeley Church Federation. The committee is not an action group and none of these organizations is involved in any commitment except to further security and freedom through full and open discussion.

It is through local groups of this sort that opinion can be organized to resist the current hate hysteria which is beginning to have dangerous "mass" manifestations. For example, the Sons of the American Revolution recently started a "grass-roots anti-subversive drive" which they claim will function through thousands of local organizations. Known as Patriotic Education, Inc., the new movement aims to capture local citizen groups concerned with public education in the manner foreshadowed in last week's editorial, The Battle for the Schools.

South African Hitlerism

Conscious of growing opposition to its plans for subverting the South African constitution, Dr. Malan's Nationalist government has brought into play the Suppression of Communism Act, an instrument of tyranny worthy of Hitler. This law, writes Mr. E. S. Sachs in his new book "The Choice before South Africa" (Turnstile Press, London), contains "a definition of communism which is sufficiently wide to embrace any liberal who advocates racial tolerance or any trade unionist who urges higher wages for workers. The ques-

tion of who is a Communist or what constitutes communism is to be decided by the Minister. . . . The case will not be decided by the courts on factual evidence in accordance with recognized legal procedure."

The accuracy of these charges has been proved up to the hilt by the use of this act against Mr. Sachs himself, despite the fact that he was expelled from the Communist Party over 20 years ago. He was ordered to resign as secretary of the South African Garment Workers Union and to abstain from all political or trade union activities. When he defied this order by addressing a mass meeting of union members, the police dragged him off to jail, precipitating a bloody riot. Now he faces the possibility of a three-year jail sentence.

Mr. Sachs, whose article *South African Madness*, appeared in *The Nation* of April 12, is not the only victim of this vicious act. It has already been employed against about twenty persons and new orders are steadily being issued. A few of those concerned are known Communists: the rest are simply people like Mr. Sachs whom the government deems it convenient to tag with the Communist label. In addition C. R. Stewart, Minister of Justice, has banned Mr. Sachs's book and suppressed *The Cape Guardian*, a left-wing weekly. The British Trades Union Congress has protested strongly the arbitrary actions. We hope American trade unions will follow suit.

Tribute to the "Survey"

More than almost any other journal in America, the *Survey* expressed the faith, the ideas, even the personality of its editor. Paul Kellogg was the *Survey*, although he gathered around him through the years many eminent associates. To have to record its passing is like saying goodbye to a valued friend; a painful task, humanly and professionally.

Always a pioneer in the field of social welfare and social ideas, the *Survey* was from its beginning a member of the "deficit group" of forward-looking journals, but until recently the financial problem was successfully met by interested friends, members of Survey Associates, and a few foundations which recognized the unique contribution to social thought and education made by Paul Kellogg and his colleagues. It was the devastating combination of rocketing costs and Mr. Kellogg's serious illness that finally defeated the valiant efforts of the *Survey's* friends to raise the necessary funds.

Fortunately Mr. Kellogg is on the road to recovery. Knowing him as the sort of person who would never accept defeat in a personal sense, we are encouraged to believe that his great authority, wisdom, and imagination will still be put to good use; and so, also, the talents of his devoted staff. But we shall miss the *Survey*; it filled a place no other journal occupies and filled it with integrity and distinction.

1952 Platform for American Labor

THE anti-union offensive is gathering momentum. Almost daily some reactionary congressman comes forward with a bright new scheme for loading the collective-bargaining scales against labor. Taft-Hartley, it appears, is not enough: it must be supplemented by further legislation designed to blunt the edge of labor's strike weapon.

One proposal is to bar strikes in key industries whenever an emergency is declared. A second suggestion is compulsory arbitration of disputes affecting the public interest but this is likely to be as strongly opposed by employers as by unions. A third, discussed in an editorial two weeks ago, is Representative Smith's bill, now before the Armed Services Committee of the House, which would empower the courts, following the Taft-Hartley eighty-day injunction period, to place both unions and companies engaged in a dispute in a receivership of indefinite period during which working conditions could not be changed.

Still another plan, with which congressmen of both parties are toying, is to curb the unions by putting them under the anti-trust laws. Senator Robertson of Virginia is seeking to revive a bill to achieve this end which he introduced in 1950. And in the House, Republican Representative Gwinn of New York has brought forward a measure to outlaw both industry-wide bargaining and industry-wide strikes—a proposal written into the original Taft-Hartley law and defeated by only one vote in the Senate after winning the approval of the House.

The Gwinn bill seems to have been inspired by the *Wall Street Journal* which for years has been plugging for legislation to break up what it calls "labor monopolies." An industry-wide strike that cuts off the supply of some vital commodity or service, this paper argues, is really directed against the whole community. Hence if the government is not armed with legal weapons to ban such strikes, it must be endowed with the power to coerce both sides. "There is the choice. . . . Either the withdrawal of the monopoly power or the creation in the government of a greater power before which both property and personal rights lose their sanctity." (*Wall Street Journal*, May 1, 1952.)

Extreme proponents of this idea aim at breaking up labor organizations such as the United Steel Workers. As the *U. S. News and World Report* of May 16 explains: "No single union could be certified as bargaining agent for workers of competing unions. There would be one union for U. S. Steel, another for Bethlehem, another for Republic."

Senator Taft, while not at present willing to go quite

so far, apparently plans, if elected President, to include "an anti-labor-monopoly law" in his first State-of-the-Union message. According to Philip Geyelin, Washington correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal*, he believes that such a law should not prohibit union organization on a national basis. However, except in a few industries such as building and coal which would be allowed to negotiate regional agreements, it would enforce bargaining on a company basis by forbidding any union official to negotiate labor contracts for more than one company. The Senator admits that this ban might not prevent simultaneous strikes to enforce identical demands but he believes localization of bargaining would, to quote Mr. Geyelin's paraphrase, "eventually encourage workers and employers in each company in an industry to work out their problems independently."

There is much in this outline that is unclear. For instance, when Taft talks of "bargaining on a company level," would he permit negotiations with a holding company, such as United States Steel, or would he insist on separate contracts with each operating subsidiary? Nevertheless, if some details are obscure, the objective is all too plain. Taft, like less cautious anti-labor colleagues, aims at atomization of the unions, at the sapping of the strength they derive from national solidarity by reducing them to loose federations of autonomous locals.

This is a real threat but one that can be met. As Mr. Geyelin writes: "This November's elections hold the key to what happens. If the Democrats win a smashing victory this fall, the chance of Congress passing major labor legislation next year would be slim. But if the Republicans hold their own or gain new strength in the House and Senate, it's almost certain that there will be a new effort next year to crack down on the unions." It is up to organized labor to insure against another Eightieth Congress. If it rallies its potential political strength, it can do so.

Judge Waring on the Civil Rights Issue

MORE than ten thousand people gathered in Chicago's Coliseum, at one of the sessions of the recent General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal church, to hear J. Waties Waring pay his respects to the Dixiecrats and make an eloquent appeal for a strong civil rights plank in the platforms of both major parties. Ostracized by the "white folks" of South Carolina, Judge and Mrs. Waring were given a tumultuous reception in Chicago; among other honors the Judge was given the annual Abbott Award of the *Chicago Defender*. The meager accounts of this extraordinary meeting which appeared in the press are, perhaps, a measure of the pitch to which racial tensions have

mounted in Chicago in the last year. When the delegates to the Democratic and Republican conventions assemble there next month, they will be visiting a community in which racial tensions are at the highest point since World War II. The city's large Negro population should be in the mood, as it certainly will be in a position, to bring great pressure to bear on the platform committees of both parties.

Judge Waring, whose decisions opened the way for Negroes to vote in South Carolina in the Democratic primaries, spoke of racial prejudice as "a cancer which cannot be cured with a sedative. . . . You must go to the source of the trouble. So long as we have legal segregation in the South, the poison will spread to the rest of the country. So you and I and the other decent people of this country have got to go to the source of the prejudice—the segregation laws of the South—and wipe them out." To all appeasers and "Uncle Toms," the Judge suggested that the reply should be: "We don't care how much money the white supremacists spend; we don't want the chains of slavery gold-plated, we want them stricken off. We don't want gifts, we want rights."

At the close of his speech, Judge Waring suggested a civil rights plank, approved by the conference, for adoption by both major parties:

We deplore and condemn all attempts to discriminate for or against any of our citizens by reason of religion, race, or ancestry, and pledge ourselves to a re-examination of those pillars of our democratic way of life, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and especially those amendments guaranteeing to all persons the equal protection of the laws and prohibiting any state from making or enforcing laws abridging the privileges of citizens or denying to any person equal protection.

We demand that the immortal words of Thomas Jefferson that "all men are created equal" be made a reality.

In furtherance of this principle, we call upon the Congress of the United States to consider and adopt rules which will allow the introduction and discussion and orderly consideration on its merits and the eventual enactment of legislation guaranteeing:

1. The right of full and equal participation in the exercise of suffrage.
2. The right to equal opportunity of employment.
3. The right of security of person and property.

We further call upon the executive departments to implement such rights as are now granted and those to be hereafter granted and assured by:

1. Directing the immediate integration of all personnel in all of the armed forces and complete and sincere elimination of discrimination and designation by color or racial origin; this is to apply to all forces whether serving in this country or foreign lands.
2. The insertion in and enforcement of provisions in all contracts made by the federal government for fur-

nishing of supplies, construction, or labor against discrimination or designation by reason of color or racial origin.

We commend this plank to the members of the platform committees of both parties.

Six Years Too Late

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

SYNGMAN RHEE is a taunting symbol of what is wrong with American policy in Korea. From the moment he and his clique were imposed on the Korean people by the American occupation, they served as a barricade against any popular movement or any democratic development that might conceivably play into the hands of communism. As long as they performed this function, their corrupt and violent practices were regarded as peccadilloes. Now, suddenly, the United Nations command, which is to say the top American brass, is reported to be "much embarrassed" by President Rhee's recent behavior. If this is the case, perhaps one should be gratified; a change of heart might betoken a change of policy—although it might merely mean that American prestige, badly battered as the result of the prisoner-of-war fiasco, cannot stand any more slings and arrows just now. But one thing is sure: with all his manifold faults, Syngman Rhee is our man and it is a little ungrateful, and also a little late, for American generals to begin to be embarrassed by him.

They should have got round to it sooner, say in 1946 when, under the sponsorship of the American army he set up his blatantly dictatorial rule, maintained by Japanese-trained police and his own terrorists, arresting potential opponents, outlawing independent political associations, bestowing benefits—land and concessions and jobs—on his faithful henchmen. The American occupation was never more than mildly concerned with these matters; Syngman Rhee ran his little police state without serious interference, and when the elections of 1948 came along he had things well in hand. What with the people he had thrown into jail and those who had been killed and those who were in hiding or had fled to the north, he was in a position to elect a National Assembly which chose him President by a handsome majority.

Those elections were well cooked. But by 1950 the United Nations was on hand to supervise that year's voting, and while it was still distorted by government repression and corruption, the tide turned sharply against the President and from that date to this the anti-Rhee forces in the Assembly have been in a majority. Fortunately for Mr. Rhee the war began in time to save him from serious inconvenience; while the fighting raged Parliamentary government went into partial eclipse. Al-

though the South Korean army was put under United Nations command, Syngman Rhee displayed an impressive degree of initiative. When the other U. N. forces halted briefly at the Thirty-eighth Parallel, Rhee's troops drove northward, apparently without orders. If the U. N. command, General MacArthur then in charge, felt embarrassed it did not show it; nor did it summon back the ambitious ROKs. And only a little later when the U. N. armies, defying Chinese warnings, moved into North Korea, President Rhee dispatched his terrorists and police into captured territory to "establish order," a phrase which by this time hardly needs defining. Even then we find no record of embarrassment on the part of MacArthur and his generals. But outraged protests began to be heard in the United Nations itself and in the press of the cooperating powers—and eventually the advance agents of Syngman Rhee were called back to their homes.

Is it not odd, in the light of these not too ancient facts, that on May 25, with a thoroughly hostile Assembly preparing to elect a new President in less than a month, Syngman Rhee should have declared martial law and arrested nine opposition deputies? Or that a few days later he should have announced an "international conspiracy" against South Korea, arrested a batch of ordinary citizens, and formally rejected the urgings of military and diplomatic officials that he behave in a constitutional manner? It is not odd. For he knew very well that if he did so the Assembly would presently vote out of office his whole apparatus of control. In fact, he had every reason to expect, it seems to us, that the people who put him in power and countenanced his abuses of power would display composure rather than embarrassment when he took steps to hang on to it.

So Syngman Rhee calmly ignored the resolution adopted 96 to 3 by the Assembly which demanded that martial law be revoked—though such an order is mandatory under the constitution—and the Assembly's further resolution to remain in session until the arrested members were freed. As complete justification for his conduct, Mr. Rhee pointed out that the legislators were "trying to grab political power by intrigue." He also ignored, or has up to the moment of writing, the pressures brought by General Van Fleet and various U. N. representatives, announcing that he will lift martial law when he pleases and that, instead of releasing the jailed deputies, "more arrests can be expected."

Whether the high brass will finally force President Rhee to knuckle under, we cannot guess. All we can say is that, win or lose, they have a miserably weak case. If they had really wanted democracy in Korea, in place of corruption and terror, they would have started differently. They wanted anti-communism, nothing else, and they got Syngman Rhee. Their embarrassment is about six years late.

One View of Eisenhower

BY JOSEPH C. HARSCH

Paris

BEFORE Dwight Eisenhower left Europe he was genuinely puzzled when certain of his visitors went away saying that in domestic politics he was "to the right of Taft." The visitors, coming from an America where it has become customary to tag everyone as being right or left, had seen in some of his customary views evidence of a rightward domestic political inclination. Ike himself, however, is conscious only of a desire to find the right solution to any given problem regardless of what kind of people have generated the idea.

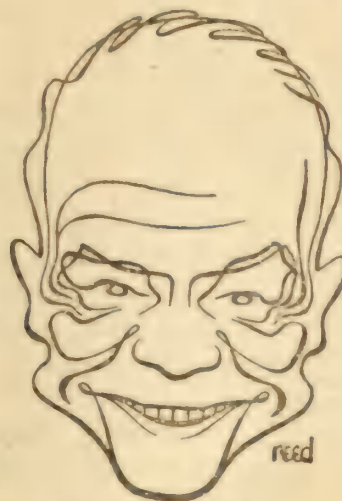
This urge to find a right solution without finding one's self labeled reactionary or radical is the overlooked key to the man Eisenhower and might well lead to considerable confusion before Ike and the American public get to know each other better. In foreign policy Ike is a modern American. But when anyone in these black and white days adopts what is plainly a modern point of view about foreign policy there tends to be an assumption that he must be quite as modern in other areas of public affairs and therefore as easily placed in the domestic political spectrum.

That is precisely where a number of political experts are going wrong these days, because in domestic affairs Ike hasn't had a chance to become modern. He left civilian life in 1910 and has been busy ever since building an army career, waging wars, and trying to remake the face of Europe. True, he had a few brushes with modern America when he was president of Columbia University, but it is important to remember that while he resided in the general environment of a great civilian university he continued to move through it within the immediate environment of a five-star general surrounded by aides and staff sergeants.

Certainly not consciously, but just as certainly unconsciously, Ike looks ahead with the attitude of a man who is not just taking off a uniform, but who feels that he is going to move from the world of "we" to the world of "they." So far as foreign policy is concerned the transition will be easy. In that area the two worlds have not exactly merged, but have intermingled to the point where the army recognizes, albeit with sadness, that political and military affairs can no longer exist in separate compartments. In domestic affairs it is bound to be a different story.

JOSEPH C. HARSCH, Paris correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, covered General Eisenhower from the time the general was first given the NATO assignment.

This doesn't mean for a moment that Ike will move into domestic affairs unequipped to comprehend or deal with them. The America of 1910 in Abilene, Kansas, does not prepare a man to grasp instantly the subtleties



Dwight D. Eisenhower

of Senator Taft's relation with Joe McCarthy or the reasons why it is more respectable for a member of the N.A.M. to be seen lunching with John L. Lewis than with Philip Murray. But it isn't a bad starting point for a new look at 1952's America. After all, people from small Midwest towns in 1910 were decent people capable of tolerance for each other's peculiarities, slow to pass doctrinaire judgments, possessing faith in the general decency of mankind, and free from a certain modern tendency to feel that the other man's ideas need to be purged if one's own are to survive.

On the other hand it is hardly surprising that some of Ike's visitors haven't seemed to be able to grasp what he was talking about or be able to agree that his political views as of Paris in the spring of 1952 make him a "middle of the roader." To them, he has seemed instead to sound like a man "to the right of Taft." The confusion really arises out of the fact that Ike is not at all to the right of Taft, but rather about 40 years behind Taft in applying his own personal inclinations to the actual problems of America today. Ike simply hasn't had a chance to apply himself to these matters. Taft has.

It is important to compare Taft's and Eisenhower's personal inclinations. On any such comparison Taft would certainly be well to the right. But over the past forty years the Senator from Ohio has found it either necessary or desirable to make certain modifications in the application of his personal doctrines to specific conditions, as has Harry Truman. This is a process through which Ike has not yet had the time or need to pass (or rather had not until he found the transition from military to political life looming ahead of him).

As an announced candidate, Ike began to do some serious thinking. But being able to regard himself with reasonable objectivity he came quickly to the realization that he was certainly not equipped at this stage to

form decisive judgments on such specific current issues as the steel strike. Political instinct seemed to guide him in the same direction, warning him that he had better not mix in too many current issues until he had had a chance to do some home work. The result has been that he has talked to his visitors in the only idiom available to him; the political idiom of Midwest America, circa 1910.

The real question, however, is not where his domestic views are to be found today, but how good are the pieces of political equipment he has brought home with him as devices for evolving a useful and constructive set of views of modern America. Most of these are too well known to require more than itemization. His personality and easy friendliness are proverbial, and real. So is his ability to act as chairman or moderator of a board meeting and to lead wrangling individuals towards a workable compromise between conflicting views. No one can take from him the fact that the hammering out of the European Defense Community agreement in one year among Europeans conditioned by a thousand years of war and suspicion borders on the miraculous.

Add his ability to express his ideas with an intensity and enthusiasm which actually do arouse public confidence and light little fires of hope and faith. This derives from the fact that he is an optimist with a belief that men are decent and that mankind can move from where it is to some better place. It also derives from an ability unusual in military men to handle words. He did a lot of writing in his day—including General MacArthur's annual reports as Chief of Staff and some MacArthur speeches in the Philippines. He works long and hard at such tasks and picks words carefully. One is surprised by his vocabulary when moving from conversations with military men around him to conversations with him.

THESE are his political assets. What about his liabilities? There are several minor ones. Like Harry Truman, Ike has had some difficulty avoiding undesirable personal associations. He makes friends easily. He has found it necessary to terminate several such friendships. But unlike Truman, Ike can terminate them firmly and decisively. Then Ike moves into the political arena with a skin as yet untoughened to the vulgarities of political behavior. He has been disturbed by the black propaganda campaign waged against him. He wasn't prepared for being called Communist-lover, lecher, "Swedish Jew," and husband of a dipsomaniac. He didn't know that this sort of thing is normal in American political life and that its purpose is as much to rattle him as to influence people against him. It got under his skin and he still can't talk about these abuses without a touch of visible pain. The question is whether he will develop towards a Rooseveltian delight in collecting specimens or towards a Hoover-like persecution complex, or find a solution

peculiar to himself which will be sufficient. Basically an extrovert, the chances are that he will evolve some form of defense. But before he does he may be rattled and thrown off pace several times.

PROBABLY Ike's greatest liability is his sense of being slightly apart and different from even the best of the politicians who built his candidacy. The one person he really trusts in the whole movement is his old personal friend and army associate, General Lucius Clay. So close is the natural sympathy and understanding between them that General Clay was actually used during the pre-declaration period as a sort of alter ego for Ike. The politicians, forbidden to ask Ike direct political questions, put them to Clay and Clay gave the answers he assumed Ike would give were he free to give them. And apparently they were almost always the right ones. That same identity of thinking process does not exist with such men as Paul Hoffman and Senator Lodge. They and Ike talk "to" each other rather than "with" each other. They are separated by that delicate but ever present difference between "we" and "they." They are also separated by the persisting assumption that Ike is more important to them than they to him. It will be some time, if ever, before Ike can feel as comfortable among his political associates as he does among his old military friends. This could become an asset by protecting him from a narrowly interested advocacy of special causes. As candidate and/or President, he would be better off not to trust his advisers as completely as he has become accustomed to trust his army friends.

The sum of it all is that Ike is not as complex as some people are apparently trying to make him, or as "placed" as others assume him to be. Using "good" in its best sense, Ike is a good man with strong urges to lead the country out of twenty years of internal strife along what he regards as the middle of the road. He approaches the task with an unusual personality and a real earnestness. He can contribute a fresh sense of direction just because his political roots are in the Middle West of 1910.

Can Ike locate that middle of the road in sufficient time to meet his problems? It won't be the easiest thing he ever tried to do. And of course there is some question whether the middle he finds will accord with the public's sense of where it lies. It would be a grave mistake to assume that Ike is already placed to right, left, or center. If the Republicans take him as their candidate, and the voters as their President, they will be taking a man who knows where he wants to find himself but whose present ideas of where it will be are going to sound quaint, if nostalgically charming, to our sophisticated moderns. Perhaps a touch of quaintness is what a lot of Americans really want after Roosevelt's sophistication and Truman's mixture of good decision in big things and Pendergastian cynicism in small things.

France's Fatal Indecision

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

WHILE at Bonn the Foreign Ministers were signing the Contractual Agreements with Germany and the European Army treaty, the French political parties were in a state that is hard to describe. The dominant feeling was one of anxiety; but it wasn't the kind of anxiety that produces energetic action. It was mixed up with almost everything under the sun: a spot of black fatalism; a pinch of sheepish optimism; a few idiotic illusions about the "land of Schiller and Goethe" and, at the same time, a distrust of Germany; an even greater distrust of Russia (or *vice versa*, according to the speaker), and a dread of American "irresponsibility." In the end everybody subscribed to some vague half-measures, half-warnings, and half-promises which meant little or nothing.

The general indecision in France can, in the end, only encourage those people in the United States who are pushing hardest for the rearmament of Germany, and those in Germany who are playing an equally dangerous game. Of course, on paper, Germany will not be able to go ahead with its rearmament; of course, in theory, the road is still open for agreement with Russia, which is expected to look upon the signing of the Bonn agreements only as a salutary warning to come to its senses. But that isn't how things are likely to work out; for the indecision shown by France, and especially by the French Socialists (or, at any rate, by most of them) is not going to create an international *detente*—far from it.

That was the feeling of the Socialist minority, which for two days had struggled gallantly at the party congress at Montrouge to postpone any decision on Germany. That is, to postpone it in actuality, and not merely on paper; for they knew that the kind of resolutions passed at French political congresses, though calculated to make everybody pat himself—and everyone else—on the back, are not the sort of thing that scare the State Department, the Pentagon, or Dr. Adenauer.

There was one curious thing about the congress. Tom Driberg, on behalf of the British Labor Party, read out to the delegates the famous resolution of April 30 of the National Executive on German rearmament. He was loudly cheered and later treated to drinks; but there the matter ended. For the question of the Labor Party's German policy had already been thrashed out on the two previous days. Marceau Pivert, of the left wing of the Socialists, had spoken at length, saying that here was at

least a serious attempt to call a halt—at least temporary halt—to this deadly course down the slippery slope. Depreux also had spoken about it; he had said that he "preferred talks with Russia about a world armistice, talks which might be difficult but would be better than a third world war, even if they lasted a year, two years, three years. . . ." The British Labor Party had seen the light. And he added that he was not prepared to rearm



Robert Schuman

(Dolbin)

Germany just in order to get Taft defeated. But no, Felix Gouin wouldn't have it. What was the good, he asked, of taking any notice of the British? They had let France down in 1940. Britain, he suggested, didn't really come into it at all. To him Russia was enemy No. 1, and the integration of Germany in the West was the only hope of saving Germany—

and France—from being swallowed up by Uncle Joe.

Gouin's speech was the most extreme thing heard at the Congress. But the much more moderate speech by André Philip, wrapped up in a mystical cloud of Strasbourg Europeanism, was not really very different in substance. And, in the scales of French socialism, all the speeches in favor of German integration as a "lesser evil" finally outweighed the impassioned speeches of the other school, including that of Naegelon, who said that not a single one of the five conditions laid down by the National Assembly before Schuman went to Lisbon had been fulfilled—no genuine British support, no *gradual* incorporation of the French army into the European Defense Community, no exclusion of Germany from the Atlantic Pact, no guaranty that the German forces would never grow greater than the French, no guaranty of the size of the German units; and those of Daniel Mayer, Grumbach, Pivert, or Jules Moch.

Moch's political line over the last few years has zig-zagged fantastically; yet one must take his speech at the Socialist Congress with the utmost seriousness. For Moch had come to Montrouge from the United Nations where he had represented France on the Disarmament Commission. He at least had a real understanding of the international atmosphere—and of the prevailing atmos-

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phere in New York, which he described as "atrocious."

Since returning to France a few days ago, he said, many Socialist comrades had laughed at him, saying he had been "wasting his time in New York."

Yet I maintain, [he continued] that we have no right to ignore the Disarmament Commission—even though it has not produced any tangible results yet. . . . Things have gone more smoothly than at the Palais Rose, and, without revealing any secrets, I maintain that the French delegation has good hope of bringing the Russian and American standpoints more closely together. All problems in the world are linked. What is German rearmament but the terrifying antithesis of general disarmament? If German rearmament is to be agreed on, all hope of disarmament will have to be abandoned. The Socialist Congress must either take the plunge, or else postpone any decision. . . . As I see it the European Army, as at present envisaged, contains none of the guaranties we demanded before Lisbon, and the present plan is an act of sabotage by the experts against the original Pleven Plan.

The impression he gave was that, on disarmament, the Russians were *less* difficult than the U. S. A. And after

saying that Adenauer, with American encouragement, was becoming more and more insolent; that the present EDC plan would place France in a position of hopeless inferiority *vis-à-vis* Germany; that the German army would have all the dangerous features which the Pleven Plan had tried to exclude, Moch went on:

The greatest danger to Europe is the revival of the Wehrmacht. For what if the Russians, who are already on the road of big concessions to Germany, were to offer her territorial revision in the East? The German army would pass, lock, stock, and barrel, to the other side. . . .

And then came his most important conclusion:

All problems today are linked. . . . If the Bonn treaty is ratified, it will be a *fait accompli* which once and for all will ruin every chance of a general settlement. The important thing is to wait—to wait at least for the election of a representative German parliament and for the American Presidential election. Both of them can change everything.

Moch remarked that there was an idea widely current in the United States—the policy of Ultimatums. "This



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is a policy that we as Socialists and Frenchmen cannot accept. We rearm, but not for that. We rearm in order to negotiate; and we are already strong enough for that. Let us pursue our efforts for a general peace settlement." And, alluding to President Auriol's speech at the opening session of the last U. N. Assembly, he concluded: "Let there be a statesman who will call a conference of the Big Four. This cannot be done now. But it must be done after the United States election. And meantime, let there be no German rearmament, which can only ruin the last chances of world peace." On the same day, eighty-year-old Edouard Herriot was saying at the Radical Party congress: "Americans, I must appeal to you. Do not repeat the mistakes you made between the two

wars in building up German military strength. . . . Think of what a third world war will mean. As Americans and democrats, and as human beings, you have no right to expose our country to this mortal danger."

Yet the man representing France at Bonn is not Herriot, with his old-fashioned common-sense and historical understanding, or hard, "mathematical" Jules Moch, but flabby, uninspiring Robert Schuman, with his *idée fixe* of "Europe," a non-existent Europe, yet one in whose existence well-meaning provincial Socialists still like to believe in their sloppy way. And hence all the woolly compromises and resolutions, which can only confirm Adenauer in his view that France doesn't know its own mind. . . . Oh Land of Descartes!

Germany, Germany!

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

FOR five years I have been repeating that peace or war would be decided on the issue of Germany. When momentous events like Korea diverted attention toward Asia, I urged a return to the main point on which East and West could either agree or finally break. The events of the past week have unfortunately justified this preoccupation. Secretary Acheson was right in describing the signing of the contractual agreements in Bonn and of the European Army Pact in Paris as a "big event." It was also a personal victory for him if one takes into consideration the fact that these documents were signed in face of the bitter hostility of a large part of European public opinion, with the French government, in particular, fully aware that their acceptance, marking a sharp defeat for France, had been accomplished only under the heaviest pressure of American diplomacy. The threat that if the French refused to sign American military aid would be cut, this time proved totally effective so far as the French people were concerned.

But as in the case of every victory, especially one followed by a period between signature and ratification when the entire controversy will be re-fought, an objective analysis of its consequences is due. I am not thinking so much of the problem of Berlin. Measures already taken and others that may be adopted in the course of a retaliatory campaign against West Germany and the Three Western Powers will certainly capture the headlines, but these will not be the most serious developments. The parallel with the 1948-49 blockade of Berlin is inaccurate. For now that the Potsdam agreement has been tossed out of the window by the ceremony at Bonn, the Russians consider themselves as having regained full jurisdiction over the city. It is not likely that they will

ask the Western powers to quit Berlin, but without doubt they believe themselves fully entitled to do so. East German measures adopted immediately after the signing at Bonn—including the partial blocking of telephone communications as well as transport between the Soviet and Western areas—were designed, at least in part, as a demonstration of strength.

No, the most serious consequence of last week's acts is that the natural area of eventual agreement between East and West has been blown to pieces. Once determined upon, the policy of making Germany the "hard core" of the European military alliance against Russia will impose more and more concessions, greater and greater aid, increasing dependence upon West German armed might. The fact that only twenty-four hours after the signatures were blotted, it was announced that the Bonn Republic would be allowed to fabricate tanks and artillery of all sizes, indicates all too clearly what is going to happen. It might even come about in the end that the overwhelming opposition of the Western European peoples to war would leave only two real instruments of anti-Russian strength available for a shooting war: the West German army and the industrial, financial, and atomic power that the United States is in a position to master.

In any case the developments at Bonn and Paris have made a return to diplomacy more difficult than ever. The moment of his triumph may also have marked Secretary Acheson's swan song as a negotiator for peace. The way is now open for the generals and the marshals—including the many hungry, out-of-work Nazi officers for whom this represents the long-awaited day of resurrection.

Italy: Danger from the Right

BY WILLIAM MURRAY

Rome (by cable)

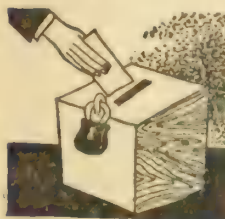
AFTER nearly three months of furious campaigning the second round of Italian local administrative elections is over and clerical democracy has won a precarious victory. The elections, which affected some 2400 municipalities mainly in southern Italy, were considered important primarily as an indication of which way the political wind is blowing; Italy's first nationwide general election since 1948 is scheduled to be held next year. If the indications are to be relied upon, 1953 will be the year of crisis for Italian democracy. These relatively unimportant elections of a purely local nature have emphasized one major trend: an upsurge of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement. Everyone expected the Communists and their Socialist allies to gain in strength as they have in every previous election since the war's end, but no one was prepared to see entire city administrations pass into the hands of the fascists and their monarchist allies. The Demo-Christians and their allies kept control over ten provincial capitals including Rome but the fascists have taken over political control of at least six key southern cities: Naples, Foggia, Bari, Benevento, Salerno, and Avellino. The extreme Left, although piling up the largest single vote, has managed to win only five of the provincial capitals and none as important as either Bari or Naples where the Right is in full and arrogant control. In Rome itself the Socialist-Communist coalition outvoted the Demo-Christians by over twenty thousand votes but the neo-fascist block was appealing enough to gain the vote of one out of every four Romans. In Naples the Right picked up over 208,000 votes, some fifty thousand more than the Demo-Christians and about seventy-five thousand more than the Left.

The question then arises who are the voters who are getting behind the "Missini"? Actually one can break down the party into three component parts. First there is the hard core of nostalgic and belligerent ex-Fascists. In the old days under Mussolini they were mainly lesser functionaries and obscure party members holding some minor local post. With them are the ex-soldiers, the fanatics who still claim that Italy could have won the war if she had not been betrayed by her own countrymen. Secondly there are the students and the young men and women who have been trying unsuccessfully to find employment. Many of them are in their middle twenties and are still unemployed. They are the ones that have

suffered most from the scarcity of work in large urban areas. Their memories of fascism are vague but pleasant. Most of them did not fight in the last war, but they can remember that until the early nineteen-forties life in Italy was kinder at least to college graduates. Thirdly there is that large mass of underpaid white-collar workers, state employees, and all those people who are having a hard time making ends meet, but who can find no comfort in the Communist appeal to the proletariat. Together the "Missini" dream of a return to the "good old days" when Italy was a world power and the laboring classes knew their place and had better manners.

Strong as they are the neo-fascists have two serious weaknesses: they have no political program and they have no popular figure, no man on horseback to lead them into power. The high party functionaries are either amnestied criminals like Valerio Borghese or unsuccessful traveling salesmen like Giorgio Almirante. The only man with the stature to lead the party is Rodolfo Graziani the discredited old marshal who has already served six years in jail. But he is too old to provide the kind of virile leadership that could fill the Piazza Venezia with screaming fanatics. Even more serious is the absence of any program but nostalgia. In the gallery of the Piazza Colonna in Rome where political agitators have been haranguing crowds of passersby as well as each other, the fascists were always stopped by the question "What is your program?" If the fascists fail to come up with either a man on horseback or a program, there is no question that eventually they will collapse of their own inadequacy just as the once powerful "Uomo Qualunque" (Everyman's Party) collapsed five years ago. One can already detect signs that this decay is taking place: there are several diverging currents of thought within the party and two splinter groups have already broken away to form their own parties, although they have remained allied to the "Missini."

The political campaign itself here was long and bitter. It began several months before the election and each of Rome's sixteen political parties held at least one rally in every section of the city. The Communists campaigned behind another one of their political fronts; this one calling itself the "citizens list." As the figurehead of their campaign they chose eighty-four-year-old Francesco Saverio Nitti, until yesterday an opponent of communism and now the butt of many an Italian political quip. The



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selection of Nitti to head the left-wing list was a real surprise. Nitti's one claim to fame is that he was head of a short-lived democratic government immediately after World War I. Since then his time has been spent in a futile attempt to get back into power apparently on any ticket which could promise him victory. The enlarged photograph of him which the Communists plastered all over the walls of Rome bears an unfortunate resemblance to all those well known Communist cartoons of pig-faced capitalists wallowing in barrels of dollar bills and hundred-thousand-lire bank notes. The Communist-sponsored political rallies were also strangely apathetic and badly attended. Nevertheless their new political issue—the corruption of the Demo-Christian government—was sufficient to gain them an increase of nearly one hundred thousand votes in Rome alone.

The Demo-Christians lavished fantastic sums on an American-style campaign with parades, loudspeaker trucks, and marching bands. The police cooperated ably in keeping order while the Demo-Christians held their rallies and staged their parades. No other political parties were allowed the luxury of a parade. The smaller democratic parties allied to the government were unable to

wage any kind of effective campaign. The Social Democrats are suffering from their usual diseases: lack of money and internal dissension. The Republicans failed to come up with a program. The Liberals at least had money to spend on their campaign, but on the issue of freedom for business interests they had a platform with no voter appeal at all. Both Communists and fascists were able to wage a most effective campaign against the Christian Democrats mainly on the issue of corruption and its dependent evils: lack of housing; the exorbitant rates charged by public services; the unfair taxation; the administration of necessities such as gas and electric current by companies charging outrageous rates, and so on. Unless the Demo-Christians clean house before next year the 1953 elections can only worsen the already serious plight of Italian democracy. The tone of the campaign can best be grasped through the following story: All over Rome the Demo-Christians erected huge campaign posters. In one poor section the Communists erected much smaller posters in the shape of a hand pointing at the mammoth Demo-Christian posters. On each hand was written "It cost the Demo-Christians thirty thousand lire to erect this poster. Who paid?"

Jim Crow, M.D.

BY ROBERT M. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

Chicago

IT IS easy to demonstrate that there is discrimination against racial minorities in medical education, medical practice, and medical institutions in the United States, but it is not always easy to find and understand the causes. To some extent, certainly, discrimination in medicine is a result of discrimination in society generally. It is important to remember that the doctor and hospital engaging in discriminatory selection are often victims as well as culprits.

It is by no means true, however, that the medical profession is helpless to do anything toward eliminating discrimination. Indeed there is heartening and increasing evidence to the contrary. Before considering this evidence, however, we should make some attempt to measure the problem.

The basic facts of medical discrimination against Negroes are apparent in a few simple statistics: With 10 per cent of the nation's population, Negroes have only a little more than 2 per cent of the nation's physicians and occupy only 2½ per cent of the nation's

hospital beds. The physician-population ratio for the whole population is 1 to 750; for the Negro population the ratio is 1 to 3500, substantially below the 1 to 1500 ratio commonly accepted in our country as the minimum necessary for adequate medical service. Of 26,000 students enrolled in medical schools, 660—less than 3 per cent—are Negroes; of these, three-fourths are enrolled in the two all-Negro institutions, Meharry Medical College in Nashville and Howard University in Washington, D. C. Negro graduates are eligible for appointment to fewer than 200 internships of which more than half are in segregated Negro hospitals. (There are about 10,000 internships available altogether.) Of some 12,000 residency appointments on hospital staffs, a little more than 100 are available to Negro physicians and three-fourths of these are in segregated hospitals.

It is neither necessary nor desirable that the Negro population should look only to Negro physicians for needed medical care, or that Negro physicians should limit their practices to members of their own race, yet the existence of racial barriers in hospital staff appointments makes it difficult to break this pattern of segregated medical care in most communities. A current report of the Provident Medical Associates of Chicago states:

ROBERT M. CUNNINGHAM, JR., is the editor of *Modern Hospital* magazine.

Few Negro physicians have hospital staff appointments at any but all-Negro hospitals. Thus they must take their patients to Negro hospitals or turn them over to the care of white physicians in the hospitals to which they themselves do not have access. In all the United States opportunities for internships and residences are limited, and hospital and clinical facilities are segregated or denied. And in most of the South, membership in county medical and other professional and scientific societies is refused. To a greater degree than in the case of his white confreres, the average Negro physician becomes a general practitioner, isolated professionally and serving a low-income group.

Many of the difficulties faced by the Negro physician are interrelated. The bylaws of most hospitals provide that staff appointments shall be made only from among members in good standing of the local county medical society; with society membership denied him, the Negro physician is thus effectively barred from hospital practice. In fairness, it must be emphasized that the American Medical Association, often a target for abuse by liberal groups, is not responsible for such exclusions. The A. M. A. is made up of constituent local and county medical societies which lay down their own qualifications for membership. Where Negro doctors are denied admission, it is the local society and not the A. M. A. that is at fault. Many societies, of course, do have Negro members who are also members of the A. M. A., and a number of county societies have opened membership to Negro physicians in recent months. Several of these are in the South.

Inevitably, discrimination in the admission of hospital patients emerges from these discriminatory aspects of medical education and practice. Ordinarily it is doctors, and not their patients, who initiate the demand for hospital service and make the request for admission. Where segregation exists in education and housing and employment it exists inevitably also in the private practice of medicine. Where segregation exists in the private practice of medicine and the Negro physician has no hospital staff appointment, there aren't many Negro hospital patients.

Unfortunately, hospitals are businesses as well as medical institutions; voluntary hospitals must earn most or all of their operating expenses. The accident victim whose condition is perilous is commonly cared for without question about payment, but it is necessary and, in a business sense, prudent, for the hospital to raise the question of payment in the case of a patient who could be removed to a public institution without danger. This is done right along in some emergency cases. When the patient is a Negro it is often concluded that rejection has been for racial rather than economic reasons. Frequently this is an injustice to the hospital. On the other hand, in some cases the economic circumstance is a screen

behind which discriminatory practices are hidden. The same act is involved in either case; it is the motive which is in doubt.

In Illinois and elsewhere, hospitals have opposed licensure laws with provisions which would jeopardize the license of any hospital turning a patient away because of race, creed, or color. Such opposition does not mean, as some observers have concluded, that hospitals generally favor racial discrimination. It means simply that they are fearful that failure to admit any patient for any reason—including the professional and economic



reasons that have been described here—could be interpreted as discriminatory. Until the law can be written in such a way that discriminatory practices can be eliminated without forcing the hospital to relinquish control of its own medical and financial policies, hospitals will probably continue to oppose it.

Two other aspects of discrimination in medical institutions should be mentioned here. One is the placement in the hospital of Negro patients who do gain admission, and the other is in the employment of Negro nurses, technicians, and other personnel. Common hospital practice leaves a great deal to be desired in both areas today. Many hospitals, in the Chicago area and elsewhere, admit some Negro patients but insist on placing them in single rooms, or in semi-private or ward accommodations occupied by other Negro patients. Only in the large wards of public hospitals and a few of the medical teaching centers is it common to see Negro and white patients occupying adjacent beds. When challenged about this practice, most hospital people reply that it is done, not because the hospital or the doctors wish it so, but because white patients object when they have to share hospital accommodations with Negro patients. Time after time, it has been demonstrated that such excuses are fictitious.

It has also been demonstrated beyond any doubt that nothing happens when white and Negro nurses work together on hospital floors, or when Negro nurses care for white patients and white nurses care for Negro patients—another of the situations that many hospital, nursing, and medical people fear. As a matter of fact, discrimination against Negro nurses and other hospital personnel is breaking down rapidly today. This is a case of arriving at the right answer for the wrong reason: the shortage of nurses and other personnel has become so severe that many hospitals which formerly barred Negroes from all except menial positions have been forced to accept them.

These few facts and relationships may suggest the extent to which discrimination exists in medicine. The causes of discrimination reach back into the segregated

pattern of our whole social structure. While some discrimination is certainly chargeable to the management of hospitals, it seems plain that a much larger share emerges from the failure of hospital governing boards to appoint Negro physicians to attending staff positions. In any given situation, of course, this may be because the board frankly discriminates against the Negro physician, or because the staff itself discriminates by failing to recommend its Negro colleagues for such appointments.

BUT it may also be due to other causes. In a particular hospital or community it may be because there are no Negro physicians who can qualify for such an appointment. Many hospital staffs, for example, limit attending appointments to qualified specialists. As we have seen, the opportunities for residency training for Negro physicians are so limited that comparatively few can qualify themselves as specialists. Of 29,000 certified medical specialists listed two years ago by the National Advisory Board for Medical Specialties, 101 were Negroes. The Provident Medical Associates of Chicago has been devoting its resources for several years to financing graduate medical education for qualified Negro physicians in an effort to improve this situation. This group has also been providing scholarship aid for undergraduate medical education for qualified students, and plans to increase this phase of its activities during the coming years. The problem is a perplexing one, however, not only because of the limited number of Negro students who are financially able to meet the heavy costs of professional education, but because of the limited number of Negro students who are educationally qualified. The roots of medical discrimination are buried deep in our segregated educational system.

If inequalities resulting from segregation in medical and hospital care are not always their fault, doctors and hospital people can often eliminate the inequalities *when they have the will to do so*. As part of a community-wide program in betterment of race relations, the medical staff of one of the hospitals in Gary, Indiana, four years ago invited applications for appointment from qualified Negro physicians in the community. Up to that time, the practice of Negro physicians had been limited to a totally inadequate hospital located in the segregated district. Two Negro physicians qualified at once, and five more have accepted appointments since then, with the result that more than 20 per cent of the patients in the hospital today are Negroes. This has been accomplished without any unpleasant incidents. In the Phoenix, Arizona, Memorial Hospital, Negro and white patients, doctors, nurses, and other hospital workers are treated as complete equals. This is also the case at New York City's Sydenham Hospital, one of the first truly interracial institutions to be established in this country.

The experience at Sydenham, incidentally, illustrates how the economic problems that result from discrimination in housing and employment are reflected in medical care. Established as a voluntary hospital in the Negro section of New York City several years ago, Sydenham went broke in three years and had to be taken over by the city department of hospitals. Other cities have had the same experience: The Provident Hospital in Chicago engages in heroic fund-raising efforts, year after year, to meet mounting deficits. With 20 per cent of its patients Negroes, the Methodist Hospital at Gary reports that 50 per cent of its unpaid bills are in the Negro group. The University of Chicago Clinics has had a comparable experience in the last two years.

Nevertheless, the number of hospitals around the country accepting Negro physicians as interns, residents and attending staff members is steadily growing: In Chicago, Negro doctors are on the staff at Cook County, Children's Memorial, and Michael Reese hospitals. Elsewhere, Negro physicians have been appointed at such representative institutions as Philadelphia General, Newark City in Newark, N. J., Queens General in New York, Allegheny General in Pittsburgh, and Los Angeles County. Especially noteworthy are developments in the South: the Emory University medical school at Atlanta, Georgia, has established a post-graduate clinic for Negro physicians; the Johns Hopkins school of medicine at Baltimore has admitted Negro physicians for post-graduate education; community hospitals in Virginia and Arkansas have admitted Negro physicians.

LESS important but surely significant of changing attitudes in the profession are several recent events: The American Medical Association switched its forthcoming December meeting from Houston to Los Angeles when it became known that the headquarters hotel in Houston would not accept Negro delegates as guests. At the American Hospital Association convention in St. Louis last month the association found, to its embarrassment, that Negro members were not accepted at downtown hotels. It was too late to act this year, but the association immediately made a public announcement to the effect that its meeting would not return to St. Louis until all members could expect equal treatment in living and eating accommodations. When several Southern nurses walked out of a Catholic hospital in West Virginia a few months ago because the Sister Superior refused to discharge three Negro nurses who had been added to the staff, the hospital stood its ground and received full support from the community, the newspapers, the Mother Superior of the Order running the hospital, and the Bishop of the Diocese. When the professional magazine with which I am associated published a portfolio of articles a few months ago urging an end to discrimination in hospitals and medicine, we re-

ceived the largest volume of mail in years—and the response was overwhelmingly favorable.

Of course, there are less encouraging indications, too. Negro hospitals are still being built throughout the South, and federal funds are being used to build hospitals which evade the anti-discrimination clause in the federal law by using the false doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities. A huge, all-Negro hospital is being built in Philadelphia; another is projected for Washington, D. C. A hospital is being built in the Negro section of Evanston, Illinois. Sponsors of the project claim it will be "interracial" in character, but many observers think it will be segregated, in fact if not in name.

Except where positive action is taken by physicians, as in Gary, Indiana, and in the case of Provident Medical Associates in Chicago, elimination of discrimination in medicine generally is likely to come about only as discrimination comes to be abolished in other phases of life. The physician does not practice in a vacuum. More than he as ever had to do in the past, the physician today must integrate his activities with those of other groups in society in order to be effective. The organization of the modern hospital is more than anything else an outgrowth of the practicing physician's ever-increasing

dependence on the judgments and skills of his professional associates.

As his scientific problems have grown constantly more complex, the physician has also had to lean increasingly on the staff of technically trained assistants that is organized for him at the hospital or clinic, and on the elaborate plant and equipment facilities that only the hospital or clinic organizations can purchase and maintain for him. Finally, as medical science in recent years has revealed the relationship of illness and health to the individual's entire life circumstance, as opposed to specific disease processes only, the physician finds himself in closer and closer contact with groups entirely outside the medical profession—with public and private welfare agencies and their staffs of administrators, social workers and psychologists; with schools, churches and others concerned with various aspects of the human being and his environment. The lone doctor and his little black bag are a fond memory, perhaps, but they are only a memory today. *Laissez faire* medicine, like *laissez faire* government and *laissez faire* capitalism, is gone for good. When society eliminates racial and religious discrimination, medicine will eliminate it. To expect otherwise is to expect the impossible.

Battling the Private Power Lobby

BY BARROW LYONS

Washington, D. C.
THE propaganda machine which private power utilities have built in the last several years at a cost of millions of dollars has begun to backfire. Last week some 500 representatives of farm, labor, and consumer organizations met in Washington, D. C., in a fighting mood. The mood was sharpened by some of the most skilful oratory heard for sometime—even in Washington—and the delegates went to work at once on their representatives in Congress.

The objective of the delegates was not merely to defeat the assault which utility companies are making with telling effect upon all forms of publicly-generated, transmitted and distributed electrical energy; they used the conference as a counter-attack to extend the benefits of public power systems.

Labor leaders saw in the conference an opportunity to build a sounder alliance with farm leaders, particularly

in view of the coming political campaign, and sent some of their most persuasive speakers. At the banquet session Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.) spoke on one of his favorite themes, The Road to Abundance, and Paul L. Phillips, president of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, (A. F. of L.) enlarged upon The Wage-Earners' Stake in Public Power. Non-labor speakers included Senator Wayne Morse, who emphasized the interest of all groups in the problem of preserving and enlarging our public power plant; Senator Lister Hill, who directly attacked the power lobby of 1952, and Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman, who pledged support of the conference objectives.

The initiative in calling the conference came from leaders of public-power groups in the Northwest, where they are attempting to develop a public-power grid that will more adequately serve the region. In this area there is as much underdeveloped hydro-power as in all of the presently-developed power in the nation. Leaders of the public utility districts, R. E. A. cooperatives, and municipalities want to tap more of it. Private companies have operating costs, which the ultimate consumer must pay in his monthly billing.

BARROW LYONS, a former New York financial writer, went to Washington fourteen years ago as financial economist for the Securities and Exchange Commission. He was for several years Chief Information Officer of the Bureau of Reclamation, and is now a free-lance writer.

The public-power agencies of the region have been blocked in Washington, D. C., and in Washington state. They have been told that they could not build new lines because of the scarcity of materials required for the defense effort. They have been told that to construct their own projects through borrowing would be inflationary. But they have seen the private utilities, unchecked by such restrictions, build plants requiring at least as much material and which will produce considerably more costly energy. They became angry; and when their desire to call a national conference in Washington was communicated to public agencies and cooperatives elsewhere, they found other people were angry for similar reasons. In comparing grievances and talking over the best way to carry the war to the enemy, wise counsel suggested that the effort be made to bring in representatives of the consumer. And thus labor groups joined the effort.

A COMMITTEE of sponsors was formed in which the following groups were represented: American Public Power Association, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Communications Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Cooperative League of the United States of America, National Farmers Union, Northwest Public Power Association, International Association of Machinists (A. F. of L.), International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (C. I. O.), Judson King Foundation, Inc., National Rural Electric Cooperatives, Public Affairs Institute, Tennessee Valley Public Power Association, Textile Workers Union of America (C. I. O.), United Auto Workers (C. I. O.), United Steel Workers of America (C. I. O.).

It was calculated that the distributing agencies among the sponsors served about 6,000,000 electric meters in every state, and, represented possibly three times that many persons.

President Truman addressed the opening session and made it obvious that he recognized the political importance of this gathering of grass-roots consumer and cooperative groups. He charmed with a speech that was partly read, partly extemporaneous. He promised cooperation. He said he was thinking of asking his new Attorney General, James P. McGranery, to investigate whether power companies are violating the Corrupt Practices Act in charging their propaganda expenses to power consumers and at the same time using them to reduce their taxes by accounting for them as necessary costs of operation.

The President alluded to the "millions and millions" of dollars that the utility lobby and individual companies throughout the country are spending to bend the public-power program to their own purposes and check the growth of municipal and cooperative enterprises. He

mentioned the full-page advertisements run by the utilities in "Mr. Claire Boothe Luce's *Life* magazine" costing \$17,000 each, and one in "the big corporation-controlled *Saturday Evening Post*" costing \$12,000.

But what seemed to irritate him most was the strategy advised by the utility-advertising agencies. He had been studying their "literature" and its effects. One agency boasted, he said, that its technique was so successful that ministers included its propaganda in their church notices and obtained its posting on bulletin boards of the Boy Scouts. The President declared:

Their own manuals say their purpose is to influence the mass mind in this country by playing on people's emotions. The mass mind—what a horrible phrase. I think it is one of the most horrible phrases in the language. They think of the individual human being in this country as part of a mass mind. They set out to play upon the emotions of churchgoers, boy scouts, and school children. They try to control people's thoughts by using slogans and scare words, taking a leaf out of the books of Karl Marx and Adolph Hitler. They are following the Soviet and fascist line.

Mr. Truman's audience appeared to feel as he did. Repeatedly the desire was expressed by scheduled speakers and from the floor that the Federal Power Commission enforce the law which prohibits propaganda and money used to influence legislatures from being charged to operating costs, which the ultimate consumer must pay.

Murray D. Lincoln, President of the Cooperative League, CARE and Farm Bureau Insurance Companies, under whose name the call for the conference went out, urged the delegates to make certain that the message developed by this conference reaches the people.

A committee chaired by Dr. Dewey Anderson, Executive Director of the Public Affairs Institute, drafted a statement of policy and plan of action, which was adopted at the end. It placed emphasis upon preservation of the preference clause in power contracts which gives cooperatives and public bodies first call upon power generated at federally-owned plants; it defended government-built transmission lines, and advocated the coordinated development of river basins. Its preamble asserted: "The American people's heritage of power resources is threatened today by unreformed private power monopolists, defending their high-cost, scarcity-supply policies by the immoral use of rate-payers' funds to corrupt sources of information, educational institutions and democratic processes themselves."

To implement the program the sponsors of the conference were named to a continuing committee authorized to visit the President and to maintain contact with Congress. The committee is headed by Clyde Ellis, executive secretary of the National Rural Electric Cooperatives Association, one of the dynamic figures at the conference.

FREEDOM'S STAKE IN NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Four hundred delegates coming from forty-four cities in ten states, among them representatives of thirty-six national organizations, took part in the all-day conference of The Nation Associates on Freedom's Stake in North Africa and the Middle East, held on Sunday, May 25, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. Seven hundred persons attended the closing session that evening, a dinner-forum on Arab-Israel Peace—Key to Stability in the Middle East.

A distinguished group of speakers participated in the conference. They included Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Senator Estes Kefauver;* Ambassador L. N. Palar of Indonesia; David Goitein, Minister Plenipotentiary of Israel; Senator S. R. Shafaq of Iran; Jean Louis Mandereau, director of the Missions Division of the U. N. Technical Assistance Administration; Dr. Clarence E. Pickett, honorary secretary of the American Friends Service Committee; Professor E. A. Speiser, chairman of the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Pennsylvania; Roger Baldwin, chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man; Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation* of London; Dr. Dewey Anderson, executive director of the Public Affairs Institute; and Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation* and president of The Nation Associates. Arthur Garfield Hays presided at the closing dinner forum.

From the addresses by the speakers and the discussion

* Senator Kefauver was detained in California and his speech was read by his New York campaign manager, Boris Kostelanetz.

DAY SESSIONS

Imperialism, Nationalism, and Feudalism

Friendly Nationalism

By L. N. PALAR

*Permanent Representative of Indonesia
in the United Nations*

It is my contention that the struggle of any country whatsoever to free itself from foreign domination—with the paramount purpose in mind of giving its own people every possible opportunity for political, economic and cultural development—can certainly not be qualified as being hostile to democracy.

Let us consider the matter of Egyptian nationalism, but let us first establish that Egypt is presently being ruled in accordance with current procedures of parliamentary democracy. Concerning

the question of the Sudan, the Egyptian nationalists contend that the majority of the Sudanese wish to belong to the Egyptian kingdom. If this is so indeed, and I personally have no reason to doubt that, then Egyptian nationalism coincides with Sudanese nationalism and there is no violation of democracy. If it should be proven, however, by plebiscite or by whatsoever other procedure might be chosen, that the majority of the Sudanese people do not want to be included in the Egyptian kingdom, then it would have to be said that Egyptian nationalism is an imperialistic current and would have to be branded as the foe of democracy.

The Egyptian demand for the evacua-

tion of the strategic Suez Canal Zone is certainly not anti-democratic. To the contrary! But this endeavor is directed against those countries which have dominating positions in the Middle East. The tragedy of the whole affair lies in the fact that these countries form the nucleus of West European democracy. This struggle, necessary to the proper development of democracy in the Middle East, is undoubtedly weakening the position of the Western democracies in the present raging cold war. However, the situation need not be perpetuated. If the democracies are prepared to abandon their politically obsolete, dominating positions in the Middle East—if they are prepared to abandon their

from the floor there emerged ■ the consensus of the sessions the following points respecting the policies of the Western democratic world in the highly strategic area under discussion:

1. That there is need for ■ revision of those policies in terms of an understanding that security cannot be achieved through military arrangements alone.

2. That security is indivisible: for the Middle East, and consequently for the world, security lies in winning the loyalty of the people.

3. That the loyalty of the people cannot be won without a recognition of the profound revolution against feudalism and colonialism which is taking place in that area.

4. That the dynamics of democracy should be applied through an over-all plan of assistance to countries of the Middle East, based on recognition of the meaning of that revolution.

5. That the stability of the area, indispensable to security, cannot be achieved unless there is a settlement of the Arab-Israel war.

6. That the Western world, while recognizing that Arab-Israel peace can come about only as the result of direct negotiations between the interested parties, should encourage such negotiations by offering assistance in the development of the area.

In the pages which follow we publish condensations of the principal addresses.

imperialistic, nationalistic policy, an anti-democratic element in these great democracies—they can rest assured that they will no longer be troubled by Middle East nationalism. Rather, they will find there support and friends in the defense of democracy.

Hostility to the West

By ROGER N. BALDWIN

President, International League for the Rights of Man

If the United States had invested as much in pro-democracy as in anti-communism, we would not be confronted as a nation with the unpopularity of our foreign policy. To Arabs the struggle between communism and democracy seems wholly secondary to their struggle against colonialism. They feel that if we really mean to stand by democracy we must stand by national independence.

Everywhere in the Middle East this issue of national independence has gained unprecedented strength. And everywhere in the Arab states I found hostility not only to the great colonial powers but also to the United States as the backer of French rule in North Africa and of British intervention in Egypt. It is a startling fact that while the Arab states have outlawed the Communist parties and regard communism as an enemy of the Moslem religion, they tend to turn toward Russia as their ultimate hope if the West fails them.

Human rights for the Middle East, where religious intolerance makes life difficult for minorities, cannot be achieved until foreign influences are removed and the road thus cleared for internal reforms of feudal oligarchies. Popular forces for those reforms are now weak. Human rights will be able to develop only under independence and with the aid of the United Nations.

Moroccan Bases

By DR. BENJAMIN RIVLIN

*Professor of Political Science,
Brooklyn College*

In their feverish haste to establish American air bases in Morocco, United States military planners have neglected to take into account one very important factor—the loyalty of the native population. The United States negotiated the

agreement for the Moroccan bases with France as if it were negotiating the establishment of bases in Brittany, Normandy, or any other part of France. No recognition was taken of the fact that Morocco was a Protectorate of France, possessing a sovereignty entirely separate and distinct from that of France.

The United States should have found it wiser to consult with the Sultan, the legitimate sovereign of Morocco, so as to get his accord for this unprecedented and very special request. Instead the Sultan heard about the decision to construct United States air bases in his country through the press. The undermining effect that these developments had on United States prestige among native populations and their leaders throughout French North Africa cannot be overestimated.

The American act has been justified as a matter of expediency and as part of a policy of "first things first." *Time* magazine, writing of the American bases in Morocco, rationalized the situation with an analogy: "After some misgivings, Americans on the scene have now pretty well convinced themselves that to be distracted by colonial problems in the present emergency would be like a fire engine's crew on the way to a fire noticing that the streets are dirty, and stopping to clean up the litter." As an American who was on the scene, I want to register my most emphatic disagreement with this conclusion. Colonialism is not litter on the street—it is part of the fire.

The only way in which the United States can win is by identifying itself with the struggle of colonial peoples all over the world for a better life, and for self-government. This is the tradition of American policy of long standing which is being disregarded. It is the distinct impression that was left with me, and which I daresay is shared by many others who have been in North Africa recently, that the Arab nationalists are taking a cue from the French neutralists and are biding their time. When the chips will be down, they will hardly rally to the side of the United States, for nothing has been done to make them like us. Under these circumstances, will not the effectiveness of our bases in Morocco be undermined?

Iran's Problems

By DR. S. R. SHAFAGH

Member of the Iranian Senate

Iran's freedom is at stake primarily because of economic reasons. Due to various factors—power politics, imperialism from without and a sort of feudalism from within, and two world wars—Iran is seriously hit by poverty. To fight this desperate situation we need religious insight, faith, and real appreciation of human values with the moral support of the free world. But also we are in urgent need of economic help.

Once the economic problem of the country begins to approach solution, a series of radical reforms is bound to come. Let us not forget that Iran and the rest of the Middle East countries have not had much time for improvement; the movement toward modernization and democratization in the Middle East is hardly half a century old. The Orient is backward and under-developed, but it is no longer slumbering. Among the reforms urgently needed and bound to come is the land reform. Distribution of extensive property holdings among small proprietors is one method. His Majesty, the Shah of Iran, has personally initiated this idea in Iran by actually distributing his own royal lands. But there are enormous social, psychological, and economic obstacles in the way which time alone can solve.

To those of Iran's friends in great countries like the United States, who sometimes ask somewhat petulantly what else and what more can they do to help the Middle East get on its feet, I would answer, "Use perseverance and patience, help with all means, for there is no 'I' and 'you' in the world any more, but there is only 'we.'"

The Way to Strength

By KINGSLEY MARTIN

Editor, The New Statesman and Nation

One great underlying difference between America and Western Europe is that war seems to you a great evil that you would survive, while to us it would be a final catastrophe. In short, Great Britain is a base for United States bombers and, as such, expendable. If such considerations apply to Britain,

how much more do they apply to many other United States bases!

The most important fact of our period of history is the revolution in Asia and the revolution that is shaping all over Africa and among colored peoples all over the world. In the Middle Eastern countries, which I've visited recently, arms-giving does not produce "positions of strength." I asked one dictator, who complained that the West did not arm him more thoroughly, why he wanted arms; he replied that he needed them to secure himself against the Jews, and it took little more inquiry to discover that he also needed an army to guard against possible revolt among his subjects and that the Moslem movement which is now sweeping over all the territory from Morocco to Pakistan, would ultimately use the arms to turn the Western powers out of the Middle East. The idea of using them against Russia has not remotely occurred to these people. Why should it? Russia has not harmed them and to them our "defense of the Middle East" means merely domination and occupation by Western imperialists.

The world situation is not simply a sharp division between two great blocs. This is illusion. The truth is that a very large part of the world is only anxious not to be involved, not to be conquered by Russia and liberated by America or conquered by America and liberated by Russia! They want no part of it. In some circumstances of course they would fight; the circumstances are their own liberty. And here comes a complication. Liberty to the mass of colored people of the world means first owning the land they themselves cultivate and, secondly, not being dominated by a foreign power. Our job then is to accept this revolution and see how far we can cooperate with it and perhaps influence it into democratic channels.

How do you make "positions of strength"? First, you aid, if you can, governments which genuinely represent popular feeling and which have a chance of creating progressive economies which will improve the standard of living of the people and make them believe in their own future. Then there is a chance of that internal strength which is the real strength—the difference between France and Britain in 1940! That means less arms and more

Point Four and a much less dictatorial and more modest effort to understand and help. It means cooperation with the popular and sometimes actually revolutionary forces which are nationalist and Socialist and anti-Communist. There have been such instances in Asia, and I should add as the most spectacular examples of recent policy the two new free countries which are coming to birth in West Africa where communism is nothing because the hope of economic and social freedom is before the people. This is the only sound anti-communism because it offers a better alternative hope.

Technical Assistance

By JEAN LOUIS MANDEREAU
*Director of Missions Division of U. N.
Technical Assistance Administration*

It was after World War II that technical assistance took the shape we know today—one of the major developments of the centuries, and I should say a turning point in the history of relations between countries. The new approach is international instead of national or private. It is a decision of most of the nations of the world to get together and to bring into a common pool expert knowledge, what each of them can contribute, with the idea that each country could draw from this pool all the technical help it needed. It becomes a world-wide enterprise, a chain of good will, where each country gives what it can and expects to receive what it needs. It is the United Nations Technical Assistance program.

In this expression the word "united" takes its real meaning. They are united not to meet in a General Assembly once a year, or in commission or committee, to quarrel or argue, but they are united in a common fight against poverty, illiteracy, disease, to build together a better world to live in.

The United Nations, at the time they launched the program, set down a certain number of guiding principles. I want to draw your attention to two or three of them.

Technical assistance shall be rendered by the participating organizations only in agreement with the governments concerned and on the basis of requests received from them. United Nations does not try to impose some type of help to governments, and full responsibility

for requesting the help lies with the government alone.

An important principle of the technical assistance program is that the technical assistance furnished shall not be a means of foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned and not be accompanied by any considerations of a political nature. I want to draw your attention especially to that principle because that makes all the difference between the United Nations Technical Assistance program and the other bilateral programs. Our experts are sent as technicians only, not as ambassadors. During their mission they forget as much as possible their nationality, to be exclusively at the service of the country which has requested their help.

Technical assistance cannot solve all problems confronting underdeveloped areas, but it is a necessary element in the solution.

Healthy Nationalism

By DAVID GOITEIN
Minister Plenipotentiary of Israel

For four centuries all the Middle East countries were part of the Turkish Empire, and national movements in the true sense scarcely existed. Any signs of nationalism in the twentieth century were ruthlessly crushed. In the First World War English romanticism on the one hand, and the collapse of the Turkish Empire on the other, did much to make possible the rise of Arab nationalism.

The Sword and Ibn Saud, with the Koran, made Arabia free, and the discovery of oil in that country and its exploitation by United States companies made it rich. But the wealth is very largely in the hands of a handful. Nationalism today means the throwing off of foreign interference. It is more concerned with flag-flying than with the raising of the standard of living. It has not yet shown that broadness of outlook which would allow it to recognize the validity of a national movement other than its own. This explains the Arab countries' failure to recognize Israel.

Israel has shown that democracy can flourish in the Middle East. There is hope from the example of Israel for a healthy nationalism in the Middle East.

Arab-Israel Peace—Key to Middle East Stability

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was given a standing ovation by the audience which filled the Starlight Roof of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel for the closing dinner session of The Nation Associates conference. Prompted by attacks against *The Nation* prior to the dinner, Mrs. Roosevelt prefaced her address with a challenge to those who are undermining American democratic practices and with a reaffirmation of her own belief that American freedoms must be preserved. Her prefatory remarks follow:

"I thought that I could not be with you tonight because I had so many things that I had set out to do today. But I decided that it would be wise to come since I understood that there had been some attacks made. And I believe that it is a great mistake not to stand up for people, even when you differ with them, if you feel that they are trying to do things that will help in our country."

"I think we have become a little too much afraid of

what certain groups may say. It is true that sometimes we may make mistakes; sometimes people nowadays have to think more carefully than they used to. I can remember a time when you didn't really have to worry very much about the people you happened to meet. You do now, apparently. But I don't like that.

"I think we should try not to make mistakes. Having tried to avoid mistakes, if we decide to do something which certain groups may attack us for, the attack should not be accepted without proof. This is one of the things that I think we are suffering from in these days—accusations which do their harm before they can be disproved."

"One of the things we must be concerned about today is to preserve our own freedom. I think that it is essential to learn that while we have to fight against things that we consider wrong, we should not do it through fear. We should do it through intelligent education."

First Need: Resettlement

By MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

The subject of the evening is one in which I am very much interested because I have just been briefly in three Arab states and in Israel. I could not possibly know a great deal after the short time that I was there, but I have had considerable contact with people from those countries in the United Nations and through that contact I have learned some things.

Reason no longer really operates when you arrive at a point of emotion such as has been reached between the Arab States and Israel. Israel, strangely, is more objective—though perhaps it is not really so strange, because it is always easier for persons to remain objective when they have the edge in their favor. And I think that, in the war between the Arabs and Israel, probably Israel had the edge in its favor.

I sit in a United Nations committee, the Humanitarian, Educational and Cultural Committee, where I think we should behave as charitably as possible and at least preserve the amenities. The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. representatives manage to say good morning to each other, even though as a rule, be-

tween times, we attack each other quite vigorously. The Israeli delegate sits between two Arab delegates and I have never known the Arab representatives to say good morning, or apparently to recognize that the Israeli delegate exists. That is not exactly conducive to the best sort of cooperation!

But once you have been in the Near Eastern countries, the impression you come away with is that if the United Nations succeeds in resettling those poor, wretched Arab refugees, who are in worse camps than almost any I have ever seen, then there would be a chance of getting somewhere. And there is nothing to be done *but* to resettle them. They have been trained both by Communists who have come in and by the Arab leaders to get hold of you wherever you meet them and to tell you: "We want to go home." You know it is a slogan, because they say it in unison. Most of them do not talk English, but you walk into a school room and all the little boys get up together and say "We want to go home." And you know quite well there is no home for them to go to in most cases.

If finally they are resettled, I think the logic of the situation will gradually bring about Arab-Israel cooperation.

And nothing is more desirable, because Israel has a great deal of administrative and organizing ability, and would be in a position to help.

In the Arab states there is a stirring. Here are countries that have just recently become free; they are very nationalistic because their freedom is a new thing. The leaders have not had much training as yet in administration and organization. Their people as a whole want not just to exist any longer; they want to live. Their governments know that, but they do not quite know how to meet these desires for an improved standard of living. I think if one could just transfer a little of the ability to administer and organize into the Arab governments, their business circles, their agriculture, one would find the problems of the Arab countries solving themselves very rapidly.

Israel at present probably has the greatest capacity in the area for using any aid that comes to it, and if the Israelis could help in the development of other countries, I think it would be the way to remove the fear that the Arabs have. The Arabs are not very logical because in one breath they tell you, "We are impressed by the fact that Israel is receiving all this immigra-

tion. Israel is a very small country and some fine day they are going to be crowded and they are going to take us over." Then in the next breath they say, "Ah, but the Arabs have long memories and some day we will drive the Israeli people into the sea." Well, the two just do not go together. It is not logical.

So you are left with the feeling that you have to live through the present period, you have to put everything you can into trying to clear up the refugee situation, and then perhaps, with help from the rest of the world, you may get the cooperation which will make of the Near East a stabilizing element which is badly needed in that area. Once you have cooperation, I believe Israel can make its best contribution and the Arab States can develop and be a real factor for peace in the world.



Estes Kefauver

Need for Boldness

By ESTES KEFAUVER

U. S. Senator from Tennessee

Peace, like the world, is no longer divisible. That is why unrest in any part of the world carries with it the seeds of danger to all of us. Today, in an area of over one million square miles, there are seeds of unrest which profoundly endanger our own peace and security.

An armistice exists between Israel and the Arab states, but it is significant that although that armistice has been in existence for four years, no formal settlement of the Palestine war has taken place.

It is clear that the democratic world, especially the United States, has a role to play in this situation—a role which it has not yet played with either boldness or imagination. That role is to create a policy which makes it clear that the democratic world is deeply concerned with the Middle East and with the settlement of the Palestine war. Obviously, that settlement can come about only by direct negotiations between the parties in interest. But the democratic world can make it clear why it wishes that settlement to take place and thus to influence, in a constructive way, the approach to a settlement by both sides.

The Western world needs both Israel and the Arab world. If there is a price on peace in the Middle East, that price must be no less than security.

The power of resistance is in the minds of men and not primarily in their weapons. Until we have captured the loyalty of the Arab peoples, we have not arranged for our security or theirs, simply through the acquisition of military bases. The way to capture the loyalty of the Arab peoples is through a demonstration to them of the vitality, resiliency, adaptability, and dynamics of democracy at work for their benefit. A bold, imaginative program, initiated by the United States, based on the concepts of democracy and adapted to the needs of the backward peoples, could, at one and the same time, fulfill the needs of the peoples, develop one of the richest areas of the world, and satisfy our strategic needs.

Because this can be undertaken, two things are necessary: (1) That the concept of the democratic world should be geared to security, not alone in terms of military bases, but in terms of the loyalty of peoples. (2) That stability be established in the area itself to make such a plan possible.

A first requirement for stability is the settlement of the Arab-Israel war. The time has come for both sides to recognize that each exists and is there to stay.

With respect to Israel, it seems more than foolish to me to think that a coun-

try four years old, still struggling to maintain its economic balance, occupying a tiny quarter of the world of some 8,500 square miles, and with a population of less than 2,000,000, could be a threat to seven Arab states occupying an area of more than 1,000,000 square miles, with a population of some 36,000,000. If the fears are real, then there is one way of assuring that the so-called expansionist aims of Israel shall not be realized. It is to settle the Arab-Israel war by formal agreement.

Arab-Israel peace is indispensable to the Western world if only on the narrow grounds that the Western world cannot depend upon military arrangements which do not include both the Arabs and the Israelis. And it is clear that the Arab world will not, assuming there are no other reasons, be a party to a regional pact including Israel as long as it believes that a state of belligerency exists.

Up until now the Western world, wishing for peace, has done little to promote that peace. It can no longer delay taking sides for peace, not by way of favor to Israel or the Arab world. It can take sides for peace in the interests of the people of the whole area and the relevant security of the rest of us. It can place a price on peace—the offer of helping the Middle East to emerge into the twentieth century by the road of democracy.

Steps to Stability

By Dr. E. A. SPEISER, Chairman,
Department of Oriental Studies,
University of Pennsylvania

The Near East is the world's traditional center of gravity. Freedom and sanity have the greatest possible stake in the global center of gravity. The precarious balance between an uneasy truce and a total war can be upset most readily in that sensitive region. Continued tension between Israel and the Arab states is an irritant that should not be underestimated. Peace in the Near East is not just a dutiful slogan but a doubly urgent need.

A patient may be cured when his illness has been diagnosed correctly. This has not been done by and large so far as the ailing Near East is concerned. The situation is made to order for political medicine men. They may be inspired

by ulterior motives, ignorance, or honest conviction. In any case, the results are doomed to be negative. In 1947 these healers knew but one theme: Palestine. Cure that sore and all your troubles in the Near East will vanish! When the Anglo-Iranian dispute reached its climax last year, the label on the cure-all was changed to promise relief from oil troubles. And a little later, when the scene had shifted to Egypt, the old Suez formula was dusted off.

It should be amply clear by now that none of these three diagnoses could be the exclusive answer to the problems of the Near East. Common to all the Arab states is the stark poverty of the vast majority of the people.

In the world of today stagnation can only mean steady retrogression. With conditions growing progressively worse instead of better, even docile and apathetic populations cannot always be counted upon to remain in check.

The stability of the Near East is vital to the stability of the world; any help towards the goal is no more than a question of enlightened self-interest. We must face the problems of the Near East in the order of their importance. The Arab-Israel issue has knocked things badly out of focus. Responsible magazines in this country still sound as though little else mattered. Millions of their readers have been given the impression that Israel won the war only because of the active help of the United States and Britain. They have forgotten that diplomatic recognition alone does not win wars; that Britain backed the Arabs to the bitter end; and that in the last analysis it was internal Arab weakness more than any other factor that caused the Arab defeat. For the same reason it is the Arab states rather than Israel that can now be seen gravitating toward communism in spite of the confident predictions to the contrary which we all heard five years ago. Nor is the frequent claim justified that our influence in the Near East suffered an irreparable blow as a result of the Palestine war. Britain's die-hard pro-Arab policy utterly failed to produce the expected dividends. The prevailing hostility to the West cannot be ascribed to any single factor.

In terms of foreign policy, two extreme moves have recently been proposed in regard to the Near East. One

looks to arming the Arabs to the teeth in a desperate move to stop the spread of communism. Nothing is less likely to have the desired effect. Even if the Arabs could be made ten times as strong as they now are, their combined armies could not hold up Russia for many days if it came to a show of arms. The only ones to benefit, although no more than temporarily, would be the forces now in power. A good method, in short, to make the Near East ripe, if not safe for communism.

The other policy has found a persuasive advocate in Justice William O. Douglas. Mr. Douglas wants us to declare ourselves openly in favor of a revolution against feudalism and to promote such a revolution actively. But by completely repudiating the existing ruling elements we can only precipitate chaos, and with it the very kind of power vacuum that beckons to the 'isms which we wish to contain.

It follows that a constructive policy for the Near East must envisage two stages. The first would be a transitional one, designed to stop the existing imbalance from getting worse. The cry of interference is certain to be raised but could safely be discounted in advance. The next stage would involve a long-term scheme calculated to aid and develop liberal forces—accompanied by the hope that the lid will stay on long enough.

But neither plan can succeed unless based on a full and resolute agreement among the major Western powers. The real change, of course, must come from within, preferably through gradual evolution. Only then could the Near East and the West meet on a basis of mutual respect and understanding, as partners in a common enterprise.

Peace Program

By CLARENCE PICKETT

Honorary Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, 1947 Co-Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize

In the eyes of the Arabs we have surrendered the position of neutrality. But this is no excuse for our not doing everything we can to bring peace to the Middle East. For it is quite true that there will be no stability in that part of the world until there is peace there. And so long as there is no stability in the Middle East, this cannot but disturb the peace of the entire world.



Clarence Pickett

It is my judgment that peace will come between these two contending parties by piecemeal, and the most important first step I should consider to be a settlement of claims to property owned by Arab refugees now remaining in the state of Israel.

I have talked with an Arab merchant who lived in Jaffa who told me that he left behind a dry goods store with a stock valued at \$100,000. He was told by the Arab radio that the Jewish-Arab war would only last a short time, perhaps two weeks, that the Arabs would drive the Jews out of Palestine, when he could return and continue in his business, but he has never heard anything of that business since that time. He ought to have compensation for his loss. I am fully conscious that a much larger number of Jews who left Europe are in a similar position. The move now under way to determine compensation to Jews for property loss, especially in Germany and Austria, must not be allowed to fail. I know that Jews have left Iraq with no adjustment thus far for their possessions left behind. This whole question of compensation is one of international significance.

Closely allied to this is the question of boundaries. A permanent settlement of this question will no doubt be diffi-

cult. The Arabs look upon the heavy immigration coming into Israel with apprehension; they fully expect that there will be attempts to push those boundaries outward, under the claim of *lebensraum*. I am not saying that they are justified in this belief, but the conviction is there; it will not be allayed until boundaries are settled.

Equally important is the resettlement of the Arab refugee. He is now starting his fourth year as a pauper and a wanderer. At the sixth assembly of the United Nations, authorization was given to expend \$250,000,000 over the next three years, not only in providing relief for those refugees but in enabling the United Nations agency caring for them to resettle them. But the resistance of the Arab states to such resettlement continues. It is not only because of lack of facilities. Iraq and Syria could to their national advantage absorb most of these families on land most of which is now unproductive. But Arab states have continued their propaganda that the refugee must be permitted to return to his home in Israel. I do not myself see how it is possible for any considerable number to return because of the heavy population already settled there. I suggest that a commission made up of refugees themselves, selected by the United Nations, should be permitted to visit Israel to see what is going on, determining for themselves whether it would be feasible, wise, or possible for Arab refugees to resettle inside the state of Israel. It is my expectation that it would further the willingness of the Arab states to permit resettlement elsewhere of those who say that they have concluded they do not want to return to Israel, but wish to establish themselves in one or the other of the Arab states.

It seems to me that the suggestion of Charles Malik of Lebanon might well be taken seriously by both government and private groups in the United States, in thinking in terms of a very great expansion of modern education.

Closely allied to this is the importance of missions of religion of various kinds in this part of the world. It is my conviction that there will not be peace in the Middle East as long as we think purely in terms of economic and political development and secular education.

The development of what we usually know as technical assistance or Point

Four in this part of the world is of very great importance; and yet, if it is simply carrying technical skills to the Middle East without a recognition of the sensitivity of those to whom the representatives of technical skills go, it is likely to be resisted. Certainly it will be resisted, and in my judgment appropriately so, if it is put in terms of purchasing their allegiance as allies in a power struggle.

United Nations Role

By FRED A KIRCHWEY

Editor of The Nation

Peace between Israel and the Arab states would be a bulwark against international intrigue, against the attempt of various partisan interests to use the miseries and wrongs of the peoples as cards in the game of Cold War. Security in that region is not to be found in bases, by themselves, nor in deals and pacts, nor in the control of oil resources or sea routes. These may look substantial and reassuring to the nations that control them, but they are in fact no stronger than the human situation that surrounds them: the political stability of the countries themselves, the relations among them, and the health and well-being and prospects of the peoples in them.

External activities looking toward peace or toward social and economic improvement should be centered in the United Nations—including those financed by the United States. The United Nations is still the only viable instrument for mediation, conciliation, and also for the technical and financial assistance so desperately required by the countries around the Eastern Mediterranean.

I do not excuse the stubborn and unreasonable attitude of the Arab states when I say that their intransigence on the issue of peace with Israel is partly grounded in justified resentment at the reluctance of the great Western nations to accept the meaning of the revolution that today threatens colonialism and imperialism in all their forms.

Only the Western powers themselves can end that resentment and, in the effort to do so, the United States must inevitably take the lead. What we need is a new foreign policy in that whole turbulent and sensitive area, one which backs the struggle against colonial con-

trol and foreign financial domination and at the same time encourages, within that process, the even more fundamental revolt against ancient and evil practices of land ownership and human exploitation.

The tragic aspect of the Arab attitude is that in the matter of Israel it tends to defeat its own quite legitimate end. For peace with Israel would bring to the Arab states many benefits and few sacrifices. Once peace was achieved, these states would find that they had no stronger support anywhere for their proper national ambitions than in Israel itself, while the stimulus to trade and to other sorts of economic progress would be beyond computation. Today these facts are obscured by the fog of resentment and hostility that hangs over Arab-Israel relations.

How is this fog to be dispelled? The first and most important step would be the opening of direct negotiations on specific issues between Israel and its neighbors. The last two years have surely proved that no real agreements can be achieved until Arabs and Israelis sit down together, whether in the presence of a mediator or alone. Through direct diplomatic interchange, I am convinced, common interests would emerge, producing workable compromises on the main points dividing Israel and its neighbors.

A settlement of the refugee problem can be arrived at only on the basis of recognition by the Arabs that no considerable number of Arab refugees can be repatriated in Israel.

A most earnest effort must be made by the Israelis to convince their Arab neighbors of what, to be sure, they long ago officially promised, namely, that a generous program of compensation for properties lost by refugees—a reciprocal program, of course, since Jewish refugees from Arab countries must obviously be included—will promptly be formulated and carried out.

The Israelis must remove any honest fears that may still exist among the Arab states that Israel intends to try to expand by force its present uncomfortably narrow boundaries.

Admission that Israel does and will continue to exist, combined with willingness to *meet* and to *talk*, would provide the first bit of convincing proof that the Arab world does want peace rather than a state of suspended war.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The British Case

THE STRUGGLE FOR EUROPE.

By Chester Wilmot. Harper and Brothers. \$5.

WE HAVE now reached the reverse-lend-lease stage in the matter of military criticism. Until recently accounts of the war in Western Europe such as those of Ingersoll, Eisenhower, and Bradley presented it largely from an American point of view. Two of these authors, Ingersoll and Bradley, were sharply critical of British strategy, tactics, and military leadership. In the five published volumes of Churchill's monumental "History of the Second World War," he has been critical of American political and military leadership only in the fifth volume. The Prime Minister has been careful, however, to make his criticisms of military operations *solely* on military grounds. Thus it remained for Mr. Wilmot, an Australian war correspondent, to make the first presentation of what has been called "the British case."

Reduced to its simplest terms, this case holds that while we Americans were excellent producers of military machines, we lacked military sophistication in the matter of their employment. In plain language we did not know where to operate the planes, tanks, ships, and divisions we produced *during* the war in order to gain the greatest political advantage and military security *after* the war. The Marshall-Eisenhower strategy of a cross-channel attack and a broad-front advance into Germany made it impossible for the Allies to defeat Hitler in 1944. Our northern route into Germany allowed the Red Army to occupy every capital in Eastern and Southeastern Europe except Athens. The destruction visited upon Western Europe in the course of our campaigns prevented the emergence of any balance against Russia after the war. We defeated Hitler in such a way as to ensure the triumph of Stalin. In the Far East (which is not properly within the sphere of Mr. Wilmot's volume) our determination to prevent a revival of colonialism hampered the British. Thus, in one

way or another, most of the evils of the present-day world are traceable to the strategical blindness and military ineptness of Roosevelt's war-time advisers: Marshall, Arnold, King, and Eisenhower.

In dealing with a book as massive, as thoroughly documented, and as clearly written as that of Mr. Wilmot, three warnings may be in order. First, one should remember that the size of a book has nothing to do with the soundness of its message. Secondly, the fact that an author has read all the printed literature in a given field does not automatically make him a dependable guide to that literature. And finally, it is helpful to recall that "clearness is so preeminently a characteristic of truth that it often passes for truth itself."

Mr. Wilmot has given us one of the finest accounts available of operations in Western Europe, but he has attempted to use this splendid operational history as a scaffolding to hold up the superstructure of an untenable political thesis.

The Wilmot thesis that the triumph of communism in Eastern and Southeastern Europe was primarily due to the refusal of Roosevelt and his military advisers to follow British strategical advice simply will not bear examination. He criticizes the action which men took in 1941-45 on the basis of the knowledge they possessed *at that time* but he makes his criticism in the light of fuller knowledge in 1951. Mr. Churchill, a writer with considerably greater experience in the field of military history, long ago adopted a policy of never criticizing any politico-military decision *after the event* unless he had submitted a warning against it in writing *before* the decision was taken.

What man in Britain or America knew enough about Russian capacities and intentions in 1941-43 to justify basing our fundamental strategy for 1944-45 on the assumption that Communist Russia would present an immediate post-war threat to Western Europe? Did Mr. Churchill, who helped Tito to attain control of Yugoslavia, know that communism was going to be a more dangerous menace than fascism? Did

the journalists, the men of Mr. Wilmot's profession, warn us *at that time* against the Communist threat to come? Some, I am sorry to say, of those who screamed for a second front in 1942-43 out of fear that Russia might succumb to the German attack, now complain that Marshall and Eisenhower should have conducted the war primarily to check Russia.

Mr. Wilmot's book stops with the end of hostilities in Europe in 1945. He therefore does not cover the period of Allied demobilization which contributed much more to the triumph of communism in Eastern and Southeastern Europe than the matter of where our armies fought during the war. The fate of Czechoslovakia in 1948 plainly shows that unless Britain and the United States were willing to maintain armies large enough to offset the effect of the Red Army, and unless we were prepared to keep large bodies of troops in long-term occupation of these areas, it would not have helped much to have liberated the countries concerned. It was the power vacuum created by the demobilization of the Allied armies that permitted Soviet Russia to dominate Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

Mr. Wilmot really knows this. For, after writing seven hundred pages of special pleading to make a case against Roosevelt's administration of the war, he admits that there was "an element of the inevitable" about the Soviet triumph after the war. He is forced to conclude that neither the British nor the American governments could have won public support for a policy of conducting the war against Hitler with the secondary objective of checking Stalin. In the last few pages of his book, Mr. Wilmot actually draws some comfort from the American blunders during the war. For, he says, "the Americans had to find out for themselves that to strive for victory alone is not enough and that the balance of power must be the basis of peace. They had to learn from their own experience the difficulty of dealing with the Russians. They had to extend the hand of friendship and have it spurned. . . . In the years following

the war, Truman's policy of firmness and preparedness—and of generous economic and military support for Europe—would hardly have commanded such wide public support in the United States, if Roosevelt had not so diligently and sincerely sought to win the trust and cooperation of the Soviet Union."

If Mr. Wilmut had said this at the beginning of his book and then devoted his unmistakable talents to writing a strictly operational narrative, all students of military affairs would have been indebted to him. They would even have forgiven him for his marked bias in favor of Field Marshal Montgomery.

H. A. DE WEERD

Men and History

HISTORY AND HUMAN RELATIONS. By Herbert Butterfield. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

THE comments of an urbane and cultured man upon his craft almost always make for good reading, and this latest volume by the eminent historian Herbert Butterfield is no exception. "History and Human Relations" contains eight essays, each of them dealing with a particular problem in historiography or the philosophy of history. It is a very professional book, not in the sense that the layman cannot profit by it, but in the sense that it presents reflections drawn from long experience in a particular endeavor.

The title implies the unifying theme. The author continually calls attention to the fact that individuals, with all their different emotions and prejudices, are after all the source of history. They are neither completely the products of their past nor the autonomous makers of their future, but the worst mistake a historian can make, says Butterfield, is to forget that human beings are emotionally complex. Man, if not the measure of all things, is at least the measure of history, and in the light of this belief Butterfield examines such questions as the Marxist approach to history, "official" histories issued by governments, and the extent to which the historian can make moral judgments in his writing. He always points out the limitations of his craft, showing that histories, and not a history, can be produced.

Perhaps the book is best described by

part of a sentence found in it: "... in teaching or reading or writing history the richest wisdom and the finest educational nourishment come from ... the comments that are made in asides, the places where private views and the results of personal experience leak out, the things, shrewd and intimate, that a teacher throws in just for love."

CARL F. HOVDE

Faithful Disciple?

THIS CROOKED WAY. By Elizabeth Spencer. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$3.

MISS SPENCER'S second novel is interesting for several reasons; while she is in her own right a talented and skilful member of the Southern regional group who have attracted so much attention during the last decade, she seems perfectly content to work within the confines of a strictly Faulknerian scene, a faithful disciple of the master.

Her protagonist, Amos Dudley, who wrests a fortune from the rich Delta cotton country, is seen at successive stages of his compulsive career through the eyes of his boyhood friend, his wife's sister's child, his wife, and finally through his own eyes. This is a difficult technique to handle, and Miss Spencer carries it off with verve, giving us a series of oblique views of the central figure from the varied perspectives of those who thought they understood him best.

But the relations between people are so much akin to those which bind the members of Faulkner's society that there are times when the reader may be forgiven for suspecting that this novel is an extended parody. Everyone is profoundly concerned with motives, even though the motivations are never fully revealed, and even the most illiterate and incoherent hint darkly to one another of motives that are marvelously subtle and intellectually intricate.

This technique is carried over into the texture of the prose itself. There are pages when it is Miss Spencer's own, and very effective too, but there are also paragraphs which seem to have come straight from Faulkner without pause for individual identification. Amos says: "One [desire] was to see Ary's face again like I saw it that first day above the horse's mane, like a face not in the world, though it had been in the world all

right, but was by her own will and nothing else whipped up clean above the world and outside, knowing she ought not to be out there with just men showing off that mare and in her own pride not caring, and in her own pride being proud of the mare, and of herself too, so that not even my pride in her which got so out of hand could quite manage to unsettle her."

The question which has not been answered in "This Crooked Way," but which may possibly be clarified in Miss Spencer's future writing, is whether really fruitful creative work can be done by novelists who appropriate whole the seductive but highly individual cosmology of William Faulkner.

HARVEY SWADOS

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WASSILY KANDINSKY (1866-1944) is on view at Knoedler's (through June 6) in twenty-six paintings lent by his widow and never before exhibited in New York. Although this exhibition is only half of what was recently shown in Boston at the Institute of Contemporary Art, twenty-four of the other canvases are accessible to New Yorkers, since they have returned to their permanent home in the Museum of Non-Objective Art.

Despite these losses, the current exhibition affords a nearly adequate coverage of Kandinsky's work in its major phases. The earliest examples, *L'air clair* and *La vieille ville*, date from 1902; the latest, from two years before his death. The Fauve period, which for Kandinsky was about 1908, is well represented, as is the work of the final twenty years. There are good examples from 1910, the year of his first Improvisations (and the year of his book, "On the Spiritual in Art"). But there is nothing between 1910 and 1915, and only two examples between 1916 and 1920; and as only two others from the withdrawn canvases came from this decade, there was in Boston and there is here a decided gap, all the more unfortunate because this was Kandinsky's most daringly original period and probably his most creative. In the twenties, however, he continued in the same rich vein of freely moving forms exploding against strong diagonal braces and enlivened with textural interest. After 1930, or thereabouts, Kandinsky's designs hardened. The ruled line replaced the freely brushed contour; the flat, blond tone, the resonantly pigmented area. In addition, the scale came down from something broadly mural to something diminutive and fussy. Despite the grand synthesis claimed for these late works by the faithful, they are, in my opinion, merely pretty abstractions, without poetic content, and with more mechanical than formal interest. Some of them fetched up recollections of scenery for the *Chauve Souris* (Parade of the Wooden Soldiers might almost be substituted as a title for *Transparent*,

1942). And all suggested the drier phases of work at the Bauhaus, where Kandinsky taught from the early 'twenties until 1934.

In a recent biography of her late husband, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy accentuates the fact that Kandinsky belonged to the older generation of the Bauhaus faculty. She quotes a student of the time: "So Moholy came to Weimar as 'the champion of youth', as we labeled him in contrast to the old faculty members Kandinsky, Feininger, and Klee who were between forty and fifty-five." Unlike Feininger and Klee, however, Kandinsky appears to have been strongly affected by the idiom of the younger Bauhaus artists in his own late work, even after political events had forced the Bauhaus to suspend operations. This late phase of his art, whatever its source, had little connection with the positive forces of his own previous work. It seems to have been grafted on, quite arbitrarily.

That Kandinsky developed slowly out of prevailing manners of painting is nothing against him. If he did not reach artistic maturity until he was past forty, neither did Goya nor Cézanne. But the early works are surprisingly unoriginal for so original a painter, and even the vaunted Fauve works of 1908 depend so heavily on French precedent, plus an admixture of Russian folk colorations, like juxtaposed magentas, tangerines, and violets, that it is not unjust to call them Folk Fauves. Apparently, the elimination of subject matter was indispensable for Kandinsky's art to evolve. Recent unpublished studies of his work have contrived to show a development of motives and habits of design, and so give a sense of momentum to the career. But the break which came around 1910 was nevertheless very sudden, and, in my opinion, its motivation was not sufficiently a pictorial one. Kandinsky's elimination of subject was, in its way, as literary as the discovery of a new subject, or of the discovery of Byron by Delacroix. The point I am arriving at so laboriously is that Kandinsky launched his new art on an idea, and that this is dangerous procedure for a painter. Simultaneously, he expounded the idea in a book, "On the Spiritual in Art." After 1910, his paintings depend on communion with mystical essences. For me, always skeptical of cosmic attempts

in painting, it is something of a wonder that they are so often good paintings, freighted as they are with so much transcendental cargo.

It is important to distinguish between Kandinsky's ideas and his art. The former, which have enormously influenced the course of modern painting, for better and for worse, are at the root of the Kandinsky legend. The art, clouded by the legend, is too much worshipped and too little understood. Moholy-Nagy was right, I think, when he found Kandinsky's art in fundamental contrast to his own, because Kandinsky's "reminded me of an undersea world." One of the most beautiful of these sub-marines is a gray one (*En gris*, 1919), in poetically muted tones. Like the sea, Kandinsky is most intelligible on a vast scale: his small canvases are not only crowded but stunted in effect. He must have the liberation of vast space, but having it, he is in constant danger of going amorphous, like the sea's counter-currents. Personality easily drowns in them.

The visitor will not miss in Kandinsky's work numerous contemporary overtones. It is extraordinary how mid-twentieth century the best of these canvases seem. But it would be a bad mistake to conclude that the similarities are more than superficial, and that the younger abstract expressionists are merely his imitators. Several of them surpass him in physical sensuousness, or in mural force, or in the ability to weave space with pigment. Emily Genauer pointed out in a recent review that *Trente* (six times five black and white squares) is compartmented like an Adolf Gottlieb. But this is a late Kandinsky (1937), and Gottlieb has never shown signs of committing his soul to a check-board of any such rigidity.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. A. DE WEERD, professor of history at the University of Missouri, was formerly associate editor of the *Infantry Journal* and, in 1945-46, a member of the Historian Operations Division, War Department General Staff.

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Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

WRITING about the listener's experience of music—and writing here as diffusely and obscurely as elsewhere in his book "The Musical Experience"—Roger Sessions distinguishes four stages in its development: first, hearing ("following . . . the music in its continuity"), then enjoyment, then understanding ("He needs to be aware of the progression of the bass as well as the treble line; of a return to the principal key or to a subsidiary key; of a far-flung tonal span . . . as events which his ear witnesses and appreciates as a composition unfolds"), and finally discrimination. And with discrimination the listener becomes a critic: "The critic is, in fact, the listener who has become articulate, who has learned to put his judgments and his values into words."

This statement about the critic is correct as far as it goes, but incomplete. One thing to add is the assumption underlying the critic's public articulateness—that he can give his readers the benefit of powers as a listener greater than their own; another is the fact that these are greater powers not only of discrimination but of hearing and understanding. That is, to the listener who must witness and appreciate the course of events in a piece of music the critic is able to point out the "progression of the bass line," the "far-flung tonal span," and other details which the listener might otherwise not be aware of. (The primary and important aim of criticism, E. M. Forster has said, is to "consider the object in itself, as an entity, and tell us what it can about its life.")

But here we come to an interesting fact about Mr. Sessions's book. Writing about the musical experience of the composer, the performer, the listener, he has described the activity of each in relation to the course of events in a piece of music; and if this scheme of the book were continued with the critic Mr. Sessions would say that the course of events—which has been created by the composer and recreated by the per-

former, and which must be apprehended by the listener—is pointed out to the listener by the critic. Actually, however, Mr. Sessions, when he comes to discuss the critic, departs from the scheme of the book and says nothing about any activity of the critic in relation to the course of events in the piece of music, or even to its value. For Mr. Sessions the critic's "true function" is the exercise of powers of discrimination developed "to the point where he becomes conscious of values in a generalized sense" and can "contribute strongly to musical life through illumination of the real issues which are vital in any particular time and place." And in a state of hoarse moral fervor he summons the critic to his high duty. Formerly, he says, when our music was the imported product of a tradition developed elsewhere and the critic's task was to interpret that tradition to the American public, he had merely to "take due note of judgments and values that had already reached maturity elsewhere. Today, with the ever-increasing development of a rich musical life of our own, he is forced to swim in more perilous waters and to discover values of his own. It is small wonder that he often shows a certain reluctance to do this and takes refuge in writing long columns on the season's sixth performance of 'Tristan,' or indulging, to cite a ghastly example I shall never forget, in vituperation of Critic B because the latter had written an unfavorable review of a book by Critic C, of whom Critic A (the author of the review in question) approved because he (Critic C) had written disparagingly of Critic D's book on Mozart. A veritable tangle of critics, with poor Mozart, in this case representing the only actual music involved in the whole matter, four steps away!"

I was about to say that Mr. Sessions's idea of the situation fifty years ago—that the score of a European symphony was imported for the conductor together with a little box of European values for the critic—hadn't the slightest relation to reality, when I realized that there probably were critics who accepted any European work unthinkingly. But there were others who operated as a critic should—who listened for what life they could themselves discover in the symphony and made their own evaluations of it.

That is what the critic does today when he is confronted with a new symphony by an American. And today when he writes a long column on the season's sixth "Tristan" it isn't because he shrinks from the task of discovering the life in that symphony, but because a new singer named Flagstad is singing in "Tristan" for the first time and this too is something which calls for critical evaluation. So does a book about music, and it wasn't because I shrank from the task of dealing with Mozart's music (I had, only a couple of months earlier, dealt with the unfamiliar Concerto K.503 which Schnabel had played in New York for the first time) that I wrote the review of Einstein's "Mozart" in which I began with the observation that reviews of books sometimes were amusing performances to watch; cited the example of Virgil Thomson's "The Musical Scene" being condescended to in the *Times* by Mark Schubart; explained that I wasn't condescending to Mr. Schubart's youth but thinking of the quality of his own critical writing; went on to say that the performances on Einstein's book had been staggering, but that Thomson, whose reviews of books were usually poor, had made the only perceptive comment I had seen on this one; quoted his comment; and then took off from it with my own comments on the book. An untangled progression of thought; the "veritable tangle of critics" being what Mr. Sessions made of it (in a lecture a few years later at the Juilliard School of which Mr. Schubart was now Dean).

Which brings me to my last point.

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Taking the critic's primary task to be the illumination not of issues but of the object—the piece of music, the book, the review of a book—that he has before him, I would say that this task imposes on him a duty: the duty of describing this object accurately, which means the duty of looking at it with an eye unaffected by friendship, by animosity, by appreciation or anticipation of a favor, or by anything else of this sort. Criticism, in other words, is one of the forms of human behavior, in which the critic has the duty, simply, of behaving honorably, and which does, then, involve moral issues. Not the issues Mr. Sessions is concerned with, but others which he seems to be unaware of.

Letters to the Editors

Daniel De Leon

Dear Sirs: Daniel De Leon, the great American Marxist, and the man who conceived the principles and program of Socialist Industrial Unionism, was born on December 14, 1952. This year, accordingly, is the centennial anniversary of his birth.

The Socialist Labor Party, of which Daniel De Leon was the intellectual founder, opened the De Leon Centennial celebration with a banquet in the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York on May 3. Among the speakers who paid deserved homage to De Leon at this celebration were Arnold Petersen, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party of America, and Leonard Cotton, distinguished British De Leonist and National Secretary of the S. L. P. of Great Britain.

Your readers, who are certainly more than ordinarily interested in De Leon and his achievements, should be especially interested in his great contributions to the Socialist cause. We will gladly send them a free copy of the De Leon Centennial issue of the *Weekly People* upon request.

The De Leon centennial celebration coincided with the Socialist Labor Party's twenty-third national convention, at which it launched its sixteenth Presidential campaign, nominating the undersigned for President and Stephen Emery for Vice President.

ERIC HASS,

Editor, *Weekly People*

New York

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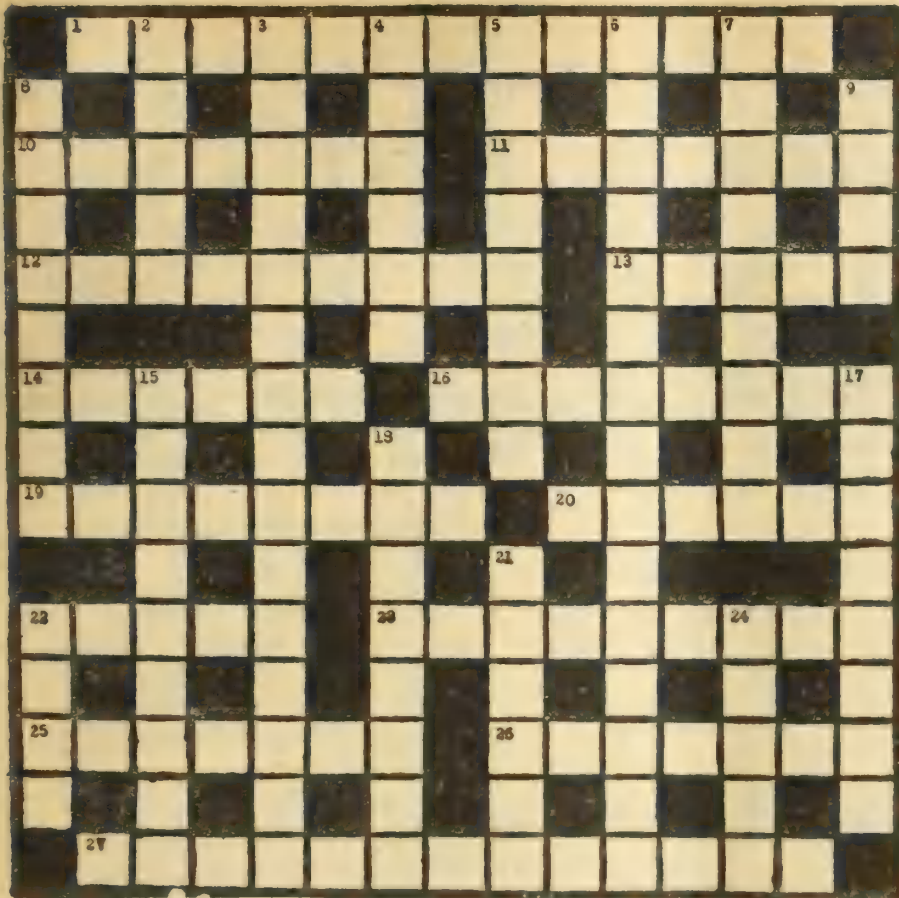
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Crossword Puzzle No. 468

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Chief obstacle to the vision of April? (4-2-3-4)
- 10 No feeling, perhaps. (7)
- 11 Is the Thin Man's dog able to find game? (7)
- 12 Concerning relations with some Frenchmen, for example, a decade ago. (9)
- 13 Carriages responsible for a rebellion. (5)
- 14 Such a policy shouldn't lead to an immediate engagement. (6)
- 16 Put a different coat on in the Irish fen! (8)
- 19 Settle in oxygen's concentration. (8)
- 20 Silver spike? It might make your finger hurt. (6)
- 22 This sort of log is found in Connaught. (5)
- 23 Are such loans never obtained? (9)
- 25 Mr. Baba in repose sees things as they are! (7)
- 26 The revolutionary seems to hurry up to heaven. (7)
- 27 A suggestion of drink might be associated with the head of it. (5, 9)

DOWN

- 2 "O thou weed!
Who are so lovely fair and smell'st so sweet
That the sense _____ at thee,
would thou hadst ne'er been
born."—(Othello) (5)
- 3 Being this sort of collector is most amusing toil. (15)

- 4 Sent an exchange to a French city. (6)
- 5 The plural form was a book peddler. (8)
- 6 Many will be in June, but only a few girls go on to one. (9, 6)
- 7 Strange that one might find Corsica at a place in Central America? (5, 4)
- 8 A tune to pilfer? It could make quite a hit. (3, 5)
- 9 Crazy? Or just a cut-up—but not a kind one! (4)
- 15 Is not a bad sort of word for the sole punishment! (9)
- 17 "If all the year were playing _____, To sport would be as tedious as to work."—(Henry IV) (8)
- 18 Something like hearing of first class stucco! (8)
- 21 A Babylonian goddess might be the end of 16 to Jack. (6)
- 22 Might be swell, but sounds anything but free! (4)
- 24 A famous literary mount doesn't finish after—otherwise bow silently. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 467

ACROSS:—1 DEPILATE; 5 ESCROW; 9 WAR GAME; 10 TAIHOKU; 11 TONSURE; 12 AGROUND; 13 MISSISSIPPIAN; 15 ANIMAL SPIRITS; 21 BRONCHI; 22 EXTREME; 23 GLORIES; 24 AWNINGS; 25 SASHES; 26 HEADSMAN.

DOWN:—1 and 4 DOWN TO THE SEA IN SHIPS; 2 PARONYM; 3 LEAGUES; 6 STIRRUP; 7 RIO MUNI; 8 WOUNDING; 10 TRANSLITERATE; 14 CABBAGES; 16 IGOROTS; 17 ASCRIBE; 18 INTONED; 19 STERNUM; 20 SEASON.

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NUMBER 24

The Shape of Things

Lost Weekend

It's really a shame that an unfortunate "break" in the news compelled the President to postpone a weekend visit to the farm of J. Howard McGrath at Great Salt Pond in Rhode Island. The visit had been widely reported as presaging the appointment of McGrath to some high post (not requiring Senate confirmation) and of giving public expression to Truman's unshaken confidence in his former Attorney General. But the testimony of a representative of the General Accounting Office that Clark Clifford, the President's former legal counsel, had received \$25,000 for representing a Michigan firm in a civil-fraud suit while McGrath was Attorney General, served to remind the President that Margaret was leaving for Europe on the weekend of his scheduled visit.

The incident will deepen public confusion about the President's relations with McGrath. Is he trying to say that he considers McGrath the innocent victim of a "smear" campaign? Is he sorry that he removed him from the Cabinet? Does he feel that there are acceptable excuses for the failure of the Justice Department to recover more than a pittance of the \$500,000,000 or so which the government was overcharged on Korean War contracts? Does he believe that McGrath was vigilant in recovering only \$300,000 of more than \$21,000,000 which the General Accounting Office contends is owed the government in actual fraud cases, some of which involved the bribery of army officers?

The planned visit suggested that the answer to all these questions is "Yes." In any case, what greater loyalty could the ex-Attorney General have demonstrated than his gallant support of the President in the political crisis of 1948? Let McGrath not despair: the President will probably turn up at Great Salt Pond in due time.

Peronism in Ecuador

Democracy in Latin America met a new defeat in the election of José María Velasco Ibarra for the third time as President of Ecuador. Paradoxically, as the star of Perón declines in his own country, Peronism gains ground outside Argentina. In his own right the new President can hardly be tagged with any political label; ideology

is not his strong point. Under his first regime, genuine liberals, including Galo Plaza, whom he now succeeds, were able to introduce a new tone in Ecuadorian politics. But each time Velasco Ibarra insisted on playing the dictator and was forced from office by military *coups d'état* carried through in behalf of decency and civil liberties.

Even worse than Velasco Ibarra are some of the groups that helped him win last week's decisive victory over his main opponent, the conservative Dr. Ruperto Alarcón Falconi. The "Concentration of Popular Forces" Party, his main support, is distinctively falangist in nature. Curiously enough, the leader of the People's Force, Mayor Carlos Guevara Moreno, of Guayaquil, fought in the Spanish War on the Loyalist side and made that exploit the springboard of his political career. Being an opportunist, however, he promptly changed sides when the current in Latin America turned in the direction of fascism. President Velasco Ibarra denies any tie with Peronism, but the incident which occurred in Quito, when César Salvador Mazetti, Perón's Ambassador, appeared at a rally to welcome Velasco on his return from exile in Argentina, was an indication of where his present sympathies lie.

The Toronto Six

Will Senators McCarran and McCarthy, having done so much to shut the doors of this country to the East and West, now slam the portals to the North? Recently six members of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, one a minor, were barred from crossing the border. Only stated reason: "detrimental to the best interests of the United States." Confronted with the alternative of retaining the six players or of canceling scheduled engagements here, the Toronto orchestra dropped the men. The local union supported the orchestra's decision and the sole recourse of the six victims is an appeal to the executive board of the international union.

This seems to us about the most shameful in the growing list of indignities occasioned by the McCarran act and the paranoid policies of the State Department. It is bad enough that six men have been done a grave personal injustice; it is worse that no practical remedy is available. Canadians, apparently, feel the same way: the Toronto *Globe-Mail* (Conservative) and *Daily Star* (Liberal) have published strong editorial condemnation of the injustice done the six musicians. The *Globe-Mail*

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has, in fact, demanded that the Ottawa government not only clear their names but assert the right of entry as essential to the "right to work" and as a right implicit in the passports issued by the Canadian government.

For more than a century the Rush-Bagot Convention has committed the United States and Canada to an "open-door" policy of friendship and amity. Incidents such as that of the Toronto six make it increasingly embarrassing for Americans to speak sneeringly of other countries' "iron curtains."

Civil War in South Africa?

In South Africa today there are the makings of two irrepressible conflicts. On the one hand a vast gulf between the European minority and the native majority has been made almost unbridgeable by discriminatory legislation and repressive administration. And now Dr. Malan's Nationalist Government, reopening old wounds suffered in the long struggle between Boer and Briton, has split the white population in two. It is not racial policy that divides them: both factions believe in white supremacy although they differ about methods for maintaining it. What really disturbs the opposition is the evidence that Dr. Malan, who won the last election on a minority vote, is aiming at one-party rule. His bill to segregate the "colored" vote in Cape Province, held by the Supreme Court to contravene the "entrenched clauses" of the Constitution, is not just an exercise in racial discrimination but a blatant example of gerrymandering which is expected to give the Nationalists six or more Parliamentary seats now held by the opposition.

Determined to secure this advantage before the 1953 elections, the Nationalists have pushed through the High Court of Parliament Act which allows Parliament itself to overrule the Supreme Court in constitutional cases. The legality of this act is to be tested in the courts but it is also being met by a political challenge. Natal, most British of the Union's four provinces, is already talking of secession on the grounds that the Malanites have destroyed the compact on which the Union was founded. If this threat materializes, civil war may easily follow.

The Plight of Sterling

Sterling remains sick despite the medicines prescribed by the Conservative government after it took office last fall. In the first three months of this year the drain of gold and dollars from the sterling-area reserve was slowed down but even so the total was reduced to \$1,700,000,000 by March 31 compared to nearly \$4,000,000,000 on June 30, 1950. April figures have not yet been published but trade returns for that month indicate a rise in the visible deficit and it is also known that Britain has lost more gold to the European Payments Union.

It may be that, as Mr. Hugh Gaitskill, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, suggested in a recent speech in Chicago, that gold reserves of the sterling area will soon begin to increase, if they have not already done so, partly because of cuts in dollar imports and partly because delayed payments of United States economic aid are now being made. On the other hand, Britain is clearly finding increased difficulty in expanding exports to the extent necessary if its goal of a favorable balance of payments by the end of this year is to be achieved. It is experiencing growing German and Japanese competition at a time when world demand, at least for consumer goods, is declining. In addition, the sharp fall in prices of such commodities as rubber and tin have seriously reduced the sterling area's dollar-earning capacity.

It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that fears of a new devaluation of the pound should have caused some weakness in both spot and future quotations for sterling. Perhaps these fears are premature, but it begins to look as if new and drastic measures will be necessary to prevent further depletion of the sterling area's reserves in the next few months and to keep the pound at its current ratio to the dollar.

Who Likes Ike Now?

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S political debut at Abilene may have increased his chances of securing the Republican nomination while diminishing his prospects for victory in November. For he revealed a streak of conservatism that can hardly fail both to win over uncommitted right-wingers at Chicago and to repel millions of independent voters whose liking for him has been based on the hope that he would prove to be at least moderately progressive.

Such hopes have been dashed by the mammoth Abilene press conference. On that occasion the General showed once again that he not only had an attractive personality but the ability to project it. He also exhibited marked skill in dodging pertinacious efforts to pin him down on specific issues, without seeming to be evasive. But while a tendency to balance every affirmative statement with a considered "however" appeared to keep him safely in the middle of the road on specific questions, the total effect was to reinforce the growing impression that on domestic matters he is quite as far to the Right as Senator Taft.

Indeed he almost went out of his way to disown the liberal wing of the G. O. P. by declaring, without any prodding, that he was in accord with the general principles of the Republican Declaration of February 6, 1950, which he assumed would be the basis of the 1952 Republican platform. This declaration, drafted by the die-hard Clarence Budington Kelland, was a far more conservative document than the Republican platform of

1948 and was sharply criticized on this ground by liberal Republicans who are today Eisenhower's most enthusiastic supporters. Senator Lodge, for example, condemned it for failing to express determination to enact a civil-rights program and for "extravagance" in describing the issue between the parties as "liberty vs. socialism."

By indorsing this 1950 declaration, the General aligned himself with the conservative wing of the party which he further reassured by reiterating his opposition to "centralization" of power whether in the field of civil rights, medical care, education, conservation, or economic controls. And simultaneously he contrived to dismay many liberal Republicans and independents who know that over-reliance on state responsibility enables the backward states to slow down progress of the whole country and who realize that civil rights have become a burning issue precisely because, by and large, they have been left to the tender mercies of local authorities.

The moral for the Democrats is plain. Whether Eisenhower or Taft is chosen at Chicago, they will be in a position to make the Presidential campaign a clear-cut fight between liberalism and conservatism. This is a fight that can be won provided always that the Democrats select a strong, progressive candidate and give him an unequivocally progressive platform on which to stand—a point made adequately clear in the labor symposium which appears on page 572 of this issue.

The German Peril

UNREPORTED in the American press as far as we know, a little episode in Bonn symbolized the situation created by the new Big Three peace contract with West Germany. The episode occurred just before Acheson, Eden, Schuman, and Adenauer signed the agreement. It was the German chief of protocol who noticed the design on the tapestries hanging in the Upper Chamber of Bonn's parliament. He quickly had them removed because he feared they might cause comment: the scene shown was the Rape of Europa.

The quasi peace treaty with Germany is now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The hearings were being sped to conclusion this week. Already overlaid with unfinished business, the Senate is being asked to ratify the contractual agreement before Congress disperses, presumably before the Republican convention opens in Chicago on July 7. No serious opposition, indeed hardly any pertinent criticism, is expected.

The papers which the Administration sent to the Senate make quite a bundle. They include the general agreement with the Bonn Republic, its three subsidiary conventions, President Truman's accompanying message to Congress, the Three Power declaration issued in Paris after the signing of the European-army treaty on May 27, and a protocol extending the Atlantic Alliance's

guaranties reciprocally to the European defense community—in fact to Western Germany.

How many Americans are aware of the contents, to say nothing of the implications, of these documents? For that matter, how many of the Senators who will approve them have read and mastered them?

Yet the two agreements, of which the European-army treaty is the other, may take their place in history as a watershed between the second and third world wars. The haste with which the peace contract with the Germans is being railroaded toward ratification contrasts with the great responsibilities it imposes on the American people. For there is little doubt that these commitments perpetuate the partition of Germany and diminish almost to zero the chance of a peaceful understanding with Russia about that country.

In our present political climate a majority of Americans would support the peace contract with Germany even if they were aware of its dangers. After all, the West Germans are now allies against communism, although one may question their dependability. It is likely, however, that if Americans had been informed of all its implications, a much larger and more vocal opposition would have developed. The Defense and State Departments have sold a bill of goods to Congress and to the people. The Administration has presented a wholly one-sided view of its policy.

A few predictions can safely be made:

1. From month to month West Germany will intensify pressure to remove the few remaining restrictions placed on it. In the early period of its rearmament, the German Republic as an "exposed area" will refrain from manufacturing certain heavy weapons like bombers and submarines. Nor will it engage in producing atomic explosives. But the Pentagon intends that within a year after the peace contract and European-army treaty come into force West Germany shall join the Atlantic Alliance. As the Bonn Republic settles into its position as our ally, it will become harder and harder to say "no" to German production of all types of armament.

2. As soon as West Germany has regained its military strength, it will move to end German partition. If that proves impossible by peaceable means, as succeeding German governments grow more nationalistic, an incident near the frontier between East and West Germany may precipitate military action.

3. As long as the bulk and élite of the French army are shackled in Indo-China, it will be difficult to retard the emergence of Germany as the Continent's dominant power.

4. When the Germans form their first divisions, they will contain an important sprinkling of professional soldiers. Despite the two-year conscription system to be introduced, German ex-officers and non-coms will be able to enlist voluntarily. As a result the German armed

forces will be readily expandable—as they were in the twenties and thirties.

5. Germany will have a military machine that is close to being a national army. The original French concept of German troops interlarded with those of five other nations has evaporated. Divisions in the European army will be almost independent. The Germans will have their own War Department, bearing a less nostalgic name. German general staff officers will be trained for larger commands. Bonn will have its own supply and maintenance organization. West Germany is no longer playing the reluctant bride; its heart is increasingly back in the military business. According to former French Defense Minister Jules Moch, 175 training centers are already being created in West Germany.

6. We can assume that at least one East German division will be raised to match every division the West Germans put in the field.

7. No one now believes that the condemned German war criminals will serve out their sentences.

On all these aspects of the agreements before the Senate, our State and Defense Departments have remained silent. If they had brought them to the notice of the American people, many would have asked, "Is there no alternative?" The answer is: "There was."

Russia bears a large share of responsibility for the failure to attempt to find a different solution. But we bear a share too.

In 1946 Secretary of State Byrnes proposed a United States-British-French-Soviet pact to disarm and neutralize all Germany for twenty-five or forty years. Moscow was unresponsive. At that time Russian policy was to keep Germany divided. Today Moscow regards a unified Germany as the lesser evil. But the Byrnes offer is dead.

Many European students of Soviet policy believe that until lately Russia was ready to withdraw from Eastern Germany and allow a restoration of capitalism there in return for neutralization of the whole country. As soon as the peace contract and European-army treaty becomes operative, however, Germany's neutralization is ruled out. When that happens, the Russians will no longer be interested in offering concessions on Germany.

Today it is we who have frozen the position by putting West Germany's inclusion in the anti-Soviet alliance ahead of German unification. Where, short of Russia's unconditional surrender, is there now a basis for accord on Germany?

This is the background to the Senate's impending ratification of the German settlement. Few Americans are conscious of the meaning of this act. Fewer still have weighed the liabilities against the assets. But Europeans, while murmuring "We do" at the shotgun wedding, are alive to all these perils. That explains why the master of ceremonies at Bonn quietly whisked away the tapestries displaying the Rape of Europa.

Confusion on the Coast

WITH the voting in South Dakota and California, the first act of the Presidential campaign is over and the scene now shifts to Chicago. Of the South Dakota primary little more need be said than that the German vote in the rural counties—isolationist and opposed to Eisenhower as the occupier of Germany—gave Senator Taft the slight margin which he appeared to hold at this writing.

The California primary, however, ranks as one of the best political stories of the pre-convention campaign. Inquiries which we have made in California amply confirm Governor Warren's contention that more than \$500,000—most of which came from independent oil interests—was poured into the campaign to elect the Republican slate of delegates headed by Representative Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield. Backed by certain groups that have developed a morose hatred of Warren, the Werdel delegation received important support from party "regulars" who have long resented the Governor's habit of ignoring them on patronage matters. But the mass base for this strange grudge revolt consisted of a fairly large, rapidly growing, and angry Right: a herd of frenzied, embittered folk, including elements of Vivien Kellems's "Liberty Belles," Associated Farmers, anti-Semites, paranoid haters of the United Nations, tax-resisters, tax-refusers, and Partisan Republicans. This neurotic movement has been growing in California for the last five years and is a phenomenon that warrants close and constant scrutiny. Powerful leadership was provided by John Francis Neylan, a regent of the University of California, who has never forgiven Governor Warren for his stand on the loyalty oath. ("Jack is never so happy," the Governor said, "as when he is spraying venom on somebody. This just happens to be my time to get sprayed.") The delegation pledged to Werdel sponsored meetings at which Taft and MacArthur were loudly applauded and there can be little doubt that the Taftites supported the movement. At one meeting, state Senator Edward H. Tickle, serving as chairman, introduced Jack Smith, a wealthy Southern California oilman, with the remark: "He's a grand guy. He foots the bills for all of us." Throughout the campaign, Governor Warren was denounced as a "New Deal Trumanite" and at one meeting a speaker charged that California was "getting creeping communism under the brand of Warren's socialism." Leaders of the Werdel delegation, which polled more than half a million votes, made it clear that they were against Warren but for Senator William F. Knowland.

On the Democratic side, Senator Kefauver picked up sixty-eight delegates with a minimum investment of energy and funds. The better than 2-to-1 margin by which the so-called "free" delegation was defeated was

not unexpected. The day following the Minnesota primary, in which General Eisenhower received an impressive write-in vote, President Truman instructed Attorney General Edmund G. Brown to disband the "official" Democratic delegation. Stunned by this move, the "official" Democrats lost the initiative and for a time it seemed likely that the Kefauver delegation would win by default. Although Mr. Brown was able to reorganize the delegation, little enthusiasm could be generated for a ticket without a candidate. At the last moment, President Truman gave the "free" delegation his informal benediction and dispatched Governor Adlai Stevenson to California to do what he could to save the "official" Democrats, but by then it was too late.

The Kefauver delegates, who will name the next Democratic National Committeeman and Committeewoman, are a highly miscellaneous group. The two most prominent names—they are really the only well-known ones—on the delegation are those of State Senator George Miller, Jr., of Alameda, and John Anson Ford of Los Angeles, long a member of the Board of Supervisors. Both men, incidentally, have fine liberal records. On the other hand, the "free" delegation included nearly every "official" Democratic leader of any prominence. At the last moment, James Roosevelt, National Committeeman, made what a California political observer referred to as "a Roman tandem leap" from the "free" to the Kefauver delegation—as an alternate!

THE most interesting result of the primary was Knowland's sweep of both party nominations. The Senator's backers placed great emphasis in the primary on the theory that if Knowland could win the Democratic nomination he might, with Governor Warren's backing, be an ideal running mate for General Eisenhower. As a Formosa-Firster, which Governor Warren is not, Knowland might be able to win support from Taft delegates. Should Knowland win the vice-presidency, Warren would probably resign and then accept appointment to Knowland's six-year unexpired term from Goodwin J. Knight, who would become Governor. Representative Clinton McKinnon, who opposed Knowland for the Democratic nomination, had almost no campaign funds, received little support from the National Committee, and would appear to have been the sacrificial victim of an off-stage understanding. An analysis of Knowland's Democratic vote indicates that he must have had the support of elements of the Malone machine in San Francisco.

The California primary indicates four things pretty clearly: that the collapse of the New Deal coalition, which began in California in 1944, is now nearly complete; that rank-and-file Democrats have revolted against a system under which the National Committee makes heavy financial levies in a state and then walks off with

the funds, not caring what happens to the local organization and candidates (a system described by Gifford Phillips, publisher of *Frontier*, as a form of "political colonialism"); that the state cross-filing system has wrought ever-greater havoc with political parties in California (this fall the voters will finally have a chance to modify the system); and that elements of the Malone machine in San Francisco, seriously embarrassed by investigations of the local office of the Bureau of Internal

Revenue, have decided that the way to have friends in Washington in 1953 is to support Republican candidates in 1952.

It is pleasant to record, as a footnote, that state Senator Jack B. Tenney was soundly defeated for the Republican nomination in the new 22nd Congressional District. Tenney's defeat would seem to be about the only result of the primary to which California liberals might lift their glasses in salute.

Sober Realism at the U.N.

United Nations, New York City

THE Economic and Social Council now meeting in New York does not offer so exciting a performance as the General Assembly during a hot debate or the Security Council when dealing with a "threat to the peace." The ECOSOC handles a long and heavy agenda, covering the work of the United Nations in such fields as economic development and human rights and reviewing the annual reports of the many technical and regional commissions and specialized agencies, some of which have made a remarkable record. But the division of opinion regarding such vital issues as a correct appreciation of the present world economic situation or the dramatic appeals for help from areas where millions suffer utter want, give to these discussions a high political and human value and a key to the many conflicts within the United Nations itself.

Often there is confusion between the U. N. program of technical assistance and the various programs launched by individual nations or groups of nations. But of course these national and international efforts are intimately connected. The announcement by President Truman, in January, 1949, of his grandiose "Point Four" plan acted as a powerful incentive to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly to work out an extensive U. N. program of technical assistance. In December of the same year the Assembly fully endorsed such a program, based on a study made by the Economic and Social Council during the summer. Its main idea was to help the backward countries to strengthen their economies by developing their own resources, their agriculture, and their industries, and to reach a higher standard of living within the framework of economic and political independence.

The last point was strongly emphasized. Under no circumstances should economic aid be permitted to become an instrument for establishing a new sort of imperialism or foreign domination, especially in an era

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

when the entire colonial system was in process of crumbling to pieces. The most progressive voices in the U. N. insisted that what people in the underdeveloped countries wanted was "to be helped to help themselves" and that the problem called for immense tact, a profound understanding of the mind of the peoples involved, and a determination not to play the role of benefactor in order to bring a recipient country within any given political or strategic area of influence. The long and fascinating controversy in the press and among political parties and groups in India over the issue of economic aid from abroad illustrated better than anything else the dilemma facing all underdeveloped areas: On the one hand, there was a desperate need for assistance; on the other, suspicion and fear lest behind any proffered aid might lurk the intention to influence India's foreign policy, undermine its neutrality, and menace its cherished, newly won freedom.

IN Geneva last September I heard much criticism of American opposition to the establishment of an international development fund. Over this opposition, the majority in the ECOSOC stressed the necessity for this fund. Summarizing the debate in the closing session, even so circumspect a diplomat as the Council's President, Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, found the courage to declare that the Council had failed to carry out the wish of the General Assembly that it should propose "practical methods to obtain an increased flow of capital for financing the development programs of the underdeveloped countries." It was evident then that the United States delegate, Isidor Lubin, in opposing the development fund, expressed prevailing trends in Washington: first to concentrate all possible effort on financing the rearmament program and, second, to avoid commitments for technical assistance which would be administered through the United Nations. If American money was to be put into underdeveloped countries, Congress preferred

that it be done, not under the label of United Nations "technical assistance" but under the label of "Point Four," so that the United States would have the final word as to how the aid should be used and could also reap whatever moral and political advantages might come from it. Naturally this attitude was an unpopular one especially among the Asian members of the ECOSOC who complained, on the one hand, about the concentration of aid in Western Europe, mainly for military purposes, to the detriment of the countries of Asia, and on the other, about the reluctance of the United States to act through international instrumentalities. The struggle over the development fund has been resumed in the present session of ECOSOC with the United States still in opposition. But the attitude of the other members has obliged Mr. Lubin to try to correct the bad impression created at Geneva.

LAST Wednesday he assured his colleagues that the fear of economic collapse resulting from rearmament lacked any substantial foundation; the United States, for instance, is doing so well that readjustment would prove far less difficult than at the close of World War II. Second, he argued that a wide variety of plans projected by many agencies with much money behind them assured a great expansion of economic help for underdeveloped areas. The year 1951, he said, had shown an increasing volume of grants and loans, with everybody trying to help: the Colombo plan, formulated by the British Commonwealth countries, offering aid to Southeast Asia; "the generous Norwegian people establishing a public fund for aiding underdeveloped countries"; and the United States continuing its assistance on "an increasing scale." It was a comprehensive and able speech which, though carefully geared to the policy of containment and of "peace through strength," remained sensitively aware of the spirit of revolt and dissatisfaction that characterizes this fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council. Of course with a Congress busy cutting funds for foreign aid, Mr. Lubin could only deal in generalities as far as future American contributions were concerned; in fact, at the moment he was speaking, \$7,500,000 had just been cut from the \$24,000,000 appropriation asked by President Truman for the International Children's Fund, one of the best ECOSOC agencies.

Mr. Lubin's optimism was not shared by some of the other speakers. For example, the delegate of Pakistan explained how the prosperity that had smiled on his part of the world as the result of the armaments boom had given way to a grave economic crisis. His views were supported by Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Zafrulla Khan, who said on June 2: "Occasionally policies may be wrong but the world is going through a series of upheavals and trials and unless the attitude is one of cooperation and sympathy, help and assistance, none of us will pull

through." Speakers for France, Sweden, and the Philippines also sounded an ominous note.

In general the spirit prevailing in the Council reflects the courageous realism with which Gunnar Myrdal, one of the outstanding personalities in the United Nations and executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe, visualizes the world situation and the duties of the organization. Speaking at the closing meeting of the seventh session of the ECE in March of this year at Geneva, Mr. Myrdal bluntly stated that "our committees are gradually being transformed into purely Western bodies—perhaps I should more adequately say non-Eastern-European bodies." His speech implied strong disapproval of the sabotage of attempts to put an end to the present world tension by trying to penetrate the wall between East and West. It is clear that he is not one of those bureaucrats so abundant in the United Nations who easily confound the initials U. N. and U. S., and that if his services are still wanted some positive accomplishment will have to be shown, not by the end of the century but in this year of 1952. As he said in the speech quoted above: "The next months will give the practical answer to the question whether this commission as a working organ of the United Nations will again become the all-European body it was intended to be when it was founded."

MYRDAL has been working hard to find an answer to the basic problem of reaching agreement with Russia in ways which will avoid a general collapse of the Western economy, including that of the United States which is tied so closely to the rearmament program. He believes this can be accomplished only through a great expansion of East-West trade and of development programs all over the world. A man talking and acting as Gunnar Myrdal does, is bound to find obstacles in a United Nations bureaucracy which, as times goes on, shows a spirit closer to that of NATO than of the United Nations. But the ECE and its dynamic Secretary General do not easily give up. They may find some encouragement in the new bid to the Western countries to resume trade with Russia offered by the Soviet delegate Georgi P. Arkadyev, in his speech of last Thursday.

Over the present discussions of the Economic and Social Council hangs the shadow of the worsening world situation. The economists are aware that all the talk about achieving a balance of strength by 1954 which will end tension, encourage East-West trade, permit a shift from arms production to a peace economy and social progress, with more aid to the underdeveloped countries and all the rest, is only a fairy tale to ease the anxiety of average citizens everywhere. Knowing better, the experts do not look for an early return to prosperity under a peace economy. In a time of self-delusion like the present, their sober opinions are worth listening to.

What Labor Wants: A Symposium

IT HAS become axiomatic that labor—provided it can organize itself for the polls as well as it has in the shops—can swing any Presidential election. This year's will be no exception. In a recent survey, Elmo Roper points out that the trade unionists, together with such of their families as are qualified to vote, represent 28 per cent of the electorate. He emphasizes one further important fact: two of every three labor votes are likely to be cast for the Democratic candidate "*unless Republican candidate popularity or the issues themselves upset this tendency.*" (Italics ours.)

BY GEORGE M. HARRISON

The Economic Royalists Are Paving the Way to Fascism

THE issue, as I see it, is to check the economic royalists before they bring the world down around our ears. Since Franklin D. Roosevelt's death the money-changers have been coming back. It's time to stop them. First these economic royalists killed price control, then each year after 1946 they put up their prices—and their profits. In 1949 they took a breather, but in 1950, even before the Korean shooting, they began to build up toward another profits spree. In "peace time" 1951 net corporation profits were double the high-water level of World War II.

The arrogance of the profiteers has known no bounds. Their handy-men in Congress wrote a Defense Production Act which put the federal government into the business of buying plants with the people's money and turning them over as a gift to private corporations.

What else does the DPA's "fast write-off" of defense facilities mean? The government has been issuing "certificates of necessity" to one giant corporation after another—allowing them to retain profits, which would otherwise be taxed, to be applied against their capital investment. Where normally a company recovers its investment in twenty to thirty years, under the Defense Production Act many companies can now get their money back in five as "defense essential."

No one questions that a steel mill is a defense essential. So, however, is a steel worker, or a railroad worker who runs the train which carts away the steel, or a clerk who does the bookkeeping, or a restaurant worker who feeds them. But no one gives the worker a free house or car, as the government gives away free plants.

What are the issues as labor sees them? In *The Nation* of May 10 Hugo Ernst, general president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (A. F. of L.), set forth his views in an article which was widely reprinted in the labor press. In the two comments below, *The Nation* extends its sampling of labor opinion. The first is by the president of one of the great A. F. of L. railroad unions; the second is a digest of opinion solicited by *The Nation* from labor spokesmen (both A. F. of L. and C. I. O.) representing nearly all sections of the country.

Big business has become so arrogant that the steel industry was ready to provoke a strike to browbeat the government into allowing it five times the price increase it needed to absorb the wage increases recommended by the Wage Stabilization Board.

The issue, as I see it, is to check the economic royalists before their top-heavy profits pile collapses our economic underpinnings. Inflation is already building up toward deflation and a depression. If this is allowed to happen, the result will be disastrous.

Beyond this, big business profiteering is causing our European allies to distrust our motives in calling for rearmament. Our own profiteers have made it possible for the Russians to argue, with increasing effect, that our paramount interest is profits at the expense of the world. Abroad there is growing mistrust. At home, there is



Redfield in the Dispatcher, San Francisco

"Fortunately, while our workers' wages are frozen, our profits are fluid."

GEORGE M. HARRISON, grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, is one of the most influential leaders of the A. F. of L.

growing fear that big-business control of our rearmament program may produce a degree of counter-armament that can only end up in war.

The economic royalists need to be curbed because they are driving us toward the totalitarian state. The tremendous economic concentrations brought about by the armaments program can be maintained only through forms of political power which are inconsistent with normal American political life. There must be concentrations of power in the state to match the concentrations of economic power. In other words, the state will take on a fascist form, pretending to serve all the people but actually protecting only the concentrated wealth of the few.

The trend toward the totalitarian state is only too apparent. That this is the way we may be headed is becoming increasingly clear by the restraints being placed on labor. It is in the very nature of organized labor to resist concentrations of economic power. It is in the nature of

labor to criticize and to dissent from policies which run counter to the welfare of the people. But criticism, dissent, and the ordinary forms of labor activity will not be tolerated in the totalitarian state. Thus the virulent opposition of big business to the union shop on the railroads and in steel is not at all surprising. Cutting down the strength of labor is one very important step in the direction of controlling it. It is also not surprising to note the restraints being placed on ordinary constitutional liberties because it is within the framework of such liberties alone that free labor can exist.

The economic royalists will, if not restrained, destroy the basis of economic democracy, undermine constitutional liberties, and in so doing give aid and comfort to the forces driving toward war and annihilation.

The issue, as I see it, is to curb the economic royalists and give the country back to the people. And to do so before it is too late!

A SYMPOSIUM

The Planks Labor Wants in the 1952 Platforms

[*The Nation* sent a questionnaire to A. F. of L. and C. I. O. leaders in ten states, representing nearly all sections of the country, asking among other things: (1) From labor's point of view, what are the planks indispensable to a winning platform? (2) Can the Democrats win if they retreat from the party's 1948 platform on civil rights or key labor issues, such as the Taft-Hartley Act? Digests of the answers received from each of the labor leaders questioned appear below.]

FRANK ROSENBLUM, general secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C. I. O.), New York.

Labor wants effective price controls, including rents; expanded social security, including unemployment compensation based on uniformity of payments among the states; equitable taxation, with more relief for low-income groups and with proper excess-profit taxes; repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and restoration of provisions of the Wagner Act; adequate housing for low and moderate-income families; national health insurance; federal aid to education; civil-rights legislation to implement constitutional guaranties for all minorities (anti-poll-tax, anti-lynching, and permanent FEPC legislation); repeal of the McCarran and Smith acts and other regulations curtailing the basic rights of individuals and providing for "thought control"; positive efforts toward resolution of the basic issues involved in international tensions so that the threat of a world war and its consequences will be eliminated.

I believe the Democratic Party's only hope for victory is in a straightforward platform based on these issues. Generally speaking, all American groups except the "special-interest" groups fear the return to power of the Republicans with their present leadership. This was the major reason for the Democratic victory in 1948; it could be the decisive factor again, provided the party platform is forthright and constructive.

BARNEY HOPKINS, secretary-treasurer of the Michigan State C. I. O. Council.

The chief issues are restrictive labor laws, civil rights, monopolistic practices of giant corporations, anti-inflationary measures, farm subsidies and conservation, flood control and public power projects, the Great Lakes seaway, support of the free nations against Communist and fascist aggression, and federal aid to education.

The Democrats have no hope of victory if they retreat from their 1948 platform on civil rights or key labor issues.

JOHN M. EKLUND, American Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.), Colorado.

Labor is demanding legislation to protect the workers' right to organize, including that of public workers; foreign policy based on continuation and expansion of Point Four and the full functioning of the United Nations and its agencies; social security, including medical insurance; stable economic policies based on the estab-

lishment of a fair parity between prices and wages; a parity program for farmers; government reorganization along the lines of the Hoover commission plan, and federal aid for schools.

There is no question but that a strong position against the Taft-Hartley law and for civil rights will enhance Democratic chances for victory.

PAUL C. SPARKS, executive secretary, Texas State Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.).

Labor, I believe, will want planks supporting Point Four, social security, public housing, labor legislation, fair taxation, inflation control, the United Nations, the mutual-security program, and a plank requiring the payment of prevailing wages to contract labor from Mexico.

In my opinion, any retreat from liberal principles might break up the Democratic Party. As for the Taft-Hartley Act, it won't attain full stature as a political issue until there is slack employment and wider use of the law.

ELIZABETH NORD, Textile Workers Union of America (C. I. O.), Rhode Island.

I see the major issues as repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, full employment with adequate unemployment compensation, price controls, regional development, civil rights, equitable tax policies, and aid to friendly countries. I believe that the national Political Action Committee will submit planks to this effect to the Democratic convention. I think it unlikely that the Democrats can win if they weaken their 1948 platform on civil rights and labor issues.

JAMES F. CHRISTIE, Vermont State C. I. O. Council.

The chief issues are the Taft-Hartley law, a national health-insurance law, public power, FEPC, and civil rights. It is perfectly clear that any backtracking by the Democrats from their 1948 position on civil rights and labor issues will lose them all hope of victory in 1952.

S. B. HOFFMAN and ARTHUR G. McDOWELL, general president and director, respectively, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America (A. F. of L.), Philadelphia.

To win labor support, a candidate must have the ability to unite the country and to command respect. He must be willing to accept realistically the great changes in social legislation and distribution of national income which have resulted from the Roosevelt reforms; he must com-

bine this acceptance with a fresh approach to current problems of domestic economy and the problem of defeating Communist aggression by measures supplementary to military action in order to avoid World War III.

One thing is clear: the Democrats, if they want labor support, must not include in their platform such reactionary planks as Senator Russell's conception of civil rights or the Dixiecrat stand on labor legislation.

RAY W. ATKINSON, Washington State C. I. O. Council.

Among the important issues is the extension of economic as well as military aid to under-privileged peoples. On the domestic front, labor favors low-cost housing; extension of the social-security program to include among other things, disability insurance; the Truman civil-rights program (and, by the same token, labor opposes the destruction of civil liberties by investigating bodies); repeal or drastic modification of the Taft-Hartley Act; and development of natural resources and flood control along the lines of the TVA. We are opposed to universal military training and to military control of atomic energy, and we support full cooperation with the United Nations.

The Democrats cannot afford this year to weaken in any way their 1948 stand on civil rights and on labor issues.

HUGH BRYSON, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (Independent), San Francisco.

The key issues, as we see them, are repeal of the Taft-Hartley, McCarran, Smith, and other repressive acts; negotiations among China, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States for a lasting peace and permanent disarmament; abolition of the poll tax, anti-lynch legislation, and a permanent FEPC; low-cost housing, socialized medicine, full employment, and other economic-security legislation.

The Democratic Party fell through some of these very planks after nailing them into their 1948 platform. Lip service is not enough. Our members supported the Progressive Party in 1948; the two old parties do not represent the working people of this country.

George Brown of the Oregon State C. I. O. Council, and James A. Suffridge, secretary-treasurer of the Retail Clerks International Association (A. F. of L.) in Indiana, indicated in their answers that their organizations expected the Democratic Party to hold fast to the liberal planks of its 1948 platform.

Britain Balks on Korea

BY ANDREW ROTH

London
WHEN Richard Stokes recently attacked the Parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Defense on the use of napalm bombs in Korea, veteran newspapermen in the press gallery began to take notice. The journalists generally ignore criticism of the United States-United Nations campaign in Korea when it comes from members on the left-pacifist fringe of the Labor Party such as Emrys Hughes or Sidney Silverman. They expect sharp attacks on American policy in Korea from Bevanites such as Barbara Castle or Tom Driberg. But they know well that British politics is like an iceberg, with most of its solid bulk below the surface; new surface contours are produced only by thrusts from below.

When Stokes asked for steps to stop napalm bombs from "falling on areas which are predominantly civilian," speculation started as to whether the former Cabinet minister was speaking primarily for the Labor Party or for the Catholic church, of which he is a leading political voice. Interest was further whetted when Viscount Hinchinbrooke, a true-blue Conservative, asked whether it was wise to continue the use "of these weapons, the propaganda counterblast of which greatly exceeds their initial military effect . . ." Conservative Brigadier Frank Medlicott asked: "How can we possibly justify being the first to use a weapon which is repellant to many right-thinking people?"

The use of the napalm bomb has been a public issue here since last March when the Manchester *Guardian*, Britain's most distinguished Liberal newspaper, quoted a shocking description of a napalm victim from the book "Korea Reporter," by Rene Cutforth, B. B. C.'s Korean correspondent:

In front of us a curious figure was standing, a little crouched, legs straddled, arms held out from his sides. He had no eyes, and the whole of his body, nearly all of which was visible through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard black crust speckled with yellow pus. A Korean woman by his side began to speak, and the interpreter said: "He has to stand, sir, he cannot sit or lie." He had to stand because he was no longer covered with a skin, but a crust like crackling which broke easily . . . I thought of the hundreds of villages reduced to ashes which I personally had seen and realized the sort of casualty list which must be mounting up along the Korean front.

Commented the *Guardian*: "We must think of what

would happen in Europe if there were to be a war. Napalm is now said to be a standard weapon for air bombing, especially in close support of ground troops. Are our field ambulances ready to cope with the consequences?"

When the British Defense Ministry's Parliamentary secretary, Nigel Birch, replied to a series of questions on the napalm bomb on May 14, he pointed out delicately that "the napalm bomb has not been used by United Kingdom forces in Korea," thereby carefully labeling it an American weapon.

DURING the lively debate on the day Mr. Stokes attacked the napalm bomb, Christopher Mayhew pursued the question of North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war. Mr. Mayhew, a right-wing Laborite, was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Ernest Bevin and is considered one of the most pro-American of Labor members. He attacked the handling of prisoners as "extremely disturbing and unsatisfactory," suggesting that by proper use of "administration and psychology" a great many prisoners could be persuaded to accept repatriation without jeopardizing those "who have genuine grounds for fearing reprisals when they return home."

Two days later the *Times* used unusually strong language in attacking the handling of the prisoners: "Unfortunately the chaos in the prisoner-of-war camps and the incompetence of some of the American officers in charge of them has inevitably thrown doubt on the efficiency with which the prisoners were 'screened.' It is difficult to believe that all of the 60,000-odd prisoners who refused repatriation are really in danger of persecution if they go back. . . . It does suggest that the screening should be done again more carefully by an impartial commission."

On one aspect of the prisoners' issue, virtually all Britons except the miniscule Communist minority are united. As the socialist *New Statesman and Nation* puts it: "There is an arguable case for giving asylum to prisoners who are in real danger if they go home . . ." The right of political asylum is ingrained in the fabric of British life, as Karl Marx and others have found.

But even the most pro-American organs have serious doubts as to the fairness of the screening procedure. The *Economist* (May 24) admits that "it may be that screening officers and propagandists have been too zealous." A correspondent of the passionately pro-American *Observer*, recently returned from Korea, wrote (May 18): "The introduction last year of about forty Chinese-lan-

ANDREW ROTH is a staff contributor.

guage interpreters and teachers from Formosa has had the effect of shifting the power in some of the Chinese compounds towards Nationalist elements and away from the Communists." The *Church Times* recently said:

The reason why so many Chinese refuse to go home is that they have had it drilled into them by their American captors that, if they return, they will be punished and probably executed. In the last few weeks, the American authorities in Korea have reversed their propaganda policy towards prisoners. They have been told of the assurance given by the Chinese negotiators that there will be no victimization of returning prisoners of war. But the American reversal of policy has come too late. The prisoners will not change their minds again.

Many Britons are afraid that by insisting on repatriation, the United States may destroy the fabric of the Geneva Convention so painfully renegotiated in a four-month session in 1949. As the International Committee of the Red Cross wrote in introducing the agreement: "The principle of the immediate liberation of prisoners at the close of hostilities had . . . to be reaffirmed . . ." This was underlined in Article 118: "Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities." Article 7 said that prisoners "may in no circumstances renounce in part or in entirety the rights secured by them . . ."

Both the Communist and the anti-Communist states were very anxious in 1949 to adopt this obligatory wording. In fact, according to diplomats who participated in the discussions, the British and Canadian delegates at Geneva argued strongly against giving prisoners of war any right to resist repatriation. Speaking scornfully of

those who might seek to resist, William Henry Gardner, deputy leader of the British delegation, stated:

Their motives will be various. There will be individuals who rightly expect that if they return to their own countries they will be prosecuted for crimes for which, if they are guilty, they ought to be punished. There will be individuals who want to remain in the Detaining Power's country because conditions such as food and treatment, etc., are better than in their own country. There will be individuals, and this is probably the largest category of all, who will want to remain because of liaisons with women.

The fact seems to be that Britain in 1949 was thinking in terms of possible war with Russia and the importance of securing the rapid repatriation of Western prisoners on the cessation of conflict.

These voices reflect Britain's growing anxiety to reduce Western commitments in Korea in favor of Europe, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.

YET the Foreign Secretary and his associates are touchy about any public suggestion that they pressure the United States on Korea. In public the British government is full of praise for everything the United States does there. But privately Britain actively tries to restrain the Americans wherever this is thought necessary. Thus, in early May, while Anthony Eden was staunchly defending the United States in Commons, his diplomatic envoys in Washington and the United Nations were trying to modify American policy on prisoners in Korea. The *Economist* some months ago described the Foreign Office as feeling that on Korea "silence is golden" and that "any unsealing of ministerial lips would only disclose and thereby exacerbate basic differences of policy between London and Washington."

Except when there is a serious crisis brewing over Korea, this distinctively British self-discipline characterizes the "responsible" press as well. The *Times* "covers" Korea through its New York office. Two foreign correspondents and an editor have lost their jobs in Fleet Street for excessive frankness on Korea. Now only the *Daily Worker's* reporter exhibits any active desire to embarrass the Foreign Office spokesman on Korea during the daily press conference.

It is only when leading Britons believe a vital issue is at stake do they toss aside their normal restraint. One such occasion occurred in December, 1950, when Mr. Attlee flew to Washington to throw his weight into the balance against extending the Korean war to the Chinese mainland. A minor tempest flared briefly in November, 1951, when Britain felt the United States was unreasonably resisting Communist proposals for a truce line and discussions. Today, another such crisis appears to be brewing. Many Britons feel unless peace is achieved soon in Korea, it may be lost forever.

Beyond Comment

He gave it as his further opinion that "perhaps a good war is the way to world peace."—Dr. V. O. Watts, former economist for the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, as quoted in the Los Angeles Daily News.

By way of explanation to Elizabeth's many friends for not being united in her home church in Alabama . . . neither our daughter nor we could compromise our Christian conscience by acquiescing to the anti-Christian and communistic "blood-test" requirements of Alabama. Our hats are off to the superior spiritual intelligence of Mississippi.—From special announcement section of the Birmingham, Alabama, News.

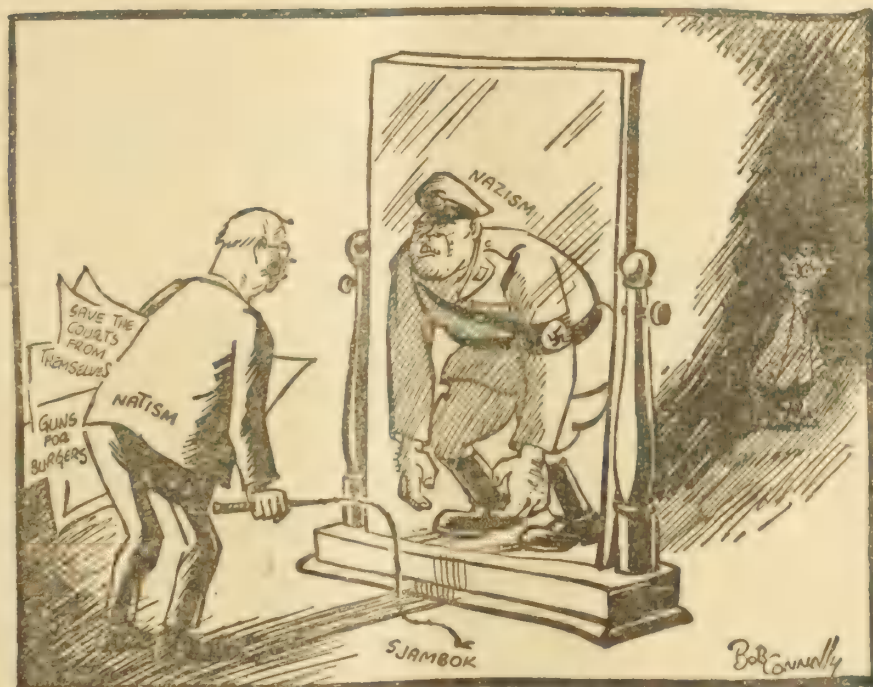
Good talk with keen minds is essential to the development of an orderly set of opinions, and that is a working tool that is rather hard to come by in business.—Clarence B. Randall, president of the Inland Steel Company, in the New York Herald Tribune.

The Case of Bob Connolly

THE artist for the *Rand Daily Mail* of Johannesburg, South Africa, is Bob Connolly, formerly of Paterson, New Jersey, who still retains his American citizenship. Mr. Connolly has no use for "Natism"—the racist and nationalist philosophy of the Malan regime—and has attacked it so sharply that Eric Louw, South African Minister of Economic Affairs, recently told Parliament that if Mr. Connolly was an American "it was disgraceful that he should publish such cartoons in South Africa." Mr. Louw's speech led the American consul to investigate Mr. Connolly, who has since writ-

ten *The Nation* as follows: "The consul has said that I would not lose the protection of the United States. However, the regulations they read to me still say that 'no American citizen is permitted to partake in politics in a foreign country in any way.' My cartoons have been political for fifteen years during the Smuts-Hertzog, the Smuts, and the present Malan regimes. The consul has sent a report on my status to Washington. Next comes Washington's ruling."

Below are three of the cartoons which brought Mr. Connolly into trouble.

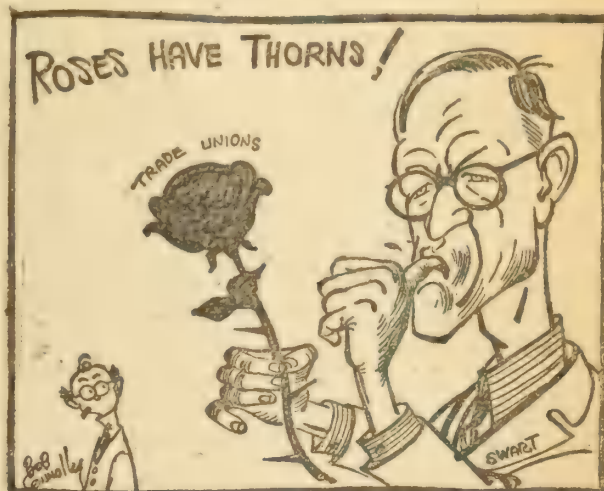


Any Reflection Is Purely Coincidental



The Grim Ripper

[Published after hooligans had attacked an anti-Malanist with a sickle.]



Why Didn't Someone Tell Him?

[C. R. Swart is Minister of Justice in Dr. Malan's Nationalist cabinet.]

The Challenge of Morocco

BY ROM LANDAU

FUTURE relations between the almost 400 million Moslems and the West may well depend upon the handling of the Moroccan question in the course of the present year. If it is mishandled, we may find ourselves facing a new "Indo-Chinese struggle" on the doorstep of Europe and the concerted enmity of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia toward all nations committed by alliance to France. In order to save its colonial rule in Morocco, France is now speaking of "integration" rather than "colonization." But there is no magic in that vague term to out-balance the shortcomings of France's Protectorate policy.

Much of the French record in Morocco is highly estimable: a medieval land, on the verge of disruption, has become peaceful, prosperous, and comparatively modern. But the Moroccans' share in the prosperity has been only incidental, for the chief aim of French reforms has been to transform Morocco into an adjunct to the economy of France and to provide French emigrés with jobs or sources of enrichment. Settlers' interests have invariably prevailed over native needs.

While in the forty years of the French Protectorate enough money has been found to build magnificent government buildings, post offices, railway stations, residences for French officials, the welfare of the natives has been outrageously neglected. Only 7.5 per cent of the native children have schools; for a native population of nine million there are fewer than 250 state-employed doctors; the death rate of children below one year is 283.6 per thousand, the highest in the world; the first school for native administrators was not founded until 1950—even then it provided for fewer than sixty pupils. After forty years of the Protectorate there are still no genuine democratic elections, no legislative assembly, no freedom of expression, of assembly, or of travel. Moroccans are still forbidden to form their own trade unions. Imprisonment without trial has become a commonplace, and in the rural areas a Moroccan has not even the right to be defended by an attorney.

In view of the Protectorate's political record it is hardly surprising that nationalism should have become the second religion of the Moroccan people. In order to discredit it, the French have been claiming for years

that close collaboration exists between the nationalists and the Communists. Together with French allegations that the nationalists are "religious fanatics" such charges belong to the realm of fiction. I have known Alal el Fassi, founder and head of the Istiqlal Party, and Si Ahmed Balafredj, its secretary, for several years. Both men, and the minor nationalist leaders as well, abhor communism. Most of them are pious Moslems and view the future independence of their country in terms of traditional Islam. They are, for all that, strongly opposed to the influence of the religious fraternities among which superstition and a reactionary spirit are rampant, and which the French are supporting for their own political ends. Even the youth of the Karaouine University at Fez, the largest and oldest educational institution in Morocco, is passionately nationalist and deeply religious, but opposed to both communism and the "fraternities."

IN THE fall of this year the Arab League will again insist that the United Nations Assembly discuss the question of Moroccan independence. Last December the demand of the league was defeated by three votes. It is not impossible that this time the vote will be reversed. The question arises, therefore: are the Moroccans ready to govern themselves, or is their country likely to become another liability of the United Nations?

The Moroccans know very well that they have no reserve of native executives, experts, and administrators to form a skeleton and sinews. Genuine and intensive training for self-administration will be their very first demand. French offers to provide such training will no longer be accepted by the Moroccans; the pattern of resident-generals, permanent officials, and privileged French experts—all of whom are the willing tools of the French settlers on the spot—is too well known to inspire confidence. Assuming that the Moroccans would agree to an interim period before complete independence is granted, they would insist that the tutelage years be spent under the supervision of a United Nations commission or a neutral controller.

Morocco already has a number of men capable of assuming responsibility, and the Moroccans are an intelligent and highly adaptable people. Their ancient traditions of independence and self-government are still very much alive, and it would not take them long to produce the needed experts. No one can possibly foretell how long the period of training must be. My guess would be about ten years. Anyhow, neither the Sultan nor the nationalists have any wish to deprive themselves of the



ROM LANDAU, a British expert on Islamic affairs, is the author of many books and articles on Morocco.

services of such French experts as may be willing to work loyally in an independent Morocco. But such experts must not expect to keep their present monopoly of "plum" posts. For the Moroccans hope to have American, British, and other technicians and advisers as well, and they wish to revive the policy of the "Open Door," as laid down by the Act of Algeciras of 1906, according to which all nations would enjoy equal trade rights in Morocco. The Moroccans are prepared to sign a treaty of alliance with France, and to guarantee all legitimate French interests in their country. But they will sign such a treaty only after having gained their freedom.

Under the projected Moroccan constitution, the equality and status of minorities is guaranteed. Such Frenchmen, Jews, or other minorities as accept Moroccan citizenship will enjoy exactly the same rights as Moroccans of the Moslem faith.

In their present mood of frustration and disillusion, the Moroccans are not likely to accept any French or United Nations proposal that falls short of complete independence. Thus, the chief task of the Western democracies, and of American diplomacy in particular, will be to persuade the Moroccans to see the value of an interim period of, say, five to fifteen years. They might accept such a proposal provided a definite date for independence were underwritten by the United Nations.

Equally important will be the task of persuading the French that the continuation of a regime that is obnoxious not only to nine million Moroccans, but also to forty times as many Moslems spread throughout the world, is dangerous for future relations between Islam and the West. The good will of the Moslem world must surely count for more than the selfish interests of the few thousand French settlers on Moroccan soil.

The Mutual Fund Rainbow

BY WILLIAM G. FERRIS

YOU too can own a share of American industry. You too can employ top financial minds to invest your money. Why worry? Let the bright boys of the stock-and-bond tables do your worrying while you cash the dividend checks. With such happy thoughts Wall Street has found the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. In the past decade mutual funds have become Wall Street's most promising source of income. When nothing else can be sold, mutual funds find ready buyers. Today assets of these funds total around three and a half billion dollars compared with one billion dollars ten years ago.

Mutual funds used to be called investment trusts. During the stock-market boom of the 1920's, the investment-trust idea sprouted with the vigor characteristic of that whoop-de-doo era. Then as now it was argued that the "little investor" needed the protection which expert trust managements could give them. At the height of the boom Tri-Continental Corporation, Adams Express Company, Blue Ridge Corporation, General American Investors Company, and Lehman Corporation were formed. They were, and are, "closed-end" trusts, differing from the currently more popular "open-end" type.

A closed-end fund is one which has issued a stated amount of securities and, generally, plans to issue no more. The open-end funds issue stock each day if they can find a buyer. They grow and grow as more buyers are found. Shares in closed-end funds are bought and sold at market prices. Many are listed on the New York

Stock Exchange. Open-end-fund shares are bought through securities salesmen from the fund. The price is based on the market price of the securities in the fund's portfolio. Open-end funds will buy back what they have sold you. The purchase price, like the sales price, depends on the market price of the securities in the fund's portfolio.

However, the price at which you can buy on any given day is always higher than the price at which you can sell. This price differential is the "load." It usually averages from 6 to 8 per cent of the value of the stocks in the fund's portfolio. The charge is split between the fund and the investment house which sells the fund's shares. Presumably, it is a legitimate charge for the high-priced management which directs the fund's buying and selling of securities.

Obviously it takes a lot of dividends to make up for this load. A return of 6 per cent a year on invested money is very handsome, but even that might not equalize the load. Ordinarily you would have to hold shares for more than a year to come out even, assuming no rise in their price. The load can be compared with commissions and taxes which must be paid when you buy and sell stock through a brokerage house. These also mount up. On odd lots—less than 100 shares—you pay $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ point more than the market price when buying and receive $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ point under the market price when selling.

Because closed-end funds were in existence in 1929, it is possible to test their performance during a depression. Their performance was rotten. Lehman Corporation originally was offered to the public at \$104 a share. In

WILLIAM G. FERRIS is market editor in the Chicago bureau of the Associated Press.

1932 it brought \$30.50. Here is the record of other 1929 highs and 1932 lows of closed-end funds (source: Moody's Investment Trusts):

	1929 High	1932 Low
Adams Express.....	68 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{8}$
Blue Ridge.....	20	$\frac{1}{2}$
General American Investors....	30 $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Railway and Light Securities....	110	6
Tri-Continental Corporation....	20 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Let's put this another way. Suppose you were one of those naive investors who wanted experienced, competent financial management to handle your money in 1929. To give yourself this protection you put \$2,000 in Blue Ridge Corporation. At the low point in 1932 this investment, guided by the sophisticated men of finance, was worth a princely \$50.

It can be said for the funds that at least they are still operating. Investments in some of the wilder offerings of the 1920's were completely wiped out. And the funds do share in the boom times. The Lehman stock bought at \$104 in 1929 would be worth around \$140 today, giving effect to a three-for-one split in 1937. Dividends have been paid each year. Chrysler Corporation, which sold at a high of \$135 in 1929, also would be worth around \$140 today, after giving effect to a two-for-one split in 1947.

In the post-war years the open-end funds have outstripped the closed-end variety in popular favor. They have at least one great advantage: since not many of them were around in '29 and '30, how they fared in the depression cannot be checked. An exception is Massachusetts Investors Trust, biggest of all the mutual funds. Founded in Boston in March, 1929, it has had on its board of directors over the years such honored Back Bay names as Lowell, Cabot, and Adams. It sold as high as 64 $\frac{7}{8}$ in 1929 and as low as 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in 1932.

While there has been no steep decline in stock prices since the 1929-32 period, a fairly severe shake-out developed late in 1937. How did the open-end mutual funds weather this squall? Did their managements see it coming and get out in time?

Here is the record of seven large, highly respected, representative funds for 1937 (source: Moody's Investment Trusts):

	High	Low
Affiliated Fund.....	\$ 13.47	\$ 3.99
Dividend Shares.....	2.36	1.18
Fundamental Investors.....	28.13	15.37
Incorporated Investors.....	28.44	15.24
Massachusetts Investors Trust....	33.36	18.83
State Street Investment Corp....	117.14	65.87
Wellington Fund.....	21.85	12.40

Clearly, the wisdom of mutual-fund managements did not enable the funds to escape this shake-out.

Mutual funds undoubtedly offer diversification for the little investor. Instead of putting all his eggs in one basket, he lets a mutual fund put it in many. There is some protective feature in this, since over a short term stocks of companies in different industries have varying market movements. However, in any general market decline, such as was experienced in 1937, most stocks move in one direction.

The little fellow who places his money in a mutual fund is doubtless better off than he who takes a flyer in some wild-cat stock-promotion scheme. He can be assured that, even if the funds have not had much success in judging the market, they at least are trying to be wary. Furthermore, in the past ten years of war and inflation the mutual funds have provided a better place to put money than have government bonds or the bank. But, then, so have the vast majority of stocks; and so have commodity futures. Unfortunately, some mutual funds imply that their shares can be bought without risk. They are offered as solid, safe investments. This they are not. They can lose value quickly and substantially.

MUTUAL funds help to boom a rising market. When the public is in a stock-buying mood, when it is flush, when it is chasing rainbows, mutual-fund shares sell briskly. And the funds, with the money thus acquired, buy stocks. Their buying helps to send the market higher.

But what happens when the market is falling? Then the public will be needing money and will be selling stocks and mutual-fund shares. As the number of shares the funds must redeem starts to exceed the number of their shares they sell, they will have to look around for money. At first they may have some extra cash available. Perhaps they will have some government bonds they can sell. But if the excess of redemptions over new sales continues for any length of time, as it would in a real depression, the funds will have to start liquidating the stocks in their portfolios—and in a declining market.

Technically, the Securities and Exchange Commission has control over mutual-fund advertising. A "Statement of Policy" determines how far the funds can go in their claims. Actually, the implementation of this policy rests with the National Association of Securities Dealers, which is not a disinterested party. The association reviews advertising for mutual funds and presumably tries to keep it under control. How far it succeeds may be judged by this advertising gem from the *New York Times*: "Professional managers devote their full time and experience to administering the Fund, buying and selling, bookkeeping and collecting. You are relieved of all details except cashing dividend checks." And except, of course, the additional little detail of worrying about your capital if the funds guess the market trend wrong.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Not Unblessed Pilgrimage

NECESSARY EVIL: THE LIFE OF JANE WELSH CARLYLE. By Lawrence and Elisabeth Hanson. The Macmillan Company. \$7.50.

IT IS usually a graceless review that discusses not the book the author has written but the one the reviewer would have preferred. But in the case of the biography of a well-known figure, the subject of several earlier biographies, the question inevitably arises what new discoveries or what deeper insights call forth the fresh attempt.

Jane Carlyle's great gift lay in her letter-writing. The Hansons have shown care and competence in going over all the Carlyle manuscript material, discovering new letters and correcting former omissions; but I am sorry that they did not carry out their original intent to publish a complete edition of Jane Carlyle's letters. A number of the most interesting letters now out of print are not included here, and their place is taken by such flat statements as "Forster . . . stimulated her to write some of her brightest letters." Only a biography itself a work of genius can compare in value with such collections as Leonard Huxley's "Letters of T. H. Huxley," F. O. Matthiessen's edition of the writings of "The James Family," and, on a more limited scale, F. A. Hayek's correspondence of John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor.

But, if we are not to have the complete letters of Jane Carlyle, we look to a new biography for deeper understanding of this brilliant, paradoxical, self-destroying person. This desire for insight comes not only from partisans of Jane or of Thomas, or from historians of the period, but from all of us concerned with the springs of action in individuals and with the relationship between them. Such terms as "mis-mated" or "symbiotic relation" are careless labels which beg the question. We want to know more of the relation between the Carlyles, as between the Tolstoys, between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, between Dorothea and Casaubon, in order to learn more of the human dilemma

of individual difference and isolation combined with the need for closeness between human beings.

Instead we find once again the familiar incidents of Jane defying her mother by learning Latin and proving her courage with the Haddington boys by crawling over the high bridge and seizing the gobbling turkey-cock; the endless debates over where the at-long-last-engaged Carlyles should live (finally decided by Jane's mother); the lonely days "companionless 'like owl in desert'" at Craigenputtock; the canary atop the luggage on the final move to London; the illustrious visitors who frequented 5 Cheyne Row.

But how did the high-spirited girl, "a fleein', dancin', lightheartit thing that noething would hae dauntit," become transformed into the older Jane, a neurotic invalid with querulous insistence on always being the center of the stage? It is not enough to say that she was a spoiled only child with insatiable demands for praise and affection, and that Carlyle was a dour Calvinist, insatiable in his need to drive himself to work, "an even more difficult man without a book than with one." After all, Jane, the gay flirt, the natural hostess, did marry the uncouth, wry-tempered scholar against the counsel of family and friends; she did sustain with abundance of grace six years of solitude at Craigenputtock—where mail came once a week, Carlyle worked unceasingly, and months passed with no sight of the face of a friend. If it was belief in Carlyle's genius that upheld her then, why did this fail her later after he had gained recognition?

What happened to her earlier delight in her own keen intelligence so that it never led her to the creative work that Carlyle and others urged upon her? Why was her sympathy so lavishly expressed in a human situation directly under her eyes while she lacked imagination for those at a distance, so that she failed to understand, for example, why Mazzini was more interested in the liberation of Italy than in spending time with her? Did she feel acute deprivation over not having children? The ex-

travagance of her fondness for Lady Ashburton's daughter and for her dog and other pets suggests that such frustration may have contributed to her neurotic illness. If Carlyle had ever given her a gift before her forty-first birthday, or more openly expressed his tenderness for her in earlier years, would this have altered their relationship? And why, with all the friction between them, did they remain together for nearly forty years until Jane's death?

Such questions as these cannot be answered simply in terms of nineteenth-century marriage or the lot of women in the Victorian Age. Jane Carlyle's time was, also, the time of the Brontës, of Mrs. Gaskell, of George Eliot.

The Hansons lean over backward in their attempt to be simply factual and unspeculative. Their page-and-a-half appendix saying that, in their view, the Carlyles simply found sex relations unsatisfactory and so discounted them is admirably cautious but hardly enlightening on the meaning of this for either of them. Surely it is not necessary to go to extremes of psychoanalytic biography in order to offer some hypotheses on the nature of the mixed elements that entered into these two lives. How much of their attraction for each other and their unending conflict was the inevitable problem of two people—one of whom drew strength from within himself and from the breadth of the abstractions with which he found himself at home; the other who found herself dependent for renewal precisely upon the multitude of outside daily events and people, which to her husband were appealing but essentially alien? It will be interesting to see whether the Hansons go any further into such questions with the very different relationship of Marian Evans and George Henry Lewes in their forthcoming life of George Eliot.

One thing does emerge through the Hansons' carefully measured presentation of facts: they do not like Jane Carlyle. They go to some pains to underscore her spiteful and mean-spirited acts and the way flattery, especially as she grew older, always revived her failing health. These things were un-

doubtedly no small part of her personality; but were they all? What does not come out in this book is the source of her endless attraction for other people, including her husband. Suggestions on this appear in Carlyle's "Reminiscences" and in his letters to "my poor, dear Jeannie," some of which the Hansons give. Revealing, too, is Carlyle's inscription in the pamphlet edition of "Sartor Resartus," which they do not quote:

To Jane W. Carlyle. This little book, little Milestone in a desolate, confused, yet not (as we hope) unblest Pilgrimage we make in common, is with heart's gratitude inscribed by her affectionate T. C.

HELEN M. LYND

A Most Amusing Novel

THE SPENDTHRIFTS. By Benito Pérez Galdós. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.50.

BENITO PEREZ GALDOS (1843-1920), very popular in Spain, is also a major European novelist. In England and America, however, he is almost unknown. Some plays and a few minor novels have been translated, most of them over fifty years ago. Yet he wrote the "National Episodes," a historical survey of nineteenth-century Spain forty-five volumes long, and seven or eight important novels. Among them is "The Spendthrifts" ("La De Bringas," 1884) which now appears in English for the first time.

It is the best and the most amusing novel I have read in months. The "schools" of naturalism and realism are not clearly distinguishable in it, one from another. Galdós sees that society determines the lives of his characters; he convinces us that they are free to conduct themselves almost as they please. The most obvious influences on "The Spendthrifts," as they were among his major literary enthusiasms, are Balzac and Dickens, though his sensibility is entirely original.

The action occurs in Madrid during the spring and summer of 1868, the last months of the reign of Isabella II; it is resolved by the revolution which sent that amiable royal hoyden into exile. Almost every event—one of the merits of "The Spendthrifts" is the sense it conveys that much is always happening

THE GOD OF GALAXIES

The god of galaxies has more to govern
Than the first men imagined, when one mountain
Trumpeted his anger, and one rainbow,
Red in the east, restored them to his love.
One earth it was, with big and lesser torches,
And stars by night for candles. And he spoke
To single persons, sitting in their tents.

Now streams of worlds, now powdery great whirlwinds
Of universes far enough away
To seem but fog-wisps in a bank of night
So measureless the mind can sicken, trying—
Now seas of darkness, shoreless, on and on
Encircled by themselves, yet washing farther
Than the last triple sun, revolving, shows.

The god of galaxies—how shall we praise him?
For so we must, or wither. Yet what word
Of words? And where to send it, on which night
Of winter stars, of summer, or by autumn
In the first evening of the Pleiades?
The god of galaxies, of burning gases,
May have forgotten Leo and the Bull.

But God remembers, and is everywhere.
He even is the void, where nothing shines.
He is the absence of his own reflection
In the deep gulf; he is the dusky cinder
Of pure fire in its prime; he is the place
Prepared for hugest planets: black idea,
Brooding between fierce poles he keeps apart.

Those altitudes and oceans, though, with islands
Drifting, blown immense as by a wind,
And yet no wind; and not one blazing coast
Where thought could live, could listen—oh, what word
Of words? Let us consider it in terror,
And say it without voice. Praise universes
Numberless. Praise all of them. Praise Him.

MARK VAN DOREN

—takes place on the upper floors of the Royal Palace. Here exists, almost completely separated by poverty from the royal debauchery, a complex society, the "Palace-city"; it is inhabited by minor court functionaries, charwomen, hangers-on of the royal household, and petty bureaucrats. Some of these people believe in the offices they hold. They are pleasant, well-mannered, and ordinary. Galdós never creates the grotesques so common in Balzac and Dickens.

The plot centers on the financial diffi-

culties of Rosalía Bringas, married to an unimportant and diligent bureaucrat, and on the beginnings of the moral downfall of this clever and corruptible Emma Bovary of the palace. On this middle-aged couple the dead hand of the "ruling passion" lies heavy. But the misleading and easy formula for explaining human behavior grows increasingly less important as the novel progresses. The Bringas are poor. Rosalía has a passion for finery. She is "full of vanity"; her temperament is "inacces-

sible to every passion except the passion for dress." As for Bringas, he is a petty miser; by exercising the most stringent domestic economy he has saved a few thousand *reals*.

In Balzac or in Dickens such characters are moral monsters: a Grandet, a Miss Murdstone, a Jonas Chuzzlewit. Exactly here Galdós's sensibility saves him. He knows that ruling passions do exist and that they propel human beings into catastrophes. He knows more. Rosalía has motives deeper than her passion for dress. She may despise her husband for the shifts his niggardliness puts her to: pawning the silver candlesticks when he is temporarily blind and unable to keep an eye on the household gods; unpleasant dealings with money-lenders; seduction by a finely-drawn bureaucrat, Pez (Fish), who will, she vainly hopes, pay her debts. She is also more than her ruling passion. The finest scene in "The Spendthrifts" is her return from her one sorry assignation to her unfashionable and exasperating husband and the noisy children whom she loves. For the moment she values Bringas as he would like to be valued, a paragon of the domestic virtues. In the same fashion Galdós shows us a Bringas who is more than a stupid official and a preposterous miser. He is a man of honor, despite his old nankeen suit, which, he deceives himself into believing, always looks like new. He loves his wife, though with a family passion. After the queen goes into exile he insists, half-blind and approaching nervous collapse, on leaving his beloved Palace-city, so profound is his moral contempt for the revolution.

Everywhere in "The Spendthrifts" is a feeling for the beauty of life, even in the most dreary circumstances, even in the Royal Palace in Madrid in 1868. Light and shade, gaiety and joy infuse writing which might easily be no more than a careful history of ruinous conduct, dull court intrigue, and commonplace worries about money. A sense of wonder is never absent from the account of daily life: a walk in the royal park, children bathing in the Manzanares, the preparation of a simple meal, the cutting-out of a dress, the weather of a Madrid summer—all assume a reality and convey a sense of life going on which is never to be questioned.

ERNEST JONES

Income and Welfare

THE ETHICS OF REDISTRIBUTION. By Bertrand de Jouvenel. Cambridge University Press. \$1.75.

THE tremendous increase in the scope of central government activities in the last generation has sometimes deliberately, sometimes inadvertently, altered the distribution of personal incomes. In part the increased impact of government finance is a consequence of war and defense efforts. But much public spending, especially for social security, reflects a changing concept of social responsibility, a substantial consensus that such personal emergencies as illness, old age, and unemployment can be met successfully only by collective action. Although important questions of extent and method remain unresolved, there are few who entirely reject the social functions of the modern state and deny the necessity of some income redistribution to accomplish them.

M. de Jouvenel cannot be fairly included in this minority: He does not relieve the state of a Christian duty to succor the unfortunate and the handicapped. What he does question, partly on economic, but largely on moral grounds, is the modern liberal view of the state as an agency of social improvement, cultural diffusion, and economic justice. In his opinion, government is inefficient, blundering, unperceptive, and, in the end, tyrannical. It stifles original thought and prohibits that free market in ideas, that willingness to accept risk, which have marked our society's past cultural progress. Inevitably income redistribution fosters the large, powerful, and ever oppressive state, since there is needed—here the author cites J. E. Meade—"an exceedingly complex machinery" to collect the incomes of the richer and redistribute them among the poorer.

The strategy of M. de Jouvenel's economic campaign against income redistribution or income equality (it is not always clear which concept he is attacking) is somewhat novel. He does not rely on the commonest argument against income redistribution, that it has adverse effects on incentives and, consequently, on the rate of economic progress. His principal economic point, rather, is that redistribution is financial-

ly impossible. A fairly lengthy computation purports to demonstrate that at least in England the lowest incomes cannot be raised to a desired minimum without reducing higher incomes to a level which endangers the living standards of the lower middle class and so attacks incomes which the most ardent redistributionists do not wish to molest. As the author's figures are hypothetical, it may well be that any actual redistributionist would react to them with a startled "Who, me? You've got the wrong guy." Neither does the logic, much less the arithmetic, of his argument apply to societies whose production regularly increases; in an expanding economy more may be given to some without giving less to others. At this point M. de Jouvenel seems to need the support of the usual case against redistribution.

The crucial elements in his case are moral. They center on the still unresolved controversies set off by the nineteenth-century English utilitarians. Like J. S. Mill in his later writings, M. de Jouvenel believes that there is a

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hierarchy of goals and pleasures and that individuals are more or less valuable as their capacities minister to aims higher or lower in this hierarchy. In recent history the middle class has harbored the largest number of valuable citizens. Therefore, this class deserves and requires amenities, even luxuries, beyond the ordinary. Its cultural existence depends above all on a wide range of personal choices. These choices the redistributionist state progressively narrows. By reducing the individual's income the state restricts his control of his children's education, curtails his purchases of books and paintings, and limits his ability to subsidize political and cultural objectives of his own selection. More and more activities once privately supported move into the orbit of state control as individuals become less and less able to finance them.

Throughout this persistently provocative book, M. de Jouvenel makes evident his belief that the "good society" and the welfare state are incompatible, without so much as sketching his own version of a good society. Speculation suggests that he approves the individualistic arrangements beloved of laissez-faire economists. The risks for the poor would be minimized by the largesse of the state and the social conscience of the rich, in whom M. de Jouvenel possesses touching faith. Most important of all, his good society is united in the pursuit of non-material, and vaguely theological, aims.

We are left with a question: Have we in the Western world taken a wrong political turning which threatens to destroy our freedoms, or is the welfare state, firmly guided and carefully watched, potentially a force for social improvement and cultural diversity? Certainly the pressures toward cultural uniformity have not come entirely from the state; various private groups, business, religious, and fraternal, have been equally potent. But M. de Jouvenel is relatively untroubled by the growth of private power and uninterested in the case that can be made for its public control.

This reviewer's disagreement with the author is obvious. None the less, M. de Jouvenel has in brief space succinctly expressed doubts of great importance even to those of us who find

government more benevolent and redistribution more desirable than he does. Undeniably there are dangers in a powerful government; surely the limits of redistribution remain unclear; and inevitably the outlines of the good society are mysterious. All this and more M. de Jouvenel gracefully advances in prose whose style is as neat and concise as its contents are potent.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Stevens As Essayist

THE NECESSARY ANGEL. Essays on Reality and the Imagination. By Wallace Stevens. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

AMONG casual readers of poetry, one sometimes hears: "Ah, yes, Wallace Stevens. A very fine poet, no doubt, but how can you account for a man who persists in writing about such silly subjects?" On the one hand, this. On the other, the incredible injustices Stevens has suffered from those who take him seriously, from critics who have written admirably about Chaucer and Keats and Hart Crane and have had nothing but twaddle to say about Stevens. In this predicament—between the devilishly uninformed and the deep blue connoisseurs—it has been up to Mr. Stevens to save himself, and he has made a long stride in that direction by collecting in one volume, where they will be ineluctably accessible to even the laziest of us, seven of his important essays in prose.

Stevens is a poet who still believes that poetry is the supreme activity. Unlike many of his colleagues, who have turned to traditional dogmas or positivisms, Stevens refuses the opinion that art is a game, a propaganda, or a ceremony. For him, poetry—he can say this unabashedly—is a means toward truth. It is man's best means, for its instrument is man's greatest faculty, the imagination, which surpasses indubitably the philosopher's reason and the scientist's inductive technique. And poetry, if it succeeds, possesses also the power to bestow upon its participants an automatic by-product—ennoblement.

Yet the poet's imagination is useless unless he brings it to bear squarely upon reality, and for Stevens reality is the vastly differentiated, sometimes discouraging reality of our own world, a

world untinged by intimations of any supernal intelligence. It is a reality of almost unlimited beauty for those who deal with it imaginatively and in its own terms. The poet who can enhance, organize, and make comprehensible an aspect of reality participates in the discovery of a truth. He ennoble himself and his readers; to him belong the moral and intellectual rewards of nobility. Reality is for the poet, as for all men, "the necessary angel," without a high regard for whom the poet would be only another radio announcer, howling in the wind.

As a poet, Stevens's primary duty has been to write poetry, to explore reality. He has written many poems, most of them admirable, some of them truly great. But as a poet who feels the poet's position in the modern world insecure—not economically or socially, but intellectually—Stevens has given himself the secondary duty to write about poetry. He has made a definition of poetry; he has studied the way poetry works. He has given us several theories of the processes of imagination, theories which elucidate the properties of metaphor, analogy, and resemblance. He has been especially concerned with the way poets look at reality, the way each man sees a tree differently, for these various views comprise what we can apprehend of truth, and they are our *raison d'être* as sensible beings.

How different are these ideas from those we usually hear of Stevens! Among his admirers, he is a high romantic, a direct descendent of French impressionism, a mage of the poetic ritual. Among his critics, he is a funambulist, an *élégant*, a hedonist, a decadent, even a dude. Both parties have been too much impressed by the externalities of Stevens's poetic style, his very precise rhetoric and his occasionally rococo vocabulary. They have seized upon and exaggerated those poems in which Stevens has presented an exotic view of the world, poems of Florida and Tehuantepec, and they have neglected the poems which extol the august and even austere beauty of mundane things. They have forgotten, in other words, what has always been true: a poet's observations, if they are valid, must be his own, and his style, if it is effective, must be original.

The fact is, the ideas Stevens expresses in these essays and has always expressed in his poems bear a much closer affinity to Wordsworth, to Sidney, or to the men of the ancient world than they do to the decadents of the late nineteenth century. In so far as our world is decadent in comparison with the ancient or any other world, Stevens is too, though I should prefer to use some such word as "refined" or "elaborate." The nobility that Stevens has sought is not Homer's; it is a modern nobility, intellectual and subtle; it is heroic only in its spiritual or aesthetic staunchness. Perhaps it is not nobility at all, but a kind of very good intelligence or very intelligent goodness that we in our moral sedentariness can still aspire to. But whatever it is, it is not foolishness or frippery. It is earnest, though not deadly earnest, and its products—Stevens's poems—are serious works, constructed to a measure which would allow no extraneous or supercilious ornament. It is inconceivable that a poet whose concept of poetry is the one enunciated in these essays could be vulnerable to affectation or preciosity. Stevens has created a theory of the value of poetry which surpasses in seriousness the more insistent dicta of all his contemporaries, and his poems are hard grapplings with reality, out in the open, away from the *culs-de-sac* of spiritual remoteness that have trapped so many of the rest.

The development of Stevens's thought has been, if one hesitates to say logical, at least consistent and true to its own problems. The questions raised in his latest essays go back directly to his early poems, "Sunday Morning," "Sea Surface Full of Clouds," and so on. Most of his ideas are not original—his close affinity to Wordsworth has already been pointed out by J. V. Cunningham—but they have been rigorously tested by all the poetic conditions of modernity. Nor has Stevens tried to write criticism or aesthetic theory. His essays are more nearly an operating program for poets, for one poet particularly—Stevens himself. As such their greatest importance will be as an adjunct to, or defense of, his poetry. To this end—the real appreciation of Stevens's poetic achievement—they are indispensable.

I do not want to turn from noticing these essays without saying a word about

their extraordinary qualities as literature. Like his poems, Stevens's prose contains many prodigious remarks: "The centuries have a way of being male." "The supreme example of analogy in English is 'Pilgrim's Progress'." "When we look back at the period of French classicism . . . , we have no difficulty in seeing it as a whole." These will probably scare small scholars half out of their wits. So much the better. A little area must be reserved. But we know that Stevens likes to shock us, and we laugh and look for the most outrageous and exotic surmises, until, all at once, they are no longer outrageous and exotic but the astute and respectable thoughts of a man who lives in Hartford, Connecticut. These are rich essays; simply constructed yet richly and elegantly written. They contain many references, an anthology-full of quotations from the most various and delightful authors, all very much to Stevens's purpose, but all exciting and pleasant to come across for their own sake. I do not mean to be altogether frivolous when I suggest that the best way to read this book is to invest in a bottle of the best sherry one can afford and a twenty-five-cent cigar. At least I found them the appropriate accessories and not at all antagonistic to the seriousness I have spoken of.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

An American in Istanbul

LET'S TALK TURKEY. By Willie Snow Ethridge. The Vanguard Press. \$3.

HE WHO would bring home the wealth of the Indies, said Dr. Johnson, must carry the wealth of the Indies with him. Mrs. Ethridge demonstrates, in the latest and probably most successful of her travel books, that she has done just that. However, "Let's Talk Turkey," like its predecessors, "It's Greek to Me" and "Going to Jerusalem," does not usurp the role of either Baedeker or the encyclopedia. Less gifted travelers have taken care to arm themselves with such knowledge, but Mrs. Ethridge relies instead upon the eminently American qualities of curiosity, a sense of humor, and the unforced ability to like people and understand them. These constitute a wealth of the Indies that good travelers must have, and the great thing is that Mrs.

Ethridge so clearly enjoys her travels. All three books, in fact, emphasize the reaction of Americans to the ancient lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, rather than matters of geopolitics. This time Mrs. Ethridge and her distinguished husband were accompanied by their twelve-year-old son, Mr. Big, whose strong antipathy to even the finest mosques will be appreciated by anyone who has been exposed to them.

The Ethridge's visit to Turkey, and the book, were the result of an accident. After a return visit to Greece as the guests of the Greek government (Mr. Ethridge, as a member of the United Nations Balkans Commission, had helped persuade the Truman Administration to provide help against the Greek Communists before it was too late), they decided to spend a few

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days in Istanbul while waiting for the freighter on which they were to return home to discharge its cargo. As a result of complications in unloading the freighter the days stretched into weeks, and the Ethridges, while lamenting the delay, made the most of their opportunity to see what modern Turkey is like.

Some of the stories, in particular the time Mr. Big was caught driving a Turkish taxi, and the troubles that developed when Mrs. Ethridge appeared with a camera in what turned out to be a prohibited zone, are hilarious; Mrs. Ethridge is an excellent *raconteuse*. At a time when the general outlook, which is bad enough, is made even worse by quantities of direful viewings-with-alarm, Mrs. Ethridge's gaiety and good humor are particularly welcome.

However, she is also a shrewd reporter, and although she pretends to be not quite sure where Jason sought the golden fleece, or Xenophon reached the sea, her anecdotes always make a definite point. Few writers have captured so well the spirit of present-day Turkey, a country which, despite the constant threat of Soviet invasion, is still concentrating its energies on the creation of an industrialized and relatively democratic state; even with the impetus supplied by Ataturk, it has taken a strenuous effort for the Turks to make the leap within a single lifetime from the era of harems and weighted sacks dropped in the Bosphorus after midnight.

The American-style go-getter is a prominent if unexpected part of Turkish life. The presence of such a booster helps give a special shading and proportion to *Where the Saints Have Trod*, the account of a visit to Antioch and the church where Paul preached—"the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch"—which may yet find a place in an anthology of modern essays. Mrs. Ethridge is to be congratulated on a very good book.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Wiring the Farms

THE FARMER TAKES A HAND. By Marquis Childs. Doubleday and Company. \$3.50.

HOW thoroughly we now take for granted many reforms of the New Deal which once were bitterly fought

and resisted! Senator Robert A. Taft, Mr. Republican himself, campaigned for votes in the recent Wisconsin primary by boasting that the Eightieth Congress had appropriated generously for rural electrification. Of course, there was once a time when generosity in this respect seemed, to Mr. Taft, a peril to the nation.

In an excellent chronicle of the crusade to electrify America's farms, Marquis Childs has gone back far beyond that time, to the period when TVA and backwoods power lines were just a glint in the eye of a great public servant, the late Senator George Norris. Two decades ago rural electrification served only one farm in every ten. Today it serves nine farms in every ten. This may be just another statistic to city folks, more numbers on a printed page. But it means virtually life itself to millions of Americans in hinterland valleys and along dirt roads.

My wife's farming family in the State of Washington has not enjoyed electricity so long but that the touch of the light switch and the reassuring drone of the automatic refrigerator are full of significance. These people talk about the time when they cooled butter in the creek and stumbled to a sickbed with a kerosene lamp. The 230,000-volt Bonneville line, which bisects their fields, is a sign to them that government can undertake programs to make life better.

Marquis Childs, brought up in Iowa in the heart of the tall-corn realm, writes feelingly of the great mass movement which created the Rural Electrification Administration and brought comforts and machinery to the farm. He has prepared a history of REA and of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, which is the organization that lobbies for REA appropriations and defends its policies in the field of politics. The author has high praise for the first director of REA, Morris L. Cooke. He believes Cooke was right when he advised President Roosevelt that loans both to co-ops and private utilities should be on a basis that would result in ultimate return of the government's money. Competition between the companies and the co-ops worked to the eventual benefit of the farmer. It also helped some of the very companies which had cried "socialism" when REA

originally was proposed. In this election year Mr. Childs's eleventh chapter, *The Politics of Power*, is particularly recommended to those millions of conservative Republicans who expect a Tory millennium if the G. O. P. returns to the White House.

REA was a joint product of those two arch-New Dealers, FDR and Uncle George Norris. It was denounced in the beginning as another waste of the people's funds, a hand-out feature of the dangerous Welfare State. Would the rampant Republicans abolish it, or even impair its operation? Listen to Senator Taft: "It is true that in the case of the REA the money to establish these facilities, which in the power field are very expensive, has been loaned by the government. But that should not change the cooperative character of REA. So the government also subsidized the first transcontinental railroads and other enterprises where, for one reason or another, private capital could not undertake the complete support of new and risky development." Mr. Childs inserts this significant sentence, "Very few members of Congress criticize REA directly." And he calls attention to the fact that Governor Dewey told a St. Paul audience in 1948 that the Eightieth Congress had "voted by far the largest amount ever provided by any Congress to speed electricity to our farms—\$800,000,000."

So although Republicans assail subsidies in general, Mr. Republican justifies subsidies to electrify farms. And although the Republicans lambast government spending in the abstract, the last Presidential nominee of the Republican Party heralds the many millions invested by a Republican Congress in a program begun by that favorite target of Republican orators, the New Deal.

No man avid for America's highest office is going to have anything except kind words for an agency which has made it possible for farmers to have deep freezes, milking machines, and automatic coffee-makers. Louis Bromfield has said that farm production is dropping per acre, and, in Mr. Childs's words, "electricity made the greatest aid in increasing farm production since the introduction of Eli Whitney's cotton gin."

This useful book, which opens with a challenging introduction by Senator

George D. Aiken, Republican of Vermont, would be even more useful if the publishers had included an index. Why limit a book's survival powers by denying it the compass on which so many researchers rely?

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

A Guide to Gogol

NIKOLAI GOGOL (1809-1852). A Centenary Survey. By Janko Lavrin. Distributed by the Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

AS A tribute to the genius of Gogol, a hundred years after his death, Professor Lavrin's brief survey of his life and work is welcome since it is almost the only notice anyone has taken of the event. It is welcome also in that it raises the number of books in English about Gogol to almost half a dozen. The most available of the earlier studies is by Vladimir Nabokov (issued by New Directions in 1944) and should be read as a supplement to Professor Lavrin's book which will be the one most likely to lead a reader to Gogol's work. After Gogol one should perhaps turn to Nabokov to prepare for a reconsideration.

The current study, pursuing a rather cautious academic path, offers sketches of biographical data, of all the stories and plays, and of psychological interpretations. Professor Lavrin follows generally accepted criteria; whereas Nabokov, in a breezy style of his own, analyzes Gogol's artistry and intentions in ways which, if sometimes open to question, are fresh and individual, and in doing so he dismisses some widely accepted theories. (He is wrong, I think, in rejecting the symbolism of impotence which Professor Lavrin points up as suffusing much of Gogol's work.)

Since this study is useful as a handbook or an introduction and was so intended, it would hardly be just to complain that it does not go deep enough. At the same time, more attention could have been devoted to Gogol's artistry, perhaps, by reducing the length of the synopses. There are, however, rather full accounts of Gogol's early life and his pathetic last years when the drive of his Messiah complex destroyed his talent and revealed to him at last its innate shallowness.

Between these two unhappy periods

of inner conflict came the great fiction "Dead Souls," the caustic play "The Inspector General," two fine stories, and many others of less merit. As the important work of a lifetime, such a list seems meager unless one knows the quality of the writing; then one is aware that it presents a rich mine for critics. Professor Lavrin's survey indicates the diversity of wealth to be found in Gogol.

HUBERT CREEKMORE

Man Alone

THE WORKS OF LOVE. By Wright Morris. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

WRIGHT MORRIS'S new novel is about loneliness. He understands profoundly how comical it can be in the busiest country in the world, and how touching too. I should say that he has demonstrated by now that he is unrivaled as an interpreter of those tangents of the American scene where the funny and the pathetic collide, and that there is wanting only the warm narrative flow that has been mastered by lesser novelists, to make his writing transcendently powerful and important.

Will Jennings Brady, the man in search of love, the only "actual" person in the book, is born in a sod house on the Western frontier to a lonely silent father and a mother who has been ordered through the mails. Both of them die before Will is very old. He is successively assistant stationmaster, night clerk in a small-town hotel, chicken-and-egg merchant, sorter of way bills in the Chicago freight yards, and finally Santa Claus at Montgomery Ward's. This "man who was more or less by himself" acquires several wives, mostly prostitutes, along the way, and a son to boot, although the son is not really his; but in the end he is left quite alone, reading a soiled old letter from his "son" to anyone who will listen.

In each incarnation Will Brady is seen in a kind of classic pose of that loneliness that is nowadays classified as alienation, groping blindly for a love that will not reveal itself to him. It is a pose that we recognize at once, not alone from our own experience, but from our lessons in Sherwood Anderson and, less obviously, in William Faulkner, in those pages where Faulkner rages at the fate of men corrupted and despoiled of their basic human attributes as they are sepa-

rated from nature and overwhelmed by an inhuman technology.

But Morris does not rage. Neither does he weep. His compassionate gaze is more like that of Charlie Chaplin, and Will Jennings Brady, seated amid the hotel lobby's potted palms, waiting for a miracle like so many of his fellow-citizens, is a close relative of the Charlie who summons up a sweet and sickly grin as he nerves himself to approach the blind flower girl.

Mr. Morris's technique, however—he is a distinguished photographer as well as a novelist—is just the reverse of that of Chaplin, who leads us from the general to the particular, as his symbolic

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and nameless types become identified to us through their universally recognizable behavior. Mr. Morris moves relentlessly from the particular to the general, naming everything that the eye can see, superficially in the manner of the naturalistic novelists but actually in the service of a wider frame of reference, of a brilliantly defined reality that gradually takes on the characteristics of a singular myth akin to Chaplin's. Will Brady's boy does not merely chew gum: "A wad of Black Jack chewing gum was being saved on the bridge of his nose," and the brand name has a significance beyond its use as label, reminding us specifically of a time when Black Jack had a peculiarly valued place in the small boy's vocabulary.

In Will Brady's final room, at 218 Menomonee Street in Chicago, on the other hand: "On the mantelpiece was a shaving mug with the word SWEET-HEART in silver, blue, chipped red, and gold. In the mug were three buttons, a rollerskate key, a needle with a burned point for opening pimples, an Omaha streetcar token, and a medal for buying Buster Brown shoes." Here the cataloguing leads us back through a lifetime of desolation and forward to Will Brady's final effort to find something more real than buttons, keys, and medals.

The individual tableaux through which Will Brady proceeds in a series of trance-like movements oddly similar to Charlie's jerky encounters with brutes, fat men, millionaires, beautiful girls, and so on, are masterfully executed as true comedy and as the products of an original vision of American life. But they are discrete scenes, without the flow of life from episode to episode that makes Chaplin's films such completely resolved works of art. It is as if we were given a series of separate stills and asked to make the essential connections.

This is a serious criticism to make of a writer who is demonstrating with each new book that he belongs in the small company of creative men who see the world through their own eyes as it has never quite been seen before. But it is one that cannot be avoided, and there is surely hope that Mr. Morris will be able to couple his unique vision with that quality of movement which enables the reader not only to find himself, as he does in Mr. Morris's novels, but to lose himself well. HARVEY SWADOS

An Educator's Philosophy

JOHN DEWEY: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC LIFE. By Jerome Nathanson. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

NOW that John Dewey's satisfying and enormously rich life has closed, there will be a plethora of articles about him in an attempt to assess his impact, the imprint he left on so many fundamental aspects of our culture.

Jerome Nathanson's book should take its place, among the handful of works about Dewey, as a summing-up, a final accounting. Written with Dewey's approval and encouragement, it treats in succinct fashion the major problems the philosopher and educator posed himself through a long and unfailingly productive life. Not only is Nathanson's book the latest to appear about his subject, it is the most direct, the least abstruse. And its limitations are caused by the conscious exclusion of topics which lead away from a discussion of Dewey as a political and social thinker.

As the title implies, Nathanson conceives Dewey's greatest role, among the many he played with admirable effect, as a proponent of functioning industrial democracy, as opposed to that society in which business control of the political machine spells, sooner or later, the decline of the very democracy which untrammelled business "freedom" lauds while seeking to abuse it.

Dewey's early training is sketched in: his first contacts with the thought and theories of William James, his encouragement to make a profession of philosophy by W. T. Harris (eventually United States Commissioner of Education), his early acceptance of Hegel and eventual rejection of much that is endemic to Hegelian thought, the emergence of his own pragmatic philosophy in which he drew sustenance from such native thinkers as Peirce, Emerson, and James.

Among the main contributions of Dewey's thought, which will affect literally millions of people who may never know his name, is surely his concept that education has as its aim to create on the broadest possible scale "man thinking," to encourage the individual not to ape in his thinking the attitudes and prejudices of a civilization other

than his own, but to strive for a fusion of the critical and speculative faculties with the practical, common-sense qualities by which the individual copes with the problem of his own survival. Along these lines, Dewey, in his work as head of the Department of Education at Columbia University, fostered the progressive-school movement which, though recently meeting with some blindly bitter and partially justified rebuke, has been the great liberating force in American education. The aim of Dewey's educative process was to help the individual to learn by doing, to respect the day's work (or study or play), rather than to regard the entire educational span as a preparatory period, a waiting for the future when all the miscellaneous "learning" would be put to work.

He has been criticized on the grounds that his empirical method limits the educational horizon to those strictly practical fields in which, at each age level, the student can function with competence by himself, and does not include enough challenge, enough encouragement for the unusual or gifted. The answer Dewey gave to concerted attacks against his work by leading educators in 1944—that the system whereby those who could were to study "higher subjects" while the mass, by implication of inferior stripe, were to be relegated to the study of practical subjects—was that "liberal education for a small elite group and vocational education for the masses [was] completely reactionary and . . . fatal to the whole democratic outlook."

Aside from Dewey's educational reforms which took concrete shape in the New York school system from 1941 on, his political thinking embraced the fundamental issues of our day and his point of view—consistently progressive, anti-totalitarian and liberal—found expression in his work for a third party. He believed, as Nathanson tells us, that "the answer to our central dilemma, both economically and democratically, lies in responsible participation in cooperative enterprise." This is interventionist thinking at its best: don't leave the political machine in the hands of a few maneuverers who will see to it that the ball falls in their chosen slot. In line with this, Dewey voiced the axiomatic slogan, "Vote for the man and not the machine."

His political thinking is traced and related to his philosophy and educational system, in this short book, so that one even moderately familiar with Dewey finds links which complete the picture. For those who know his name and little of his work beyond the titles of his best known books, Nathanson can be an invaluable, modest guide.

The book is completed by a chronology of major events in Dewey's life and by a short bibliography of works about Dewey to which the present must be added as the most unassuming and generally useful yet on record.

FRANCES KEENE

Verse Chronicle

THE jacket says that "The Suburb by the Sea" by Robert Hillyer (Knopf, \$3) is "very different from the sustained magnificence of Mr. Hillyer's preceding volume, 'The Death of Captain Nemo.' "Sustained magnificence" is not exactly the way I recollect it, but "very different" is dead right. And a good thing too. How pleasant it would be if we could remember Mr. Hillyer for only such work as this, free from anxiety, free from rancor, easy, good-natured, skilful, almost courtly, alive to and with the good things of life! Among other excellencies, Mr. Hillyer is to be commended for his knack with the five-beat couplet form, whose return it is cheering to find.

Also pleasant, in somewhat the same genre, more ambitious some ways, less adroit in others, are the poems in "The Enchanted Grindstone" by Henry Morton Robinson (Simon & Schuster, \$2.50). It is, if not surprising, encouraging, to have this great rich house publishing verse; and now may we look forward to the time when Essandess will issue books of equal merit whose authors have not achieved best-selling novels? That will be the day.

In humbler vein, "Waters Over Linn Creek Town" by Ralph Alan McCause (Bookman Associates, \$2.50) is folksy verse, unpretentious in craftsmanship, simple, and good, in the emotion that prompts and pervades it. The narrative tells what happens to people when progress happens to them, in this particular case, who the people were and

what became of them when a power company saw fit to build a big dam in a county of the Ozarks. There is little crying about it, though there is some sadness; this is what happened.

Both Peter Viereck and Dylan Thomas say they think "Impatient Lover" by Lillian Rockwell (Dial, \$2.50) is very interesting. I do too, and I guess my favorite line is that one that exclaims "O quiver of duck-wings in my gelatinous pond!" That the author can sustain such heights is hardly to be expected, but she gives it a mighty good try. "Foamed with spray of floating breasts / (alike, confetti-spun!) / He sought his oneness with them all, / With all the breasts." Wow.

Shame on my ignorance! Until The Muses' Library sent his complete works, edited by Dorothy Broughton (\$3), I had never heard of William Diaper, or at least had paid no attention to Swift's five references to him in the Journal of Stella. Those readers of *The Nation* who are better informed about his poems Brent, The Sea Eclogues, and Dryades, or The Nymph's Prophecy, as well as his translations and imitations, will find this, like most of the volumes in this series, a handy, interesting, and scholarly item.

Some books about poetry and poets might be mentioned this time. "The Background of Modern Poetry" by J.

Isaacs (Dutton, \$2.50) expands on remarks previously addressed, through the BBC's Third Program, to an audience capable of having its prejudices removed and its misconceptions corrected. Professor Isaacs is not overly sympathetic with those who profess and call themselves moderns; not exactly light, his study is fairly quick reading. Much more thoroughgoing is the study by an American professor, Harold Watts of Purdue, "Ezra Pound and the Cantos" (Regnery, \$2.75). This firm appears to be seriously interested in bringing out worthwhile books of criticism. Putting the best possible face (though in an annoyingly parenthetical style) on the integrity and integration of the Cantos, Professor Watts, in his final chapter of reckoning, concedes that they are probably not quite all the author cracked them up to be. Hardly a week goes by, now, without something about Rilke rolling off the presses; this time it is "Rainer Maria Rilke: His Life and Work" by a Dutch scholar, F. W. Van Heerikhuizen (Philosophical Library, \$6). Interesting in its early chapters, the book thereafter is most pedestrian; too many long quotations from Rilke's more solemn-choly letters. M. Van Heerikhuizen is at times, justifiably, a little impatient with Rilke's insistence on dedication, and, less justifiably, it seems to me, inclined to overvalue some of the earlier poems.

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"The Metaphysical Passion" by Sona Raiziss (University of Pennsylvania Press, \$5) purports to be a study of seven modern poets—Eliot, Tate, Warren, Ransom, MacLeish, Wylie, Crane—and the seventeenth-century tradition. Miss Raiziss's prose style is all but unreadable; nevertheless, her book must have taken an awful lot of work.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

HAYDN'S Quartets Opus 77, two of the finest of the series, which were recently issued by the Haydn Society as played by the Schneider Quartet, are now issued by EMS as played by the Heifetz Quartet. This is a group of highly competent and experienced ensemble musicians (I do not, as a statement on the envelope might lead one to think, consider them "the finest chamber music artists available today"); and their performances are good. The Schneider performances, however, bring out and point up more of the rich detail of the progressions, and are better-paced. The recorded sound of the Heifetz performances, like that of the Schneider, requires reduction of treble, to minimum in No. 1. Unlike the Schneider performances they are on two sides of one record.

Elman's playing in Mozart's Violin Sonata K.454, on an RCA Victor record, is simple but stolid and a little shrill-toned; Rose's piano-playing is wooden. Menuhin's playing in the engaging Schubert Duo Opus 162, on another Victor record, is more straightforward than in the past, and his tone more compact though still coarse; Baller's piano-playing is very good. Beethoven's Sonatas Opus 12 No. 3 and Opus 23, which I find uninteresting, are well played by Francescatti and Casadesus on a Columbia record; the violin sound is a little sharp.

Weber's Grand Duo Concertante Opus 48 for clarinet and piano, issued by WCFM, has his characteristic grace and charm; the Variations Opus 33 are mostly less interesting. The performances by Sidney Forrest and Leonid Hambro are excellent; bass needs to be stepped up.

Rehearing Schubert's Impromptus after a long interval I have been newly impressed by what fine pieces of music most of them are. But Firkusny's playing on the Columbia record has again impressed me with its lack of cohesive tension and consequently of sharpness of outline and organic coherence and power. Bass needs stepping up.

Haydn's Symphony No. 103 ("Drum Roll"), one of the best of the London group, is played well by Münch with the Boston Symphony (but an uncus-

tomary and, I believe, questionable treatment of an appoggiatura note strikes the ear several times in the first movement). On the same Victor record is Beethoven's First Symphony, also well played. The sound isn't always clean.

The Dittersdorf Symphony in A minor on a Lyricord record I find uninteresting; the performance by Erich Kloss with the Frankenland State Symphony is good.

The Suite from Rimsky-Korsakov's "Le Coq d'or" played by Golovanov with the State Radio Orchestra of the U. S. S. R. on a Vanguard record is described as "uncut"; but I can discover nothing in it that isn't on the recent Capitol record of Desormière's performance. What the Vanguard record does offer is innovations in tempo and accentuation which make me prefer the Capitol performance even though it is reproduced with less than the remarkable clarity and distinctness of the Vanguard. Golovanov also conducts a noisy-sounding performance of Musorg-sky's "Night on Bald Mountain."

Vanguard has issued the first recorded performance of Bloch's "Israel" Symphony. The work is characteristic in idiom and in its whipping up of climaxes that subside into brooding quiet; but its substance and development don't add up, for me, to one of the more impressive Bloch achievements. The performance by Litschauer with

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the Vienna State Opera Orchestra and soloists of the Akademiechor (including a superb contralto) is excellent.

Several songs by Haydn, ranging from pleasant to the fine "She Never Told Her Love," are sung well on a WCFM record by Tii Niemela, soprano, with pallid accompaniments by Pentti Koskimies. In some songs of Schubert one is occasionally aware of the voice's insufficient sensuous beauty. Texts are provided.

On a Victor record Erna Berger employs her cool, clear soprano voice in a few charming songs by Mozart and Schubert's "Haidenröslein," with delicate accompaniments by George Schick. Texts are provided.

Beethoven's "An die ferne Geliebte" is sung very beautifully by Mack Harrell, baritone, with discreet accompaniments by Coenraad Bos, on two Victor 45's. Only English translations this time.

And all of Chopin's songs—early pieces, some of them engagingly melodious, and with no resemblance that I can hear to the works of his maturity for piano—are sung beautifully by Maria Kurenko in Polish, with good accompaniments by Robert Hufstader, on a Lyrichord record. English summaries.

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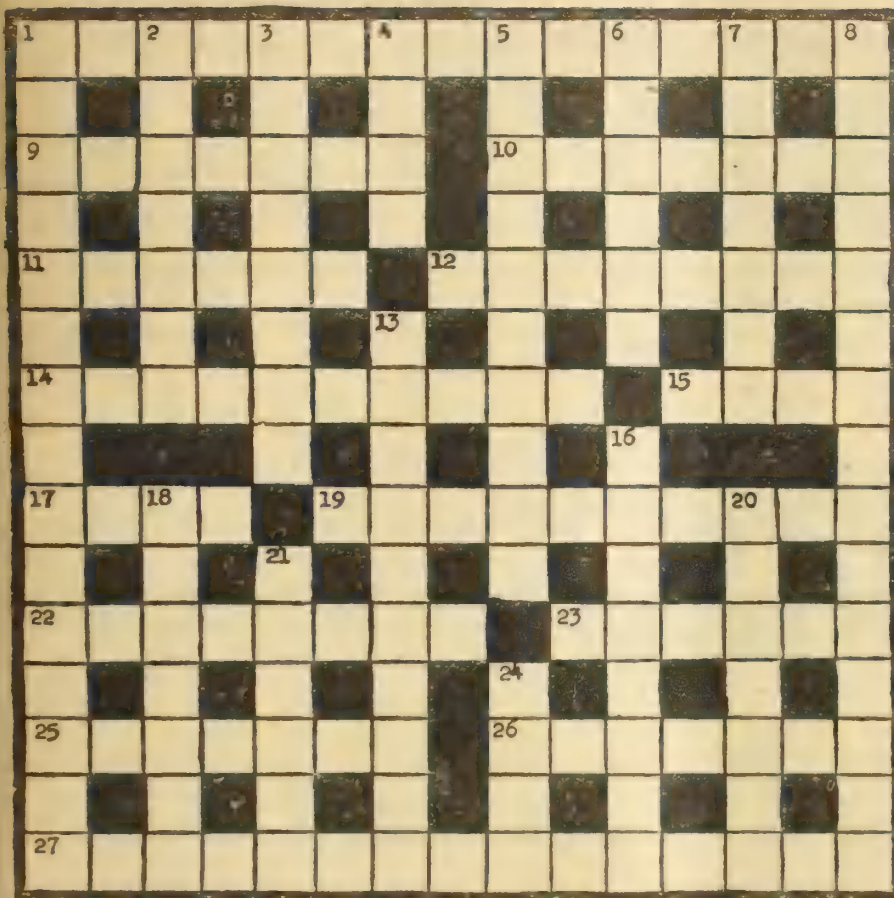


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The NATION

Crossword Puzzle No. 469

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 It might be that it's too hot! (6, 9)
- 9 Demanded, very precisely? (7)
- 10 Photo-finish? (Most agree this band shouldn't be too loud.) (7)
- 11 Just the bean to fool a marshal! (6)
- 12 What some people go through to get a ticket! (3, 5)
- 14 The point of reference to a sluggard is filled with it! (6, 4)
- 15 Is the boudoir a queer place to look for land? (4)
- 17 The vehicle of the uninspired writer? (4)
- 19 Blast them! A phony fight! (4, 6)
- 22 Is a G. I. driven to reasoning? (8)
- 23 Stone the Northern army used to snare Johnny Reb? (6)
- 25 All is not well between the head of the army and a tropical climber. (7)
- 26 Clause that introduces a condition. (7)
- 27 The Mormons made it stand last year. (6, 3, 6)

DOWN

- 1 How to raise the Dickens? (5, 2, 3, 5)
- 2 I and my girl wander objectively, but without aspiration. (7)

- 3 Characterized by love of beauty in its simpler form. (8)
- 4 The one of Hammurabi isn't top secret. (4)
- 5 Do they imply an eccentric bearing? (10)
- 6 The place for other than an express letter of efficiency. (6)
- 7 A number might be associated with Latin lives, if you're fond of college songs. (7)
- 8 Who? What? When? Why? Where? (Repeat three times!) (6, 9)
- 13 What the palmist requires is usually an asset! (4, 2, 4)
- 16 The curve of a Gaucho weapon made of rubber? (8)
- 18 "Kind hearts are more than _____s"—(Tennyson) (7)
- 20 If you recognize the strain, it's written in notes you can see. (7)
- 21 Lithe. (6)
- 24 Fat, but active? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 468

ACROSS:—1 RAIN-IN-THE-FACE; 10 IN-HUMAN; 11 CANASTA; 12 RESISTERS; 13 SHAYS; 14 FABIAN; 16 REFINISH; 19 UNSCONCE; 20 AGNAIL; 22 SLIGO 23 UN-SECURED; 25 REALIST; 26 TROTSKY; 27 NORTH CAROLINA.
DOWN:—2 ACHES; 3 NUMISMATOLOGIST; 4 NANTES; 5 HUCKSTEE; 6 FINISHING SCHOOL; 7 COSTA RICA; 8 AIR RIFLE; 9 BATS; 15 BASTINADO; 17 HOLIDAYS; 21 ISHTAR; 22 SURE; 24 ROSIN.

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The current issue of Exposé turns the spotlight on the American Medical Association. It also contains an exciting column by Dr. Leon Birkhead of Friends of Democracy. And one by Sidney Margolius, former shopping editor of the newspaper P.M.

The last issue exposes the spy network of the Anti-Defamation League. It also contains The Chiropractic Story; Jim Peck's report on stockholders' meetings; and the inside story of immorality in South America told by a priest who has left the church.

The issue before that contains George Seldes' exciting report on his interviews with Tito. The Boston Catholic Heresy case is explored in detail. The Herald Tribune is exposed for its whitewash of the du Ponts.

Robert Scott's petition for the right of a Free-thinker to radio time is reported in detail.

Other issues have exposed the March of Dimes, Walter Winchell, George Sokolsky, Allen Zoll's plot against the schools, the Anna Rosenberg smear, etc.

...there have been articles by noted attorney Arthur Garfield Hays; by Billy Rose; by Associate Editor of The Catholic Worker, Robert Ludlow; by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

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THE *Nation*

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Big Steel and the Little Man

BY MARY HEATON VORSE

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Who's Your Wife?

Jeffersonville, Indiana

A NEW extension of the "guilt-by-association" technique was developed in a loyalty-security case at an army installation near Louisville. A draftsman at the Jeffersonville, Indiana, Quartermaster Depot was dismissed because of his association with his wife.

The army's charges were not put so baldly, of course, but in the web of hearsay presented as evidence that remained the chief indisputable fact.

In notifying the employee, Frank Grzelak, 60, of his dismissal, the screening board which had conducted a hearing into his case in March assured him there was no question of his loyalty to the United States. But because of the activities of his wife, Josephine, 51, a member of the Progressive Party, the board felt that Grzelak constituted a security risk. So was ended his seventeen years as a federal employee.

The board seemed principally disturbed by Mrs. Grzelak's support of various Left-wing peace movements. These included helping to organize the Louisville Committee of the American Peace Crusade, seeking signatures to the Stockholm Peace Petition, and serving as a delegate to the Peace Pilgrimage in Washington, D. C., in 1951. The board was also disturbed by Mrs. Grzelak's taste in reading. It disapproved of her recommendations of "Betrayal," by (Albert D. Kahn, and various other less-known books such as "The Bible Unmasked," "Bases and Empire," and "Is Peace a Crime?"

These facts led the board to believe that Mrs. Grzelak "evidenced a sympathy with communism." No accusation was made that Grzelak himself participated in any of the activities attributed to his wife except that he once attended with her a public meeting of the Louisville Committee of the American Peace Crusade at the Louisville Y. W. C. A.; a somewhat nebulous charge that he had recommended to a fellow employee some of the books the board found so distressing was categorically denied by the defendant.

The hearing itself was described by Grzelak's attorneys, Robert Zollinger and Grover G. Sales, as "a kangaroo hearing based on kangaroo charges." Of

the various charges leveled against his wife, none was aired at the hearing except those involving the books and the peace petitions. Government witnesses were briefed immediately before their appearance by an "advisory" attorney who sat with the three-member hearing board. Rules of evidence were set aside and defense objections to leading questions were ignored. Grzelak was queried, for instance, on his attitude toward municipal ownership of public utilities. Only one of the defense attorneys was allowed to participate actively in the hearing.

Six witnesses had been subpoenaed by the defense. Not one of the six appeared. Grzelak's attorneys reported those subpoenaed seemed to be in the grip of "an undercurrent of fear." One of those who did not show up admitted privately to a newspaper reporter that some time before the hearing he had been informed by an FBI agent that there was "more to the case than appeared in the charges." In questioning Grzelak, the board pointedly asked why none of his witnesses had appeared.

Government witnesses, for their part, showed an appalling lack of information on the world about them. One admitted she did not know the difference between the American Peace Crusade and the Crusade for Freedom. She did know the former was subversive, however, because it was so tagged by the Business and Professional Women's Association of which she is a member. The same woman testified that she knew the book "The Bible Unmasked" was communistic because the American Legion had so informed her husband. Another witness described a book given to him by Mrs. Grzelak as communistic because it "looked" that way as he glanced through it.

Another witness added a new definition of subversive. "It is," he declared, "anything contrary to the general belief." Under cross-questioning he amended this to the extent of excepting Mohammedanism. On such testimony Frank Grzelak was discharged.

The board's decision was received April 17. A few days later Grzelak's attorneys filed for an appeal hearing. The hearing was quickly set for June 6 at the Pentagon—and two additional charges were leveled against the hapless

Grzelak. He was accused of having attended with his wife two Progressive Party meetings in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1951 at which "persons identified as Communists or Communist sympathizers" took part, and it was charged that a New Year's Eve party held by the Grzelaks on the last day of 1951 was attended by persons "reported" to be Communists or sympathizers. Grzelak's attorneys immediately asked for the identity of the alleged Communists and information on the manner in which they were identified. The government board remained mum.

Neither was any explanation offered for the fact that these "new" charges had not been aired at the first hearing, which was held some months after the offenses were said to have taken place. Had the FBI just come into the possession of the "new" facts or had they been held back deliberately for use in the event of an appeal?

Both the *Courier-Journal* and the *Times*, Louisville's two daily papers, took a strong editorial stand against the dismissal of Grzelak. The *Times* declared: "We hate to think that a man's right to work—as distinguished from his right to a given job—must hinge on his or his wife's political beliefs." It found the discharge "deeply disturbing."

One result of the case has been the formation by Sales, who is Kentucky counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, of the Greater Louisville Committee to Defend Civil Liberties. Its members include trade unionists, ministers, and radio and television personalities. Its first task will be to secure justice for Frank Grzelak. Of the hearing, Sales said. "For the first time in my forty years experience as a lawyer I was terribly frightened, frightened of what might happen to any citizen if the government chooses to attack him."

Already public contributions have been received by the committee in its fight in behalf of Grzelak. Sales has announced his intention of taking the case directly to President Truman if the appeals board refuses to reinstate Grzelak in some capacity.

GEORGE H. YATER

[George H. Yater is in charge of the Louisville Times Bureau in Jeffersonville, Indiana.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 174

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NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

The Real Republican Riddle

With the pre-convention campaign nearly over, the battle for the Republican nomination remains essentially unchanged. Discounting excessive claims by both camps, Taft and Eisenhower should enter the convention with approximately the same number of delegates (assuming that Warren and Stassen delegates will eventually swing to Eisenhower). The decisive votes, therefore, are to be found in the Maryland, Michigan, and Pennsylvania contingents, and also, of course, in the outcome of the contests over certain Southern delegations.

One or two recent developments, however, merit attention. General Eisenhower has noticeably failed to arouse any frenzied popular response to his candidacy. The public's attitude might be described as "friendly but cool." Attendance at meetings and receptions has, in nearly every case, failed to measure up to hopeful forecasts. A coast-to-coast survey conducted by the *Wall Street Journal* indicates that while "Mr." Eisenhower has not hurt himself much with his speeches, he hasn't helped himself either. Here and there a delegate may have switched but there has been no major trend toward Eisenhower. Of definite interest and some possible significance is a recent Chicago *Tribune* editorial complaining bitterly that the "big money of Wall Street" is on Eisenhower, and appealing to the people with "the little dollars"—the salary and wage earners—to ante up for Taft.

More and more it is becoming clear that the struggle between the Senator and the General is not a popularity contest but a struggle for power between two major groupings within the Republican Party which have sharply divergent interests on certain key issues. The real question about the Republican convention, therefore, is this: Where does the center of power nowadays rest in the Republican Party?

Steel Strike

Before negotiations between the steel companies and the union collapsed, the two sides appeared to be fairly near an agreement on wages (see Big Steel and the Little Man in this issue). However, according to Philip Murray, a number of other important questions remained unresolved, such as seniority rights and incentive pay,

as well as the issue of the union shop. Management has attempted to give the impression that fundamental disagreement on this last item was the real cause of the breakdown and has declared that it will never be a party to enforced enrolment of employees in the union. What the steel companies have failed to explain, however, is why they must "on principle" deny to the steelworkers something that they long ago conceded through their subsidiaries to the United Mine Workers.

Thus the strike continues while President and Congress wrangle about how to end it. Congress lost no time in refusing Mr. Truman's request for a special seizure law, not for the right reason—the fact that such *ad hoc* legislation would set a dangerous precedent—but because it wanted to force the President to resort to a Taft-Hartley injunction. So far Mr. Truman has hesitated to take this step: obviously, if he does eventually order the Attorney General to seek an injunction, he wants it to be clear that responsibility lies with Congress.

Of course, use of Taft-Hartley would not necessarily put the steel-mills back into production, for the courts might reasonably take the view that the union had already met the provisions of the law by postponing the strike for 93 days. And if, nevertheless, another waiting period of eighty days were imposed, the strikers, feeling the scales of justice weighted against them, would return to work in a mood of bitterness that would bode ill for any final settlement. To us, continuance of the strike seems preferable, particularly since the workers have promised to produce enough steel to meet urgent military needs.

He Should Know

In a farewell talk to the United Nations Correspondents Association, Porter McKeever, who resigned on June 1 after six years as press officer of the United States Delegation, delivered several hearty blows right and left—blows he had evidently been saving up for some time. If his words provided considerable comfort to those who think the United Nations should be used more energetically to combat the Russians, they were equally critical of the American attitude toward the international organization. He cited several of the many occasions on which the United States had deliberately bypassed the U. N. in carrying out its policies abroad and deplored in particular the anti-United Nations move-

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ment now gaining ground in this country at a dangerous pace. He specifically mentioned a "false and scurrilous attack" on UNESCO educational materials, printed in the *Congressional Record* and airmailed all over the United States.

This movement has culminated in the so-called "Bricker resolution"—sponsored, however, by fifty-nine members—proposing a constitutional amendment which, in Mr. McKeever's words, would make "our continued participation in the United Nations, and virtually every other international organization, a practical impossibility." It was no apologist for Russia but an American official with years of experience and work behind him who concluded bluntly: "The United Nations is no longer a dominant element in the conduct of American foreign policy." To those of our readers who sometimes find us unduly critical of that policy, we commend his words.

Canadian Socialism Gains

Two provincial elections in Canada last week produced encouraging results for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. In Saskatchewan, where it has been in power ever since 1944, it gained a sweeping victory, taking 42 out of the 53 seats in the legislature. Final results in British Columbia will not be known until July 3, owing to the operation there of an alternative-vote system. But on the first count the C. C. F., which had only eight members in the last legislature, was ahead in 21 constituencies.

The Liberals, Canada's dominant party, suffered a serious setback in both provinces. In British Columbia, where they had held a majority, they were leading in only nine constituencies at this writing, and in Saskatchewan they suffered a net loss of eight members. The Social Credit Party, which has been trying to spread its influence from its Alberta stronghold, appears to have made important gains in British Columbia. By contrast, in Saskatchewan its total vote was halved compared to 1948 and all its 24 candidates were defeated.

Friction within the Liberal Party together with dissatisfaction with the federal government's farm policies, contributed to the C. C. F.'s Saskatchewan victory. But the main reason for its gains is undoubtedly its record of achievement in the past eight years. It has been a true people's government bringing real benefits to farmers and workers. It has, for example, instituted a health program providing free hospitalization in return for a family contribution of \$30 a year and set up a government insurance office that has reduced the cost of fire and automobile insurance. It has also launched ambitious plans for the development of resources. In short, within the rather narrow limits permitted by the provincial constitution, it has followed a socialist policy. Evidently the voters approve.

Veto the McCarran Bill

The McCarran (anti-) immigration bill, which seeks to substitute a padlock for the Statue of Liberty, is now in the hands of the President for his signature. In a brilliant analysis of the pernicious measure, Felix Cohen, former solicitor for the Department of the Interior, urges a Presidential veto on the grounds that the bill: (1) puts the foreign-born among us under increased jeopardy of deportation, with or without hearings, for acts reaching decades back which may even have been perfectly lawful and proper when they occurred; (2) puts American citizens abroad in jeopardy of loss of citizenship and exclusion from the United States without notice or hearings; (3) gives large new powers to various government officials by making their "opinion" a basis for exclusion or deportation; (4) lays down statutory discrimination against colonial peoples as well as all other people whose family tree includes 50 per cent of "Asia-Pacific ancestors"; (5) surrenders American sovereignty by delegating to foreign governments the power to decide which of their citizens or former citizens the United States may admit; (6) provides for the deportation of political and religious refugees for a wide variety of reasons; (7) stultifies America's moral leadership by reaffirming in 1952 illiberal racial judgments and isolationist attitudes which were written into our statutes three decades ago.

To this plethora of cogent reasons for a veto, we can add nearly 50,000,000 more. That many in the United States are either foreign born, have at least one foreign-born parent, or are colored. The McCarran bill strikes, either directly or through their parents, at the normal American rights of one-third of our people.

Korean Kaleidoscope

WE ENTERED Korea with the announced objectives of returning that unhappy land to unity and to democracy. If our enemy Mao effectively blocked us from achieving the first, our friend Rhee has been no less valiant in preventing us from achieving the second. In this regard, there is much in the Korean picture that smacks of high comedy in the classic sense. But the world is in no mood to laugh, not even at the spectacle of Uncle Sam being bitten in the ankle by a wayward nephew. There is too much at stake for all of us.

Aside from the Rhee affair, there are two chief trouble spots in Korea: the truce talks at Panmunjom, and the "second front" on Kojé.

Kojé Front. News dispatches out of Korea have been misleading on a basic issue. For the most part, they have implied that "kangaroo" courts, prisoner riots, mass defiance, and executions of dissident prisoners by those in control, are the devilish inventions of the Com-

munists. As thousands of our own veterans of World War II can testify, nothing is farther from the truth. We had similar trouble with our German and Japanese prisoners all through the war, and Allied prisoners in Nazi hands behaved the same way when sufficiently aroused. The vengeance wreaked by the *Maquis* upon collaborators—whether within or outside the prisoners' enclosures—is an obvious case in point. And even in the Kojé compounds, as the *New York Times's* George Barrett pointed out in an especially interesting story last Sunday, "the system of kangaroo control . . . was by no means a special franchise for Communist fanatics; bitter anti-Communists . . . took no lessons in cruelty from the Red 'czars.' "

THE bodies of seventeen garroted anti-Communists found in a Kojé compound reaffirmed an obvious truth: human beings, when moved by fanatic adherence to a cause, are capable of great cruelty. Our weakness in Kojé, as almost everywhere else in both the hot and the cold war, is that we have never brought ourselves to accept the possibility that the people in Communist countries may believe in Communism. We blandly assume that no one in his right mind would wear a Communist uniform unless there were a Communist pistol at his back, and that all we had to do to turn him into an anti-Communist is to take away the pistol and give him \$54 worth of G.I. uniform and a can of C ration. Clearly we have been looking in the wrong places for genuine Communists; there are more of them in Communist countries, and far fewer of them here at home than we think.

In any case, in view of our repeated official statements that the Kojé compounds were ruled by Communist cliques, and that none of our people dared enter them for months at a time, the question remains. How did we manage to screen the Kojé prisoners? And how did we arrive at our big anti-Communist majority if the rank-and-file of prisoners were really under the thumbs of the Communists?

The Panmunjom Front. During the prolonged debate on the question of voluntary vs. forced repatriation of prisoners, we have been wearing a mantle of nobility which, in our hurry to buy, we grabbed from the over-size rack. We have been asserting, for instance, that it would be inhuman to return to the Communists some 100,000 prisoners whom we claim to be anti-Communists. But the sincerity of our concern for them must be judged in the light of the passage last week of the McCarran act, which—unless vetoed by President Truman—will effectively see to it that wherever these poor prisoners go once they are freed, it won't be to this country.

It can properly be argued, of course, that where national security is at stake, it is silly to talk of humanitarianism. But that argument is equally valid for the

Communists. As long ago as January 17, the Peking radio charged that the United Nations was planning to permit its anti-Communist prisoners to join the Nationalist forces on Formosa. Concerning this charge Admiral Libby of our truce negotiating staff had this to say: "Just as Korean soldiers have the right to choose which part of Korea he wants to go, so the Chinese volunteers have the right to choose whether they want to be repatriated to the Republic of China [the Formosa government] or to the China People's Republic [Communist China]." Can anyone deny that it is a threat to Communist China's national security to permit the transfer of Chinese soldiers to the Nationalists in Formosa?

BUT to say we have overstated our case on the war prisoners' issue is not to say that we have no case at all. There never was any reason for us to return to areas north of the 38th Parallel prisoners whose origins are south of that line. After some dilly-dallying, the Communists themselves accepted the principle; since last March, it has been clear to our negotiators that all South Koreans could be resettled in South Korea. In addition there are some thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of prisoners in our hands who were not technically "captured," but who deserted as a result of our propaganda, including our promise to protect them. It is difficult to see how we can evade the responsibility for their continued safety. And there is a final category of prisoners to whom we owe a moral obligation: individuals who, according to available specific and concrete evidence, have been of service to our side and have thereby incurred the enmity of the Communists. The rest, it would appear, should be repatriated. This is in accordance with the Geneva convention; it is in accordance with the traditions of war; and it is in accordance, one can be certain, with the wishes of the 12,000 United Nations prisoners, now in the hands of the Communists, who would like to go home.

In our Korean policy we have failed properly to appraise the psychology not only of the Communists, but of our allies as well. The growing unrest of our European partners over Korean developments, particularly the British, is the result. We are not doing ourselves a service in insisting that General Mark Clark, and the Pentagon, shall be the sole arbiters of destiny in the Orient. Let us share the next mistake—if there is to be one!

As this is written, British Defense Minister Earl Alexander is visiting in Korea. He should be told that a British representative would be welcome to sit with the Americans under the truce tent at Panmunjom. And a representative of the French, who have their own troubles in the Orient, should be invited too. After all, the flag flying over the tent is that of the United Nations, not the United States.

Disarmament Interlude

By J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE atmosphere here grew no brighter after General Clark's statements threatening to bomb Red China if the Communists should start a major offensive in Korea. Together with the general dismay over the grim events on Kojé Island, Syngman Rhee's arrogant behavior, and the truce deadlock, it increased the feeling that we are entering a new period of the gravest war tension. All of this was inevitably reflected in the Disarmament Commission where Jacob A. Malik, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, turned down the new Western plan for putting ceilings on armed forces, denouncing it as "false and hypocritical." But this stalemate should not be taken as a sign that negotiations are useless or are likely to grind to a halt. The disarmament talks provide a continuing arena of discussion and it is rare that the Russians leave a conference table of their own accord.

Moreover, in the last few days there have been several important off-the-record attempts—by men who are unwilling to remain passive while tension rises to a dangerous pitch—in the direction both of reassuring the Russians and of encouraging the British and French to express their desire for conciliation more firmly than they have done so far. Foreign Minister Uden of Sweden, in his typically quiet way, has been especially active behind the scenes, urging both sides to bring about a four-power conference on Germany before ratification of the Bonn and Paris treaties ends all chances of doing anything. This view has now been given official expression in the French request of June 11 for a Big Four meeting. Responding to these pressures and to the urgings of the British government—which is itself influenced by popular clamor and the strong stand taken by the Parliamentary Labor Party—Washington has agreed in principle to talks with the Russians.

But perhaps as effective as the demand for a conference is the growing threat of non-ratification. I know that the French have advised the Russians that ratification of the fateful treaties will take more time than we expected at the moment of signing; that it will at least be delayed until after the American elections. The purpose of this move is to counsel the Soviet leaders to avoid needless provocations. In addition, certain influential French officials are urging postponement of action until the general elections in Germany next year.

The Russians probably regard all this with skepticism. They must assume that if American pressure was able to force the signing of the treaties it will be equally effective in regard to ratification. But meanwhile they lose nothing by remaining in the conference rooms where discussion, no matter how negative, still goes on.

German Rearmament: Road to War

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

SEVEN years after his miserable death, Hitler is celebrating his greatest triumph: Germany is to be re-armed by the same Western World which he had vowed to destroy and which, despite the huge sacrifices demanded of it, had risen to strike down the monster. Seven years after the unconditional surrender, what the Führer had hoped for in vain until the last minute becomes a reality: the West allies itself with the Wehrmacht for a crusade against the East. And as in all tragedies of Shakespearean scope, here too the satiric subplot is present: for the second time, and this time with the aid of the Western democracies, the Hitlerian spirit becomes master of the German people, who wanted to have no further truck with barracks, guns, and war.

There is no use in looking back casting up the account, figuring out on whom the blame for this development falls. No doubt, whether wittingly or unwittingly, those in power in the Kremlin started the train of events by their policy of force, and took such a burden of guilt upon themselves that may God and the Russian people have mercy upon them. Not often in history has such a working capital of sympathy been squandered and turned into its opposite as Soviet Russian policy from May, 1945, to May, 1952, has succeeded in doing. But anyone who travels through Germany and Europe with his eyes and ears open knows too that the former enthusiasm for the United States has also dropped far below the freezing point and that there is as much enmity for America as there is hate for Russia. This is also true of countries in which there is almost no question of a Communist Party or a Communist movement. "Both are to blame," you hear in Bonn as in Paris, "the Americans are as guilty as the Russians"; and if the great majority of Frenchmen and Germans are today in agreement on one thing, it is in their grievance against the United States for having brought the Wehrmacht back into the world again. The millions of Marshall aid, the improvement of living standards, the preservation of democracy, the safeguarding of peace—in the eyes of the Western European peoples, and not least in those of the German Federal Republic—all that is undone by the contractual agree-



ment and the military pact with the Adenauer regime and the German generals.

The war on Bolshevism, Marshall aid for military purposes only, the European army—these were echoed in the words of a French deputy: "France sees herself forced into a policy which she rejects from her soul. What a parody that we are to extirpate the Russian evil by the German evil!" What do the Germans say? Here is a typical quotation from the nationalistic weekly, *Der Spiegel*, which in format and significance corresponds to *Time* magazine in the United States:

It is immoral to loosen a prisoner's chains on condition that he bear arms for his former master. . . . That this conglomeration of peoples [the European army] could not protect German territory from a Soviet invasion can be taken as demonstrated. That it could not prevent world war is agreed. So long as the French maintain a defensive alliance against Germany with the Soviets, the Kremlin's influence can make the German contingent amount to no more than a psychological sedative for the visionaries in Bonn and for the American taxpayer. . . . The consequence will be that the Soviet zone of Germany, which is under ruthless command, will raise more troops than the Federal Republic. The consequence will be that the Soviets will be able to use the resentment against the "German peril" in Czechoslovakia and Poland and raise more troops there too. Who is benefited by unwilling West German troops if they still do not alter the balance of power between East and West?

"Preservation of democracy"! The way in which these agreements were brought into existence and signed shamed democracy. The condition for the provisional peace treaty with Bonn is the rearming of West Germany and its military pact with the Western Powers. No people, no West German parliament, was consulted in the matter, because the regime knew that, in signing the two agreements, it acted contrary to the will of the great majority of the people, who want no more to do with rearmament than with the provisional peace treaty. For this treaty means that German unity now becomes impossible to attain by peaceful means. But since a people of sixty-eight million cannot in the long run be kept divided, its army, in the hands of eight thousand of Hitler's former officers, will present a danger not only to the East but also to its immediate directors in the West.

Twelve German divisions remain twelve German divisions, under whatever name and under whatever flag they march. Called into existence against the will of the

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's correspondent in West Germany.

people, and thus automatically against the people, and put into motion without democratic controls, this army will very soon lead a life of its own, independent of parliament and people, with its own policy and its own aims. No Dr. Adenauer and no American High Commander can alter that. Without effective control by any parliament of the six participating West European states, this German army—and presumably the entire European army likewise—will become a dictatorship of military technocrats, who will be joined by economic technocrats in accordance with the number and magnitude of the armament industries which the army will require. There will be a political dictatorship by the military hierarchy.

The cold war has not only its military aspect; economic, social, and psychological factors are at least as important. This European army, in the hands of the military technocrats, will always see the Communist problem only from the military point of view. It will neglect those other factors even more than they have been neglected hitherto, and so make things easier for the Communists and for Soviet Russia.

I will give an example to show how markedly the spirit of military bureaucracy already appears in the agreements signed at Paris and Bonn. In the West German Federal Republic, which Dr. Adenauer obligated by his signature, there are four and one-half million war cripples, war widows, and war orphans. On the meagerest of pensions, they live a life of starvation unworthy of human beings. Hence they are a perpetual focus of dissatisfaction and unrest. Yet in the defense treaties just concluded, only the pensions for the professional officers and noncommissioned officers of the erstwhile Hitler army and the Wehrmacht are recognized as legitimately deductible defense charges for the Federal Republic. What an encouragement to become a soldier for those who do not want to choose the army as a career!

In this same West German state, the Minister of Justice in the Adenauer Cabinet has been saying for months, in public speeches, that a third of the pensions of these four and a half million war victims has been diverted to other purposes, presumably military. Thus the regime is swindling the poorest of the poor in order to finance the building of the army. What psychological perspectives!

"What?" we hear. "No voice for people or parliament, a democracy which has already become a farce, no national unity, but the permanent division of Germany, the darkest social outlook? There's going to be trouble in the Federal Republic." There will be trouble even though the Germans are a patient people, trained by twelve years of the Hitler dictatorship and the subsequent occupation to even greater patience and obedience. Certainly something is stirring in Germany. Every new election announces a victory for Schumacher's opposition party. During recent weeks workers in hundreds of thou-



Tagebuch, Vienna

"These gentlemen seem familiar to me, Mr. Adenauer." "Oh, yes, General, you convicted them yourself a few years ago."

sands and in every city, have obeyed the strike and demonstration calls of the unions in protest against rearmament and the contractual agreement.

This agreement contains the riot clauses—the clauses for the protection of the occupying troops which gives them the right to take the preservation of peace and order into their own hands. And because the Germans are accustomed to obedience, there will soon be no more strikes, and the handful of German Communists will not succeed in kindling a greater fire. The American civilian officials of the High Commission, for the most part extraordinarily capable men, who have lived on good terms with the population, will now be replaced by officers who will take their orders from the American army authorities. The statute of occupation, which has obtained until now, terminates; the occupation and its special rights, codified in countless clauses, remains. Remains, too, a provision, over which there has been intense discussion and which today is more or less concealed in an annex, which stipulates: If tomorrow or the next day the two German zones come together again, if the unity of Germany is reestablished, the East zone shall enter into the same rights and duties as those which the Bonn regime has undertaken for West Germany. But it was precisely to prevent German rearmament that Soviet Russia began its exchange of notes with the Western Powers. How could Moscow return to its proposals for German unity when it is already signed and sealed that the East zone, freed from Russia's clutches, is to be armed by the West against its former occupier?

France is trembling before the rearming of Germany. The proposed twelve West German divisions—even if it stops at these twelve—will be the strongest military force in Western Europe, stronger than all the other Western European states together. In the East zone the Russians will likewise raise twelve German divisions. Considering that the greater part of the French army

is bleeding to death in Indo-China, any attempt to confront Russia with an equivalent force in Europe would automatically drive all the Western European states into an armaments race which could not but strain their economies to the breaking point and create social conflicts whose consequences could only benefit bolshevism. It is an iniquitous illusion to believe that American divisions could be withdrawn from a rearmed Germany and a remilitarized Western Europe. On the contrary, more and more American divisions will be needed vis-à-vis ■ Russia and its satellites who are determined not to lag behind in the armaments race.

And the Germans? Will East and West plunge into a civil war? Before they do that, the generals of the future West and East zone armies, subject to no sort of democratic control, will try to come to an agreement. At whose expense? At the expense of the Western Powers, for only Soviet Russia can reestablish German unity.

Russia can even, if need be, return to Germany the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line and open to the Germans the markets of the East, even unto China, for which the Germans hanker.

Nothing final has happened yet. The Bonn and Paris agreements are not yet ratified; Germany is not yet rearmed; the great adventure has not yet begun. However much justified hatred those in power in the Kremlin have brought upon themselves, however unfortunate and destructive their power policy has been, the West and its democratic politicians must also beat their breasts; they, too, have ■ great *mea culpa* to acknowledge. The division of Germany is the division of Europe. The rearming of Germany is the road to the great adventure: to chaos and war. German rearmament will make Hitler's generals the arbiters between East and West, masters of peace and war. In the consuming flames of a third world war Hitler will enjoy his revenge, even in hell.

Europe Votes for Eisenhower

BY MARK GAYN

Rome

THIS is June in Western Europe, a time of ripening grain, of anxiety and war maneuvers. In France, there are strikes, riots, and a debate on whether Jacques Duclos's two dead pigeons were the carrier or the stewing kind. West Germany is going through the painful Soviet reaction to the peace contract in Bonn. Here, in Italy, the echoes of last month's local elections are drowned out only by the frenzy which attends the annual eighteen-day bicycle race.

What with all these preoccupations, Europe seems to have little mind left for the coming Presidential elections in America. Later on, popular interest will pick up. But today, ask ten Italians what they think of Bob Taft, and nine will look puzzled. For most Europeans the Senator from Ohio is not even an identifiable name.

Yet, this is a misleading picture. American politics are an integral part of the European scene, and anything that affects the making of American foreign policy closely affects Western Europe. Thus, many observers here feel that no American election in history has meant so much for the destiny of Europe as will the next one. In fact, the "American November" has for months been one of the most powerful, if unsettling, elements in European politics. This has been true on all levels, from anti-U. S. soap-box oratory to intricate diplomatic moves.

MARK GAYN, author of the widely read "Japan Diary," has spent the last five years in Europe.

Not long ago, at a neo-Fascist meeting in a small town in South Italy, I heard an orator forecast that the next, "tough" occupant of the White House "will need our young men, the only young men in Europe able and willing to fight." Conversely, a speaker at a huge Communist meeting here in Rome explained that "Wall Street imperialists are electing Eisenhower to the Presidency so he can launch a new profitable world war."

On a higher plateau, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has been charged by his Social-Democratic critics with rushing through the various agreements with the West to provide "Ike" with a solid campaign issue. It has not been difficult to refute this charge. Yet, in a way, it has truly reflected the German government's preference for Eisenhower.

Similarly in France, the shadow of Taft, former President Herbert Hoover, and the entire isolationist camp has lain heavily on the making of foreign policy. *Le Monde* undoubtedly mirrored official thinking when it wrote recently: "One could say without any exaggeration that most of the concessions which the French leaders made during recent [West European rearmament] negotiations have had but one aim: to assure the success of Eisenhower's candidacy in the next elections—a candidacy which carries for us a guaranty of non-abandonment. And also an assurance against a preventive war."

Finally, here in Italy the "American November" is already ■ part of the nation's political fabric. It crops up

in the speeches of Communist dock bosses exhorting striking longshoremen; in Communist posters, neo-Fascist appeals, government promises. It is the subject of debate in political circles, disturbed every bit as much by the possible outcome of the American elections as they are by their own national elections next Spring. And when Eisenhower comes to Italy for a farewell call, the Left at once charges that he has come to bolster the unsteady fortunes of Premier Alcide De Gasperi. The widely-read, pro-Communist *Paese Sera* urges him not to listen to De Gasperi but to those voices in the United States which demand peace. "Then, should he win, he will one day be able to say proudly he had assured himself of the gratitude of the whole world."

Not unnaturally, Western Europe views the American election through a prism all its own. To most non-Communists here, it is not a contest between the Republicans and Democrats, or between isolationists and internationalists. To them the "American November" will decide only one thing: whether the "pro-Europeans" or the "anti-Europeans" will shape American policy. Since the candidates regarded as "pro-European" happen to belong to the relatively more progressive wing of their parties, one finds here the curious sight of, say, a Socialist and a ward heeler of Catholic Action cheering for the same Americans. Neither the Right nor the moderate Left is concerned about the candidate's domestic policy. The only touchstone is whether the man has shown sympathy for Europe and its problems.

By this test, Eisenhower is the outstanding favorite. The attitude is as uncritical as it often is in the United States. Even the "neutralists," who assail the American "military mind," are willing to forget that Ike is a general. And non-Communist trade-union men choose Ike even when they learn his attitude towards organized labor may not be excessively liberal.

What most Europeans seem to like about Eisenhower is that he has demonstrated his good-will for Europe, and that he is a calm and unbombastic man. General Douglas MacArthur gives Western Europe the shudders; Ike, by contrast, stands for political sanity. Newspapers call him "an honorary European." A leading daily here says Italy would be happy to see him win in November, for he has "a sincere friendship for Italy." ("If Eisenhower had remained in command here," it says rightly or wrongly, "the Italian campaign would have been much shorter and less destructive.") And in London, the *Times* joins the chorus with: "He will always be remembered as a great friend, under whom men of this country are proud to have served. . . . General Eisenhower is the best known and best loved American in Europe."

As for the Democrats, the only candidate who gets an

occasional pat on the back is Averell Harriman. He is, of course, known far less widely on this continent than Ike, but what is known appeals to the non-Communists. He, too, is an "honorary European," credited with understanding Europe's needs and having tried to meet them. Wishfully, some European observers see the "American November" as a contest between Eisenhower and Harriman. Whoever wins, Western Europe cannot lose. As for the Kefauvers, they seem to fascinate the editors of illustrated magazines more than the public. Unacquainted with the brighter features of American political life, the Europeans tend to regard Estes with his raccoon hat as a one-man three-ring circus.

THE election comes at a particularly sensitive season for Western Europe. There have been other such periods before, with war alarms and economic worries. But, somehow, there was usually the underlying conviction that war was not yet, and that the generous American uncle would help if the money ran out.

The feeling has not been unanimous. Here, the Communists call President Truman *il padrone d'Italia*, or the boss of Italy; in France, they call him "the butcher of Korean children." With a boost from the Communists, and often without it, the anti-American feeling has been steadily growing, and finding important political outlets. Yet, I am convinced that most Europeans to this day are not hostile to the United States, and President Truman is not universally disliked. The *London Times* probably reflects a widespread feeling when it says that Truman has risen "high above any assessment" that might have been made at the time of Roosevelt's death, and that he has pursued "enlightened and far-seeing policies for the economic revival" of the Western world.

Somehow, Western Europe has been adapting itself to the post-war climate of alarm and worry, and in this adjustment American aid has been an element of normality and stability. Today, the adjustment—psychological, political, and economic—is being threatened by the uncertainties of November. Truman is going; the economic aid, already curtailed, may be cut off; and what will happen here if some "anti-European" moves into the White House? Two things are uppermost in the mind of Western Europe—bread and peace. Increasingly, both seem to depend on what the American voters will do next November.

This has produced a curious duality in European thinking. Most Europeans fear war, and want to be left alone by the strategists of both Washington and Moscow. Yet, they equally fear being "abandoned" by the United States—without credits or raw materials or food. In other words, the Europeans want Uncle Sam to remain here as a provider of needed funds, but to be an ocean away when it comes to politics.



Morals on Your TV

BY FRANK ORME

ROBERT E. FELLOWS, president of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, speaking of Congressman Gathing's forthcoming probe into the moral standards of broadcasting programs, declared that "we have arrived at a point where freedoms of press and speech indeed are seriously threatened in a nation that has become the last great bulwark of those liberties of the people." He told Washington newsmen that any contemplated legislation resulting from the investigation "would appear to be censorship of the most obvious and deplorable sort."

Mr. Fellows's warning is probably valid; what is remarkable about it is that it should have come from him. For the N. A. R. T. B. itself, on March 1, installed a system of censorship over TV which goes far beyond anything any group of law-makers has so far dared to suggest. This was accomplished through the adherence of more than eighty of the 108 television stations in America to the association's television code.

The code is described by its proponents as a "voluntary system of self-regulation." Actually, it is an attempt by a trade association to control a public medium of mass communication. It presents the spectacle of top echelon broadcasters sitting in judgment over each other's morals, and over those of lesser broadcasters, in secret sessions which arbitrarily exclude the most interested party in the whole transaction—the public.

The document is ten pages in length, with two main divisions. The first division includes a preamble and a dozen or so sections which clearly state the television industry's responsibilities, but which only vaguely define the minimum acceptable standards for programs and advertising. The second part establishes regulations and procedures in definite terms.

As a guide or creed for individual broadcasters, the first part by itself might be acceptable to the industry and to the public, even though past experience with similar codes gives little encouragement that it would be effective. However, incorporation of "police" procedures into the regulations completely changes the character of the document. It is no longer a creed or guide; it is an instrument of censorship placed in the hands of a jury which any court in any democratic country would disqualify on the grounds of prejudice and self-interest.

FRANK ORME, editor of TV Magazine, took part in the meeting of the Western Regional Radio and Television Conference early this year at which the N. A. R. T. B. television code was launched.

Broadcasting Standards

Here is a condensation of the principal broadcasting standards established in the code of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters:

1. News reporting should be factual and without bias; commentary and political broadcasts should be identified as such; freedom of expression in broadcasts of a controversial nature should be maintained, but the right should be reserved to refuse them for non-compliance with laws such as those prohibiting defamation and sedition.

2. Religious programs should be presented respectfully and accurately and without prejudice or ridicule.

3. Children's programs should reflect respect for parents, law and order, clean living, high morals, fair play, and honorable behavior.

4. In crime and mystery programs, criminals should be punished, specifically or by implication. Programs should avoid detailed presentation of brutal killings and torture—as well as the disrespectful portrayal of law enforcement and characterization of officers of the law as stupid or ridiculous.

5. Advertising is the life blood of the free, competitive American system of broadcasting. . . . In accepting advertising the broadcaster should exercise great care that he is not conveying to his audience information which is misleading, dangerous to health or character, distasteful, or in violation of business and professional ethics.

The right of a station to display the code's so-called "Seal of Good Practice" is dependent on the thirteen-man television board of directors of the N. A. R. T. B. This group by a two-thirds vote can suspend or revoke a station's subscription to the code for a "continuing, wilful, or gross violation" of its provisions.

Administratively the code works this way: the supreme body is the N. A. R. T. B. television board, described by Justin Miller, board chairman of the association, as the code's "supreme court." This group is assisted by a five-man "police" or review board which acts solely in an advisory capacity. The code emphasizes that all proceedings will be conducted in secrecy.

Four of the thirteen members of the "supreme court" are executive employees of the four major TV networks; six others operate stations in various localities; all thirteen are members of the N. A. R. T. B. Each of the six station operators has from one to four contracts provid-

ing for the televising of programs furnished to them by the networks. By code edict, the five review board members are also N. A. R. T. B. members. They operate stations in Seattle, Kalamazoo, Milwaukee, Baltimore, and Atlanta—all one-station outlets except Baltimore (three) and Atlanta (two). The member living closest to the Hollywood program-production center is Mrs. Scott Bullitt in Seattle. Not one of the five lives within viewing distance of a major production center. Three of them can view regularly only programs televised by their own stations. The group serves without pay on a part-time basis. (This month, with a Congressional inquiry imminent, the N. A. R. T. B. board added a full-time administrator to the staff.) The five members have a total of seventeen commercial contracts with the four major networks.

The review board is required by the code: (1) to maintain a continuing review of all television programming (450,000 hours televised in 65 cities in 12 months at current schedules); (2) to receive, screen, and clear complaints on program content which come to the N. A. R. T. B.; (3) to define and interpret the code; (4) to develop and maintain appropriate liaison with governmental agencies and "accountable and responsible" institutions; (5) to inform, expeditiously and properly, all subscribers of the attitudes and desires of such organizations and institutions; (6) to review and monitor programs; (7) to reach conclusions and to make recommendations to the board of directors concerning amendments to the code. These five persons, the code declares, will do all these things; they will do them in their spare time; they will do them without pay. It is obviously impossible that they will be able to carry out more than a fraction of their responsibilities.



Herblock in the Washington Post

"Disgusting, Ain't It?"

Paradoxically, the code's chief virtue lies in its unenforceability. Thus we are saved from some of the results of stultifying controls over a new and occasionally promising medium of expression. On the other hand, we are subjected to the hypocrisy spawned by unenforced and unenforceable laws and regulations. From first-hand viewing I can state that in Los Angeles, at least, not one of the seven stations is free from code violations, and several present continuous and flagrant violations.

THE week of May 24-30, I personally supervised a study of crime programs televised by the Los Angeles stations. During this period the six monitors tabulated 852 major crimes, plus innumerable saloon brawls, assaults, sluggings, and other "minor" acts of violence. The record included 167 murders, 112 "justifiable" killings, and 356 attempted murders. There were many robberies, jailbreaks, false murder charges, murder conspiracies, dynamitings, attempted lynchings, and other felonies. There was one attempted rape in a crime Western for children. Seventy-eight per cent of the crime deluge was presented on programs for children; 85 per cent was televised before 9 P. M.

We had made a similar survey a year ago. Our latest statistics showed that during the past year, while the television code was being formulated and put into operation, the volume of crime programming in Los Angeles increased by approximately 15 per cent. The over-all impression gained from the majority of television programs for children is that life is cheap; death, suffering, and brutality are subjects of callous indifference; judges, lawyers, and law officers are dishonest, incompetent, and stupid. One station televised a feature-length horror film about vampire bats at 5 P. M. Another, at 5:30 each afternoon, presented a lottery-type "contest" for children. (This is explicitly forbidden in the code.) One announcer, introducing a serialized crime film which ran for five days, told his audience that there was a strong moral lesson, "Do unto others as you would be done by," in the film to be presented. The picture portrayed a quick-triggered criminal as a hero for the kids to emulate. After he had reformed he murdered four members of his own gang, then surrendered himself to the law—for stealing horses. He was in love.

Documented evidence indicates that the Los Angeles stations are televising literally hundreds of code violations each week. What are the code administrators going to do about this? What *can* they do?

As long as the economic structure of the television industry requires the presentation of five hundred or more hours of programming per week in one city, television and mediocrity are going to be partners in a common-law marriage; mass production of high-standard programming is a physical impossibility. No trade-association code is going to create respectability;

no suppressive legislation—governmental or otherwise—is going to raise artistic or moral levels.

Day by day our television stations are piling up a record of the failure of the N. A. R. T. B. code. They are also misleading—or attempting to mislead—the American public. It is time for the broadcasters to admit

the shortcomings of their operations, to drop the subterfuge of the code, and to come up with a fair and open effort, individually and collectively, to improve the situation as far as possible. After all, television is not a complete disgrace. Despite its faults, it is making many vital contributions to our society.

Big Steel and the Little Man

BY MARY HEATON VORSE

LAST FALL the rank and file of the steelworkers looked upon their union negotiations with management as routine. They had had no wage boost since 1950, while the Wage Stabilization Board had approved higher wages for shipworkers, packers, and a number of other industries. But what started out as an ordinary overhauling of a contract between union and management grew quickly into a *cause célèbre*; the whole country was caught up in a dispute of unprecedented intensity. The emotional context was the Korean conflict and the shutting down of an industry vital to this country's defense.

The dispute involved the President, both houses of Congress, the Pentagon, the Chiefs of Staff and their spokesman, Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett, and three federal courts—including the Supreme Court. It drew in a reluctant Secretary of Commerce, caused the resignation of Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson, and set in an uproar the National Production Authority, the Office of Defense Mobilization, and the Wage Stabilization Board. At one stage no less than six different bodies were investigating various facets of the dispute. With so much going on at such high levels, it was not surprising that the ordinary steelworker became the forgotten man.

Meantime Congress, with the support of the National Association of Manufacturers and the national Chamber of Commerce, introduced a spate of proposals for punitive labor legislation. Newspapers throughout the country jumped into the fight—almost without exception on the side of management. The heads of the steel industry told their story through television, radio, and the press; they spent millions of dollars on full-page advertisements trying to convince the public that the union and the President were in cahoots against democracy.

By the time the Supreme Court made its famous decision, the W. S. B. had had its wings clipped and Congress was beginning to tamper briskly with the

Walsh-Healey Act which prescribes basic work and pay standards for American labor.

To the steelworker, one fact in the dispute dominates all others: his conviction that from the first the industry had no intention of bargaining collectively with the union at any time. Phil Murray, in his report to the W. S. B. stated:

The decision to deny our wages and our economic requests was indeed abundantly announced even before our negotiating conferences began. Before we made our proposals Mr. Benjamin Fairless, president of the United States Steel Corporation, had rejected them. In a speech in Cincinnati on November 15 he announced that "whether our workers are to get a raise and how much it will be if they do is a matter which cannot be determined by collective bargaining, and will apparently have to be decided in Washington."

The steelworkers won a pay rise in 1950, but were still working last fall under a 1947 contract with United States Steel which was as irritating to them as a hair shirt. Few steelworkers anywhere in the industry enjoyed any such commonplaces as legal holidays with pay; they got no overtime for work on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays; severance pay was given only by a few companies. The 1947 contract had faulty provisions relating to seniority, severance pay, grievances, and arbitration procedures. Hundreds of resolutions coming from every local throughout the length and breadth of the land demanded contract changes; the men were as full of grievances as an egg is of meat. Not the least of their grievances was that rising living costs made it more difficult for a steelworker's family to meet expenses.

The union submitted its proposals to the industry: a wage boost of 18 cents, fringe benefits, the union shop, and adjustments of the lagging non-economic provisions of the old contract. To all its proposals it received a simple and reiterated "No." United States Steel alone submitted counter-proposals on some of the non-economic demands, of which Murray had this to say:

The corporation's non-economic counter-proposals were designed to turn the clock of labor relations in

MARY HEATON VORSE has been one of this country's outstanding labor journalists for many years.

the steel industry back to the nineteenth century when the jobs and working conditions of the employees were at the sole and complete mercy of employers. It proposed in effect to make the union disappear.

On December 20, Cyrus S. Ching, Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, tried for a settlement. But in two days of conferences—from which Mr. Fairless absented himself—he could get no counter-proposals from industry. Shortly thereafter United States Steel used full-page newspaper advertisements throughout the country to announce that the steel industry would not ask for increased steel prices if the union would forgo wage increases. What most of the public didn't know was that the industry had already been refused price increases by the government on the grounds that its profits were already high enough.

A strike seemed certain upon termination of the union's contract on December 31, 1951. At the last moment, the President certified the case to the W. S. B., asking the union not to strike pending the findings and publicly charging the steel companies with having refused to bargain collectively. The union, reacting quickly, met January 3 in Atlantic City and voted to postpone the strike until March 23. On the latter date the President asked for, and received, another postponement.

The W. S. B. finally came forward with its proposals: an increase of wages of 17½ cents plus fringe benefits amounting to an additional nine cents. The steel heads expressed themselves as shocked by the findings. Having spurned collective bargaining and insisted all along on keeping the dispute in the hands of the government bureaucracy, the "bureaucrats" had now played them false.

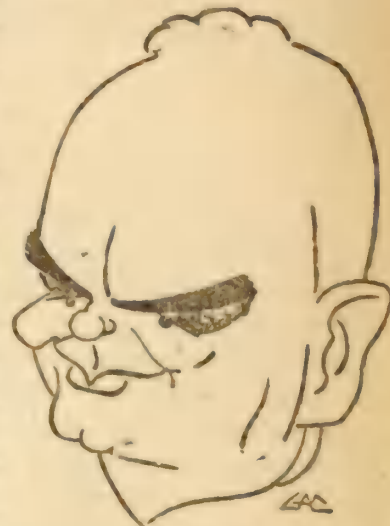
Beyond Comment

By what authority do petty officers, chief petty officers, and officers demand your obedience? . . . This authority comes to them in a long, long chain of command that reaches back to God Himself. . . . Knowing that all authority comes from the Supreme Being makes your military obedience easier. Your superior is God's representative, even if he doesn't know it nor believes it.—*From Chaplain's column in the Dolphin, publication of the United States Submarine Base at New London, Conn.*

C. T. Gillespie, Tazewell attorney, at first said he was for Taft because the Ohio Senator's father had appointed his father a district attorney for western Virginia when William Howard Taft was President.—*From Associated Press dispatch to the Cleveland Tribune.*

[The Nation will pay \$2 for acceptable contributions to Beyond Comment.]

On March 28, "apparently pursuant to an understanding with Mr. Wilson," Mr. Murray later told the steelworkers, a union meeting with the six largest companies was arranged in New York City. This was the first time that Big and Little Steel had sat down together to bargain with the union. Well-informed observers believed that Little Steel was somewhat less than trustful of United States Steel and Bethlehem, whom they suspected of not being above making separate agreements as they had before. But the sessions proved fruitless, the President having refused to permit a rise in steel prices and industry refusing to meet the union's demands without such a rise. There followed the visit to President Truman at Key West, and Mr. Wilson's famous resignation.



Philip Murray

On April 3, 129 days after negotiations began, the industry made its first offer to the union: 12½ cents an hour and retroactive pay as allowed by W. S. B., coupled with a wage freeze for fifteen months. Nothing was said of the union shop. It was at this point that the union called its first strike which was quickly brought to an end by the President's seizure of the mills. After the seizure, the companies offered five cents for fringe benefits conditioned on a price rise above the \$3 a ton permitted by the Capehart amendment.

In seizing the mills, the President delivered a rebuke unprecedented in history. Earlier Presidents had talked of "malefactors of great wealth" or "economic royalists"; none had ever before directly rapped steel's knuckles. The outcry that followed was terrific. Shouts of "impeach the President" resounded in Congress. Truman was accused, among other things, of having deliberately side-stepped the Taft-Hartley Act. But in his radio address announcing the seizure, the President stressed that there was no way of applying the act without a shutdown of the mills for a week or more—precisely the thing he was trying to avoid.

In the public and legal furore which followed, Secretary of Defense Lovett's compelling statement before the Senate committee concerning the national emergency went almost unnoticed. So did the brilliant analysis of steel profits made by the new Director of Price Stabilization, Ellis G. Arnall, before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Mr. Arnall pointed out that the steel industry could absorb the

entire cost of the W. S. B. wage boost and fringe benefits and still earn \$1,693 millions this year—a return of 28 per cent on the stockholders' investment compared to the 18½ per cent return of the 1947-1949 period.

The Supreme Court's decision nullifying the President's seizure order finally precipitated the oft-postponed strike. A last-minute attempt by government conciliators to get union and management representatives to settle their differences across the table failed for several reasons, among them industry's refusal to accept the union shop. In this, steel is obdurately refusing to accept a principle which has long been recognized as a matter of course by many industries, including the railroads. The union did promise the government, however, that steel would be kept flowing for arms needed in Korea.

Meanwhile the President, above all anxious to keep the mills working, has been requesting Congress for specific legislation enabling him to seize the industry. His requests have been repeatedly denied. Instead, at this writing, he is under pressure from Congress to invoke the Taft-Hartley act despite Senator Morse's warning that "Americans have been deluded into a conclusion that there is something about Taft-Hartley that would keep steel production going. . . . It just ain't so."

Engineers Turn to Unionism

BY HERBERT M. ORRELL

NO LONGER timorous vis-à-vis management, the engineering profession, long a defender of the *status quo*, is quietly turning to trade unionism. Of the approximately 400,000 engineers in this country, at least 15,000 are already organized and making their weight felt. Last summer the unionized engineers of a Brooklyn electronics plant struck and picketed for a solid week, winning a strong contract without a scrap of help from the C. I. O. union which was already in the shop. Such old firms in the field as Sperry, R. C. A., Western Electric, and Boeing have been compelled to negotiate with these upstarts from the drafting boards.

The effectiveness of the new unions has been somewhat hampered by their lack of a strong national affiliate. However, preliminary steps in this direction have been made. Twenty-one delegates representing 30,000 engineers met in Chicago some months ago to discuss plans for a national federation. While the question of structural form was left undecided, the delegates did pass two important resolutions. The first barred from membership any except unions certified by the National Labor Relations Board, which meant that company unions were ineligible. The second was to admit so-called "non-professionals" to membership (non-profes-

sionals in a professional union are sanctioned by the N. L. R. B. so long as there is a community of interest and the professionals are the dominant element).

The resolutions indicated that the engineers really meant business. It cost many of them a great deal of soul-searching to throw away their traditional caste-consciousness and to give up the nebulous benefits of simon-pure professionalism for bargaining power through strength of numbers. But in the end they saw the distinct advantage of including technicians, such as testers, in their union at a time when most shops employing engineers are busy on defense orders. The government won't accept the delivery of equipment unless it has been thoroughly tested.

Delegates from the various independent unions met a second time over the Memorial Day weekend. This time the national organization found itself a name: The Engineers and Scientists of America. But the group proved itself not yet clear about what it is and what it wants. It was originally contemplated that the national body would consist of a series of "regional" or "sub-national" groupings of local unions. The creation of such regionals, however, contained the threat of jurisdictional clashes with engineering unions which had already formed regions of their own. So the conference threw out the regional plan and then turned around and deprived the national executive of real power by limiting dues to \$4 annually per member. As things stand, individual unions can still assist others in various ways, but only at their own expense—no money will be forthcoming from the national treasury.

Despite its weaknesses, the Engineers and Scientists of America represent a significantly new approach to his job by the engineer, who heretofore had restricted his interest to engineering societies concerned with loftier ideas than wage scales and labor-management relations.

What has made the engineers union-conscious all of a sudden? For one thing, whether he designs juke boxes or electronic computers, an engineer is essentially like any other white-collar personnel: he works for somebody else for a salary. But the most important reason is that with the tremendous increase in engineering staffs, which have tripled—quadrupled in some cases—in recent years, the paternalism which once protected engineers has vanished and inequities and labor-management friction have developed.

To this must be added the fact that there is a shortage of engineers, which makes this a particularly favorable moment for the profession to be organized.

The engineer isn't satisfied any longer merely with the accolades of professional status. Today he considers himself a worker and wants the same benefits that other workers have been able to procure through collective bargaining: a salary commensurate with his contribution, better working conditions, and job security.

HERBERT M. ORRELL is a technical writer for the armed services and a member of one of the new engineer unions.

BOOKS and the ARTS

What Liberties and Whose?

HOW TO KEEP OUR LIBERTY. By Raymond Moley. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.

MR. MOLEY, who was one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's early brain-trusters but left the New Deal in disgust, now labels himself a conservative and advocates a political-action program to save us from tyranny by the national government. Although as a former professor of political science he attempts a balanced statement rather than a polemic such as might be expected from a right-wing candidate, he occupies much the same position as Taft or even Bricker.

It is interesting to trace Mr. Moley's opinions concerning what liberties and whose are being violated. There is no word in his book about the prevalent assault on free opinion or education which worries most liberals. He does not discern any imminent danger to freedom of the press, though he does defend large newspapers monopolizing local territories as our best possible source of objective information, and issues a vague warning against the Newspaper Guild. Freedom to vote as one pleases and to join non-revolutionary political associations he takes for granted; it is the basis of his action program. Freedom of worship he does not mention.

As a declared follower of Locke and Jefferson he repeats the traditional doctrine of natural rights, but not in order to sound any alarm about civil liberties. Almost everything he has to say concerns one right only—the right of property. This, he argues, is in danger from an entrenched and rapidly expanding "statism."

Locke's doctrine that property originated as a right to the product of one's own labor in an imagined primitive "state of nature" requires some revision in an industrial civilization where division of labor is almost universal and the wage system is prevalent. Jefferson's fear of governmental power assumed the existence of an agrarian society of independent farmers; he feared even

more the development of a factory system and the power that might result from concentrated private ownership of capital. What either Locke or Jefferson would have thought of a society like ours is a fertile subject for speculation, but there is in Mr. Moley's book no recognition that the change in economic institutions since their day might have led to a different expression of their philosophy. To him it is enough that many now own houses, land, or corporate securities, and that governmental regulation, production, or taxation trespasses on the presumed natural rights of property.

Since property, its uses and abuses, is a subject that lies largely in the realm of economic discourse, it is a pity that Mr. Moley is not better acquainted with economic theory and history. Apparently Ludwig von Mises, whom he cites, is his favorite economist, while John Maynard Keynes plays the role of the great adversary. Marx of course is out of the running altogether, but the author looks with grave suspicion even on such liberal stalwarts as John Stuart Mill and A. C. Pigou.

Mr. Moley's main fear seems to be that the "free market" will be corrupted or abolished, but nowhere does he specify what a free market is or where it exists. Apparently it involves competition, but competition, though mentioned, is another concept unanalyzed by Mr. Moley. He does distinguish it from monopoly but he regards competition in the United States as safe from monopolistic encroachments because there are still many little businesses, bigness as such is not a danger, and there are anti-trust laws. There is here no mention of administered prices, price leadership, resale price maintenance, oligopoly, or monopolistic competition.

Consistently, Mr. Moley regrets that tariff protection, subsidies, governmental financing, and other privileges were ever offered to business enterprises, but how in the world canals, railroads, and even large-scale machine manufacture could ever have taken root without such en-

couragement, and where in the world they ever did so, he does not tell us. Nor does he point out the reciprocal relationship between governmentally granted corporate privileges and governmental regulation of corporate practices—a relationship as old in America as corporations themselves.

Few will disagree that government can tax too much and regulate too much, that it can be inefficient or oppressive. Few except doctrinaire state socialists would want government to undertake any function that can be performed as well by private initiative. The difference arises in applying these admirable principles to specific cases.

When Mr. Moley descends from his high principles to practical affairs he admits that much of the intervention of the past was necessary, but he believes that since 1933 we have gone too far and must begin to retrace our course. Some of the problems that concern him are worth anyone's consideration—for example, the need for revamping old-age-retirement provisions and the scarcity of venture capital for small enterprises. But when it comes to major suggestions he wants nothing less than a counter-revolution.

He proposes, for example, that federal income taxation be limited to a low flat rate and taxation by the states perhaps to 25 per cent in the highest brackets, that federal social security be curbed in favor of local and private philanthropy which should offer nothing without a means test, that regulation of financial markets be turned back to voluntary action by the markets themselves, that government develop no more electric power and offer no more inducements to cooperatives, that regulatory agencies be empowered only to forbid, never to compel action. Above all, he wants no effort by the government to maintain high employment and production, no Council of Economic Advisers, no compensatory fiscal policy, no "planning." The government ought, he believes, to balance its budget every year, in depression as well as in prosperity.

If one could believe, as he does, that a large majority in the United States favor such policies and need only the appropriate party organization to enforce their will, the future would look bright for private government by an industrial and financial oligarchy supported by the "middle range" of income-receivers, in whom Mr. Moley places his faith. The picture evoked is remarkably like that of the "New Era" of the 1920's, but more extreme. That Mr. Moley's program could endure a collapse like that which followed the 1920's is no more credible now than it was then.

Yet, after all, Mr. Moley does offer "statists" and "planners" one generous concession. Private and local initiative, he contends, should abolish no existing governmental activity unless it is ready to serve the same needs better. This leaves a wide field for use of his talents, not only in organizing the party he proposes, but in remedying without the aid of government those calamities which mainly have led to the expansion of government—waste of natural resources, slums, disease, inadequate and costly medical services, monopolistic exactions, racial and religious discrimination, speculative booms and crashes, poverty, unemployment, depression, and war. All of us would be glad to pay lower taxes, even to live under a benevolent anarchism, provided it could be demonstrated that a small and weak government is all that is necessary. **GEORGE SOULE**

An Englishman on Zola

EMILE ZOLA. An Introductory Study of his Novels. By Angus Wilson. William Morrow and Company. \$3.

MR. WILSON'S book is the first sizable instalment on the debt of recognition owed by English and American critics to Zola. When the great controversial novels were appearing toward the end of the nineteenth century, English opinion condemned them for two reasons: they violated Victorian standards of taste and morality, and they attempted to effect what seemed to be a false theoretical alliance between art and scientific thought of the day. As a result, they were left untranslated, or were poorly translated, Zola's name was mentioned wrathfully in Parliament, and his English publisher was im-

prisoned. Even today the popularity of Zola's works in English-speaking countries is mainly due to the fact that they can be sold ■ salacious books, and owes little to any recognition of their artistic stature.

Although he abandons the old national prejudices against Zola, Mr. Wilson writes as an Englishman, mindful of the responsibilities he has accepted in undertaking the first book-length critical work on Zola in English. His criticism is English in character as well as language, and it points out both the foreignness and universality of Zola's work.

Mr. Wilson has no objection, of course, to what used to be called Zola's "shocking" realism, and he makes allowances both for the scientific theories which Zola used to prop up his fiction, and the fanfares of sensationalism with which he advertised himself. His view of the novels, which were planned carefully according to scientific as well as artistic principles, is that of a powerful tide of creative energy, swirling against the prepared dikes of Zola's program and theories, sometimes sweeping them aside, sometimes accepting their guidance. Mr. Wilson shows that Zola's celebrated gift of observation had two aspects: he could observe accurately and exhaustively in a scientific manner, presenting the reader with a photographic reproduction of what he saw, but his special power arose from his ability to use details as eloquent symbols which dramatized his themes. To describe the effect of these impressions which serve as epitomes of the horror and despair of Zola's vision of life, Mr. Wilson borrows from another critic the expressive term "black poetry."

Zola formed his novels by manipulating his profuse material into huge masses like social groups or historical phenomena. Under the stress of his concern for wholes, individual characters are simplified, and their main importance lies in their relation to the crowd of humanity which fills Zola's pages. Mr. Wilson points out that his method of presenting a great social panorama rich in details and given animation by dramatic treatment is essentially pictorial, and may be compared with impressionism. His sensitive comparisons have a way of being especially illuminating. He often succeeds brilliantly

in bringing out some point about Zola by referring to Dickens, Dostoyevsky, Hardy, and, in one startling instance, to Wycherley.

It is a pity that in his otherwise valuable study Mr. Wilson undertakes to explain Zola's work as the result of his psychological characteristics. The method, now grown familiar, of regarding books as the projections of neuroses, like ritual behavior or slips of the tongue, is of ambiguous value. Although it may often seem to make a work of art more intelligible, it is actually ■ vulgarization of psychoanalytic practice. It has only a small chance of being right, for only the most general conclusions about the psyche can be drawn from observations of an individual's overt behavior. Mr. Wilson's procedure of furnishing neurosis or fixation to account for every modulation of Zola's art is not really scientific; it is like solving ■ jig-saw puzzle by trimming the pieces to fit each other. Since Freud himself offered these methods (in his essay on Da Vinci and in "Moses and Monotheism") as purely speculative, it is hardly appropriate for critics and biographers who are amateurs in psychology to claim scientific validity for them.

JACOB KORG

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Full of Plums

WINSTON CHURCHILL. *An Informal Study of Greatness*. By Robert Lewis Taylor. Doubleday and Company. \$4.50.

A LOT of people are going to want to write books about Winston Churchill and there are enough plums to make many puddings. Perhaps it is not quite fair to put them all in one book, to make a pudding which is all plums, but that is precisely what Mr. Taylor has done. There are two hilarious anecdotes in the first paragraph and the pace is pretty well kept up during the remaining 433 pages. Doubtless the other books will be written and doubtless there are many more things to be said, but it does not seem likely that the purely entertaining aspects of the subject will ever be better exploited. The author has written "profiles" for the *New Yorker* and learned much of his method there, but he has also shrewdly planned for the larger scale so that what one half expects to become tiresome after a time remains vastly interesting to the very end.

As one skims lightly through Churchill's tempestuous career what one realizes most acutely is not so much that he is unique as the fact that he represents the perfect flowering of a type seldom so completely—and never so attractively—developed. As a young correspondent he suggests Teddy Roosevelt or even Richard Harding Davis. As novelist and rising politician he suggests Disraeli. And even in his most responsible moments during the war he probably never entirely lost his thespian's sense of playing the leading role in a drama even more theatrically exciting than terrible. Like Dryden's Zimri he was "a daring pilot in extremity" and "pleased when the waves ran high"; never, perhaps, quite sure whether he was born to save England or whether England was put in peril in order to give him his chance.

But there is a vast difference between the adventurer who rises from the ranks and the aristocrat who, from the beginning, takes for granted the advantages, the opportunities, and the special privileges which are his by right of birth. Churchill never for a moment doubted that he was born among the elect and that what he had to do was not so much to make himself a place as

simply claim the place to which he was entitled. He would be introduced into politics as inevitably as a well-born young woman would be introduced into society. Moreover, a certain amount of arrogance, impudence, and even of riding roughshod would be taken for granted. His was decidedly not the age of the common man. Nobody wanted him to behave as though he were one and he certainly never did. But one of the things which made him great was the fact that, unlike nine-tenths of the members of his class, he actually did what the theory of the system implied that they all should do—namely, take his duties as seriously as the privileges which went with them. He was physically as well as morally fearless. He would risk his life or his career as recklessly as a man who had nothing but honor to lose and he was often on the side of the underdog, not because he was a democrat but because he actually did believe in *noblesse oblige*. Churchill, praising the high qualities of the enemy and shouting in a speech, "If I were a Boer, I hope I should be fighting in the field," or Churchill, coming out for the eight-hour day for miners and remarking, "Mr. Chamberlain loves the workingman, he loves to see him work," was, nevertheless, speaking as an aristocrat not as a leveler.

Even Churchill would not have said of the Germans what he said of the Boers and that is one of the many signs that his age has passed. At twenty-six and with astonishing prescience he declared in Parliament that war was entering upon a new stage because its chief cause would no longer be the policy of a minister or the passion of a king. "When mighty populations are impelled against each other a European war can only end in the ruin of the vanquished and exhaustion of the conquerors. Democracy is more vindictive than Cabinets. The wars of peoples will be more terrible than those of kings." And because of what he foresaw it will be a long time or never before government can again be played as a game, gallantry and fair play be regarded as indispensable, or any legislative assembly conducted as though it really were what the House used to be called—the best club in London.

But perhaps it is partly because we know so well that we shall not see his

like, not see even his type, again that he seems so attractive and that he is by now one of the great "characters" of all history. It is almost as though the gods had decided to give him everything, even the appropriate physical constitution, because they knew that the species was about to become extinct. As a hunting, dining, dancing youth he "went at his amusements as though he was attacking Tories" and in later life, surrounded by statesmen crippled, dyspeptic, and tormented, he continued to chew cigars and consume whisky with Rabelaisian gusto. In a sense he no doubt represented the bad old days, but they come very easily to seem the good old days instead. Even Franklin Roosevelt was patrician rather than aristocratic and when one compares Churchill with the plebeian world leaders one is tempted to risk the generalization that the megalomaniac who assumes power rather than finds himself born to it is usually more sanctimonious and less attractive. Those born to power and privilege are less likely to feel the need either to punish themselves or to invoke too frequently the sanctity of Right, Justice, God, and the rest.

When, in 1908, Churchill was married in a characteristically resplendent ceremony at an ultra-exclusive church the wedding was attended by one of the largest crowds which ever filled St. Margaret's churchyard. Of the occasion Mr. Taylor remarks: "Then as now the country was about equally divided between those who favored Churchill and those who opposed him, but everybody has always been proud to have him around." The last clause of that sentence pretty well sums the whole thing up.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Books in Brief

THE MAN OUTSIDE, The Prose Works of Wolfgang Borchert. Translated by David Porter. New Directions. \$3.50. The imposing title of this volume embraces the collected stories and a brief play by a gifted German boy who died in a Swiss sanitarium in 1947 at the age of twenty-six. Wolfgang Borchert never had the chance to learn anything but fascism, war, and death: he was a private on the eastern front, was sentenced to death for subversion, was released to fight again, was rearrested,

and died a few years after Germany's collapse, just as he was beginning to gain literary recognition. As Stephen Spender says in his Introduction, this is "the life of a perfect victim of our times . . . of a man born and bred in a prison cell." The atmosphere of these stories, one of almost unrelieved horror and hideousness, is not unlike that of Ambrose Bierce's Civil War sketches; and like Bierce, Borchert managed to impose upon some of his material ■ troubling and tragic grandeur: such sketches as *The Kitchen Clock* and *The Bread* are like sudden beams of light illuminating the hidden recesses of the human soul.

THE PILLAR. By David Walker. Houghton Mifflin. \$3. Mr. Walker's new novel is a thoroughly competent and occasionally moving account of five war years in a prisoner-of-war camp, as they were experienced by six Englishmen of widely varying backgrounds and temperaments. Despite a complicated series of flashbacks revealing the life stories of the protagonists, this is somehow a modest and unambitious book; but it does achieve quite satisfactorily what it sets out to do.

AMERICAN VANGUARD 1952. Edited by Don M. Wolfe. Greenberg. \$3.50. The editor's nine-page introduction (*The Young Writer and the Nature of Man*) to this anthology of student work by members of the New School's writing classes is studded with fifty-odd references to great literary figures. The lamentable name-dropping carries over into the biographical notes, wherein we are gravely assured by the authors of the sixty-nine stories, sketches, extracts from novels, and poems, that they have been influenced by Crane, Trollope, Huxley, Greene, etc. Fortunately this deliberately encouraged pomposity does not extend to the writing, which, if it is not "vanguard" work, is for the most part forthright and literate. Sandwiched among the apprentice writers' variations on the staple theme of childhood loss of innocence are a number of pieces that make good reading and are worthy of standing on their own.

BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

Films

MANNY
FARBER

THE fourth instalment of de Rochemont's perusal of New England character, "Walk East on Beacon," plods through a leisurely-paced action story vaguely based on the Judy Coplon and Klaus Fuchs espionage cases. The de Rochemont film is always dedicated to lauding a certain American type which blends the qualities of a model Sunday-school student with the talents of a mad industrialist. The central character is a refugee scientist (Finlay Currie) revolutionizing everything from dinghies to flying missiles with a theory he has worked out on high-speed calculators. Looking like a huge Edam cheese topped by a flowing Jean Harlow hairdo, the scientist fits the de Rochemont formula for heroes in that he is pure and innocent and spends his time lifting the lids from high-powered machines and reading numbers from them with a mysteriously joyous tone. Before the film settles down to a series of chases on land and sea, a Communist-spy ring tries to blackmail the scientist with threats against his son being held in Germany's Soviet zone. The movie is against Com-

munists, but it pays a lot of respect to the shrewd, tortoise-like craftsmanship of the spies. Besides being so dedicated to their jobs that they tap their fingers, or sit down to lunch with a mechanical and somewhat hypnotized air, they are seldom seen doing anything except their daily jobs as taxi-driver, florist, or photo finisher. The idea is that they are too clever to expose their devilish skills. Occasionally the movie stops and hovers happily over a tiny electric fixture for blowing up a safe or a set of skeleton keys to lockers in the air terminal or a wristwatch that rings like the chimes in Moscow, all of which symbolize the hard-plugging talents of the spies. By the time the FBI smashes the gang with a flurry of gadgets and techniques, the movie has been turned into a crushing bore by ■ producer who is so dryly factual and absorbed with mechanical wonders that his movies would ring like an anvil if you bounced them.

Since the first *March of Time* short de Rochemont produced for Luce, Inc., he has placed a peculiar restraint on the realistic skills of his movie crews. It consists of locking his films halfway between the total naturalism of a newsreel and the well-scrubbed, obviously re-enacted realism of the old *March of Time* film which was almost methodically stripped of everything but dull facts.

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Here, as always, he uses an eye-level camera shot that seldom moves in any direction, so that his true story has to be arranged rather stiffly in hundreds of tiny shots accompanied by masses of explanatory dialogue. For example, ■ Russian agent on his first day in this country is glimpsed on a stroll through a Boston park; the camera catches him briefly in a middle-distance shot but that is all you get because the casual documentary quality would be destroyed if the cameraman followed him around in ■ normal movie fashion. The movie's speed is dissipated everywhere in brief, head-on shots of inconsequential stuff: a blonde courier getting out of a taxi, a suave Russian dummy hurrying to ■ telephone, a fat dowager carrying stolen information on to a Pan-American plane. It takes de Rochemont about thirty leisurely minutes to get to his plot (the blackmailing of the scientist) and by that time the movie has settled down to the crawl of ■ Hawaiian travelogue.

De Rochemont's helpers can set-up a scene that bristles with excitement and shows ■ sharp eye for the personalities of headline figures tried as traitors. The characterizations are never pure mimicry, but it is obvious that Hiss, Coplon, and Elizabeth Bentley are in the film in slightly disguised performances by little known actors. These actors are at the top of their skill when de Rochemont is trying for stark realism (as in the FBI film shots taken of suspects) and at low tide on the sort of inauthentic reenactment he used on *March of Time*. One of the actresses, Virginia Gilmore, turns up on the FBI screen as

an efficient runner for the spies, with a loping stride, a nervous headachey appearance, and ■ dedicated manner in everything from snubbing out cigarettes to kissing. In these newsreel-type shots, she is realistic in the manner of neo-naturalistic Italian actresses, with ■ jerky, erratic vitality that seems to belong in the rough gray atmosphere that is caught on location around Boston. However, when she is not being watched by a hidden FBI camera, Miss Gilmore consciously oversimplifies and overstates the mannerisms of a determined but somewhat unhinged neurotic (in line with de Rochemont's theory that a semi-documentary should be controlled and manipulated by its artists, resulting in a more expensive and studied-seeming film than the pure newsreel). Throughout the film the scenes that have an authentic look and the tangled energy of real life (the scientist's midnight walk to the church on Beacon Street, the Coplon figure snapping at her FBI questioner), are balanced by shots in which the movie crew deliberately plays to the audience in thriller fashion. The combination of styles gives the film its peculiar fugue-type composition as well as ■ certain kind of grotesque and schizophrenic effectiveness.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

MOZART'S lovely Symphony K.543 lends itself to the quiet sensitivity and grace of Krips's performance with the London Symphony on a London record—the first good performance of the work on LP to come my way. In addition the violins, which have sounded thin, dry, and lusterless in previous London recordings, this time have sufficient fullness and radiance—the one flaw in the recorded sound being the occasional excessive power of the kettledrums. On the reverse side is ■ similar quietly sensitive performance of the Symphony K.297 ("Paris"), a work which is more effective with the sharper inflection of Beecham's old performance on 78, and with the prescribed *Andantino* tempo rather than Krip's *Allegretto* in the beautiful middle movement. The violins don't come through strongly enough in the tutti of the finale; but

otherwise the performance is well reproduced.

As it happens, Columbia has issued a new performance of K. 297 by Beecham and his Royal Philharmonic—one which exaggerates the sharpness of the old performance to the point of brutal violence and distortion. To demonstrate the saddening deterioration in Beecham's work one need only play the old performance of the middle movement, with its easy flow and exquisite inflection, and then the ponderous distorting new performance. The recorded sound is brashly brilliant. On the reverse side is a good performance of the first movement of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony, reproduced in B flat instead of B minor, and with poor violin sound, and an excessively slow and stodgy performance of the second movement, requiring stepping up of treble.

All three of Debussy's Nocturnes are on ■ London record performed by Ansermet with his Orchestre de la Suisse romande, providing an occasion for me to find again that the infrequently heard "Sirènes" is less interesting than the others. The first part of "Nuages" is played beautifully (some low bass notes are weak or inaudible); the *un peu animé* section seems to me too loud and impassioned. "Fêtes" is taken at a slow pace in which it is not festive or joyous; the violins sound dry and veiled, and the trumpets leap out at one in measure 23. Ravel's *Rhapsodie espagnole* is on the reverse side.

Debussy's "L'Après-midi d'un faune" is played beautifully by Ansermet with the same orchestra on another London record (the antique cymbals come in ahead of the beats in the last measures); the violins again are dry. Stravinsky's *Circus Polka*, Ravel's "Alborado del gracioso," and the March from Prokofiev's "The Love for Three Oranges" are also on the record.

Neither Szell's performance of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony with the Cleveland Orchestra nor his performance of the "Midsummer Night's Dream" music with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony on a Columbia record has the refinements of sonority and execution that are to be heard in Koussevitzky's performance of the one with the Boston Symphony and Toscanini's performance of the other with the N. B. C. Symphony (the LP reproduction of the lat-

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ter requires considerable stepping up of treble for sufficient brightness).

The Suite from Prokofiev's "Love for Three Oranges"—of which I find only the Scherzo and the music of the Prince and the Princess effective without the stage action—is well performed on a Urania record by Rother with the Radio Berlin Symphony. Well performed also by Steinkopf with the Berlin Philharmonic is Prokofiev's Russian Overture Opus 72, a sprawling, raucous work that I find unattractive.

It is a pleasure, of course, to hear the best of Chopin's Waltzes played as Dinu Lipatti plays them; but what is amazing is to hear the duller pieces in the series come off the Columbia record with engaging melodic and rhythmic life imparted to them by the subtle lyricism and grace of the playing. This makes the series of performances a tour de force of a wholly legitimate kind.

Eight Scarlatti Sonatas—most of them characteristically charming, and one of them, Longo No. 382, very powerful—are played by Kathleen Long on a London record. The playing is merely fluent and deft, without the sharpness and sparkle the brilliant pieces should have and the powerful tensions there should be in No. 382. The recorded sound of the piano—presumably a Hamburg Steinway—is remarkably beautiful.

The fine Mozart Piano Sonata K.570 is played sensitively by Jacqueline Blacard on another London record, together with the less consequential K.281, 283, and 545.

Horowitz's performances of Chopin's Sonata Opus 35 and Ballade Opus 23 on an RCA Victor record are things to skip. The performance of the Nocturne Opus 15 No. 2 is more acceptable; the passage-work of Liszt's "Au Bord d'une source" Horowitz plays exquisitely; the Hungarian Rhapsody No. 6 I didn't listen to.

I have no prejudice against transcribing piano pieces for orchestra; but I see no sense in transcribing them for orchestra and piano; and I dislike the showy little concertos that Morton Gould has made for himself of some of Tchaikovsky's set of piano pieces, most of them charming, called "The Months," which includes the familiar Barcarolle "June." The orchestral sound produced by the Columbia record is excessively sharp.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

That Nietzsche Book: Fiction or Nonfiction?

Dear Sirs: In attempting to raise a question concerning the authenticity of Friedrich Nietzsche's "My Sister and I," recently published by me, Alfred Werner alleges that it displays familiarity with the main (post-Nietzschean) theories of Freud. Though there are passages with "Freudian" implications in "My Sister and I" they are no more culpable than similar passages in Goethe's "Dichtung und Wahrheit". . . .

Werner is also suspicious of Nietzsche's prophecy that his concept of the superman would be distorted by the Germans into a tool for the destruction of the Jews. Did not Nietzsche's sister, Elisabeth, constantly supply him with food for this belief, first by marrying the pathological anti-Semite Foerster, and, after her husband's death, by suppressing "Ecce Homo" in which Nietzsche demonstrated that his ideal man might be almost anyone but a Prussian? . . .

The most questionable aspect of the book, says Werner, is the autobiographical material which displays Nietzsche's alleged conquests of Cosima Wagner, a sadistic countess, and some women of lesser repute, when "according to Nietzsche authorities and his contemporaries, the philosopher led a temperate, modest life, *except for a tragic experi-*

ence in his youth." (The italics are mine.) But who are Werner's authorities for this? Nietzsche wrote such notes as "Cosima, I love you," and confided to one of the hospital physicians that "Cosima, my wife, committed me here." Elisabeth reports constant quarrels with her and their mother because of Friedrich's attention to Lou Salome and other women. In that last tragic phase of his life, was there anything for Nietzsche to brood about that was more important to him than that "tragic experience in his youth" that had poisoned his blood?

When Nietzsche reached that terrible house in Jena, whether by force or his own contriving, his life had reached a climax that had to spill over into the notes from which "My Sister and I" are composed. Werner questions Nietzsche's ability to think clearly at that time. Doesn't Werner know that madmen have periods of lucidity as well as periods of confusion? And if he could carry on conversations with visitors, as has been attested over and over again, why couldn't he write?

Werner asked for my help in writing an article about "My Sister and I" for *Commentary*. . . . In two long interviews Werner raised all the questions contained in his *Nation* article, and professed himself satisfied with my answers to them. I explained the "Americanisms" by telling him that where there is



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a choice between the British and the American way of spelling a word I always use the American. He never asked me any questions about Dr. Levy's family, and I certainly never volunteered the information that Dr. Levy was a bachelor and died without progeny. Neither did I ever tell him that the carbon copies from which the book was set were on Dr. Levy's typewriter. . . . I did tell him about the censorial fire in which the original manuscripts were destroyed and of the mutilated verminderen carbon copies from which we reconstructed "My Sister and I."

Werner evidently took it on himself to write to Dr. Levy's surviving relatives, with the result that Maud Levy Rosenthal, his daughter, wrote Werner that she knew nothing about her father having translated "My Sister and I" and written an introduction to it. I was a little surprised at Mrs. Rosenthal's out-of-hand condemnation of the book, but not by her lack of knowledge about it. My agreement with Dr. Levy entailed his not being mentioned in connection with the book during the lifetime of Elisabeth Foerster-Nietzsche, with whom suing people was a zealous preoccupation. . . .

New York

SAMUEL ROTH

CORRECTION

For purposes of condensation, the article *Dam the Missouri Floods*, which appeared in *The Nation* of April 26, was partially rewritten by us under circumstances which made it impossible to submit the revised manuscript to the author, Richard G. Baumhoff, for the usual check before press time. Mr. Baumhoff takes exception to certain of the revisions, notably the sentence, "Of committees, councils, and commissions, the Missouri Basin has more than enough; what it needs are more dams, levees, run-off and irrigation systems, and power plants." The author declares that this sentence "seriously misrepresents" his point of view. Mr. Baumhoff also calls attention to the fact that we inadvertently omitted the Federal Power Commission as a member of the Missouri Basin Interagency Committee, and referred to the recent floods as affecting the "lower" instead of the "middle" Missouri valley.

Naturally Mr. Baumhoff cannot be held responsible for these or any other changes in his original manuscript.

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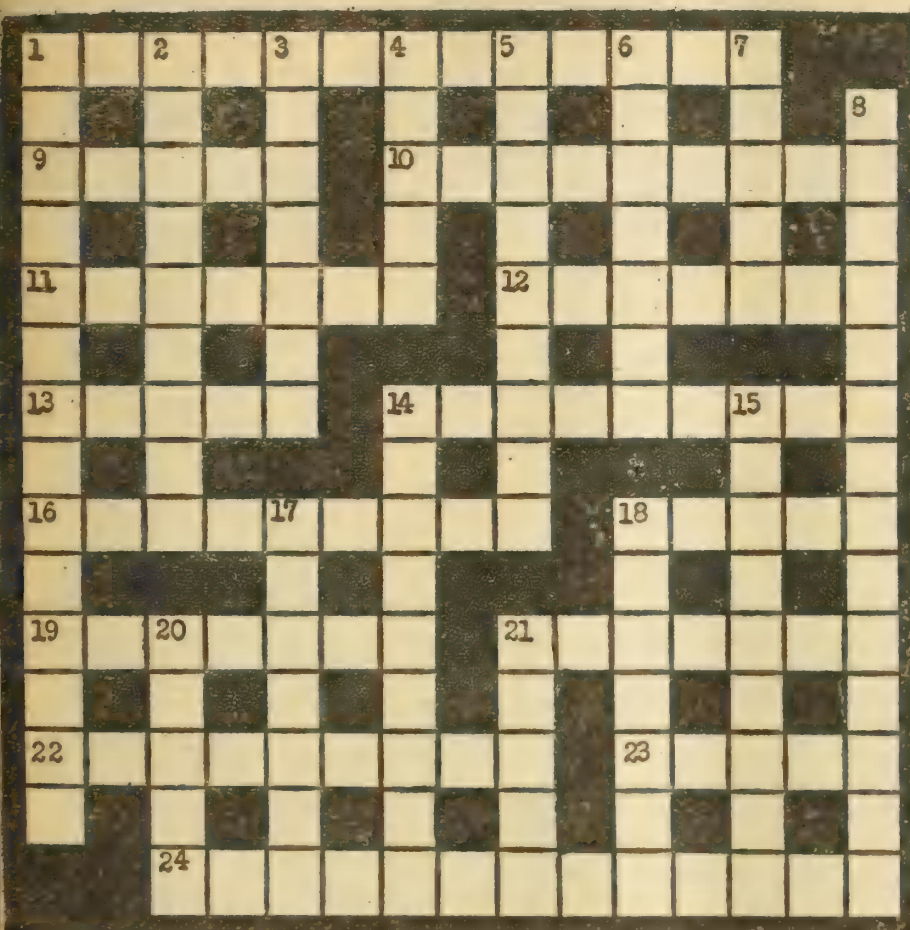
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Crossword Puzzle No. 470

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Thick and thin might, if you're looking for a cliché. (6-7)
- 9 No water in the frog, alternatively it's proverbially idle. (5)
- 10 Gain flesh like a shark? (9)
- 11 Not part of the refrigerator fleet. (7)
- 12 Exemplified by 5 and 13? (7)
- 13 You might a 4, but usually not for your own health. (5)
- 14 Reckless speed rate, obviously! (9)
- 16 No, not, for example, produced by Brownies. (9)
- 18 Train-man, perhaps, and I get together. (5)
- 19 Acts like a postman, or repudiates the act. (7)
- 21 It might be represented by three-quarters gold in the fire, perhaps. (7)
- 22 Where there's a will? Quite the opposite, in this condition. (9)
- 23 One to a thousand, since it's an insect. (5)
- 24 A waiting period spent in Greenwich? (2, 3, 8)

DOWN

- 1 Adam's apple? (9, 5)
- 2 Awkward profession? (9)

- 3 Cloak, or something for the rest of the propeller. (7)
- 4 Suggests a scrape the bride gets blamed for. (5)
- 5 This grit's certainly not radically different! (9)
- 6 Relax! (7)
- 7 Toussaint liberated it. (5)
- 8 Theme song of Bob, when down with laryngitis? (10, 4)
- 14 The French political body saved up waste! (9)
- 15 You can't have a man talk a little without seeing a counteragent. (9)
- 17 Passage read in the survey? (7)
- 18 A rather unusual touch. (7)
- 20 If this singer took cake, it would sound childish. (5)
- 21 It might be superior to a letter, or twice as long as the whole note. (5)

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4. Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

5. Repeal of the Smith Act which outlaws America's traditional freedom of thought and expression.

6. Repeal of the McCarran Act under which concentration camps are now being built for political prisoners.

7. Defeat of the McCarran-Walter Omnibus Immigration Bill which imposes extremely rigid retroactive deportation standards on immigrants and aliens and provides to deprive American citizens of citizenship.

8. Defeat the Cox Resolution which would open the way for witch hunts among educational and philanthropic organizations, especially those devoted to improving the status of Negro citizens.

WE ARE TIRED OF PROMISES AND EVASIONS

While the platforms of both major political parties have given lip-service to the need for civil-rights legislation, nothing has been done.

Instead, mob violence, lynchings, witch hunts and intolerance of unpopular opinion have increased, making a bold hypocrisy of our nation's program to spread the graces of democratic freedom to all sections of the world.

The Christmas night assassination of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Mims, Florida; the cold-blooded murder of a manacled Negro prisoner, Samuel Sheppard;

the mob riots in Illinois; the lynchings and persecutions elsewhere in the nation have not brought convictions from the law enforcement agencies of government.

On the contrary, the government is engaged in another direction—further suppressing civil liberties.

New to the American scene is the construction of concentration camps for political prisoners, the hounding of aliens who are being denied the right to seek citizenship, and the closing of our doors to leading scientists, writers and teachers from foreign lands.

Kangaroo courts are set up by

special committees of Congress, which seek to smear men and women whose political thoughts do not conform to the standards of Senator McCarran and Senator McCarthy.

This election year the people have an opportunity to speak out in defense of their vanishing civil liberties. We believe in the ultimate good sense of the American people who will serve notice on the major political parties that this is no time for double talk on civil liberties.

From here on out, there can be no retreat.

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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How Free Is Free?

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

IT ISN'T often that *The Nation* devotes an entire issue to a single problem. We have done so this time—in a format double the usual size—with an eye both to the overriding importance of the problem and to the critical need for an early solution. For we feel that the drift of the country has been such in the last few years that the question, *How Free Is Free?* cannot much longer go unanswered lest we lose even the freedom to ask it.

If the reports presented in this special civil-liberties issue have a theme running through them, it is fear. Like the nerve-tickling theme in "The Third Man," fear sets the tone that permeates all the events and conditions described in these pages. The other day Mrs. Roosevelt displayed her unerring sense of the dominant mood of a large part of post-war America—and her healthy response to it—when she said: "I am tired of being afraid." Fear is as uncomfortable to live with as an active infection, and a moment will come—soon, I believe, if general war does not come sooner—when this country, like any other strong organism, must throw it out of its system.

This is not to say that no dangers exist; that fear is wholly irrational. The earth was never a more insecure dwelling place than today, and the fear that rules our lives springs in large part from a feeling of helplessness in the presence of possibilities which seem too awful for ordinary men to grapple with. But the only answer to this can be found in a still greater effort to cling to reason, instead of forsaking reason for panic and the imbecile acts that panic breeds. As Bertrand Russell acidly remarked in his "New Hopes for a Changing World," "A captain who finds his ship in danger of sinking is expected to avoid hysteria, but an American statesman in the same situation is thought to be a fellow-traveler if he remains calm." The dangers that face us collectively are no greater and essentially no different from those facing a soldier in battle; yet a soldier is expected to fight even if his survival seems problematical. It should be equally expected that we meet our collective

dangers at least as well: at its worst, the collective fate could be no more final than his.

But if fear is the motif, it is not the source of the trouble. The source is, plainly enough, the world revolution of which fear and the repressions it has generated are mere aspects.

To try to pin the trouble on Stalin is a temptation. For the expanding power of Russia, whether it is a major, imminent military threat or not, menaces a wide range of established values and interests, some inde-

The Path of Fear

The hour is very late, but not so late that we must ask the question whether we would be the weaker if we were to maintain the right of men to differ and to make their differences known without fear. We would be far more likely to have an informed and participating people believing in themselves and in their way of life, drawing into the government the very best, and committed to ends which have always inspired men to fight to the limit of their abilities. Why have we valued our Bill of Rights if it has not been because, as Mr. Justice Brandeis said, we know "that fear breeds repression; that repression breeds hate; and that hate menaces stable government"; because we believe that the loyalty that gives strength is built on passionate belief in goals *worth fighting for*.—Laurence Sears, *The American Scholar*, Spring, 1951.

Men live by their routines; when these are called into question, they lose all power of normal judgment. . . . Discussion becomes a challenge; new ideas seem to be a threat. Men are gripped by fear, and fear, by its nature, is the enemy of thought. So that when men are too fearful to understand, they move to suppress, because they dare not stay to examine. . . . Invited to experiment, they act like children who are terrified of the dark. . . . They will listen to nothing save the echo of their own voices; all else becomes dangerous thoughts.—Harold Laski.

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fensible and others worth cherishing to the last. But blaming Stalin is really too easy an out. For it excuses policies and behavior which bear no true relationship to the danger and provides an escape from the necessity of facing the broader meaning of the world revolution as a whole.

Bolshevism, in fact, for all its momentous and still spreading consequences, was the by-product of a world war which was itself only an incident of that revolution. It was not even a decisive by-product. Though it spawned smaller rebellions, from Belfast to Budapest, the revolutionary process was checked, not by its own success or by the growth of those new freedoms that Woodrow Wilson had promised the world, but by the decision of the victorious powers in 1919 to defend the Old Order—even in those countries whose aggression had precipitated the war—against the emerging forces of popular revolt. The purpose of the victors was to remake the Western world as nearly as possible in its pre-war political image. To accomplish this they not only did their futile best to smash the October revolution, but also vetoed those social and economic changes that might have saved the post-war world from the despair that bred counter-revolution. In Europe the old gang took over, heavily backed by American money. And in Washington Mitchell Palmer took over, and "normalcy"—which were America's version of counter-revolution.

When fascism began to creep across the Continent, the people in charge generally regarded it as a bulwark of the Old Order rather than the further crumbling of that order in a revolution of the right. Or, if they knew what it represented, they accepted it as a preferred form of social upheaval. Even its worst excesses, in Germany and in Spain, even the clear approach of World War II, were looked upon as less dangerous than the risk of a shift toward the left in the balance of political power. ("Better Abetz than Blum.")

Hitler smashed the dream of security through reaction. His war was another incident in the world revolution; this time not even the heads of states could ignore its political meaning. And for a short while, out of the fighting alliance between Russia and the West, out of the passion of the Resistance and the defeat of military fascism, hope of a different sort of "post-war" ruled our thinking. That hope created the United Nations, where it lingers like a hungry ghost. It might still be restored to life if the great Western powers, but especially the United States, were willing, this time, to recognize and accept the nature of the problem they face. But they dispersed and abandoned the magnificent forces of resistance, out of fear of communism; and abolished UNRRA, essentially for the same reason; and today treat with suspicion and distaste the demands of the "backward" peoples for peace and independence and a chance for a decent life. They are following this path toward new disaster because they still prefer any risk to the

risk involved in a shift of power—even accomplished peaceably.

That the actual spread of Russian dominance in Eastern Europe and Asia encouraged and partly justified this preference is unarguable. But non-Communists who criticize American-Western policy do so because it is, in its deepest sense, an abdication to Moscow, a refusal to accept the imperatives of the world situation and direct national policy, not toward a new attempt to freeze the Old Order, which is now so obviously in dissolution, but toward applying democratic principles to the process of social and political change. The United States, leading the Western world, has abandoned the revolution to Moscow; and while the Russians are exploiting this opportunity with a brutal energy which may defeat the very purposes they proclaim, at least they have the initiative, while we carry the thankless, hopeless job of sweeping back the great tide of change.

In fact, what has happened is that the United States, together with its allies in so far as they can be held in line, is engaged in heading up the new counter-revolution; and revolution, right or left, has its own logic and its own consequences. It requires conformity—as Russia demonstrates—and rejects freedom of thought and speech and action because, obviously, these are the antitheses of conformity. It exaggerates the danger of its enemies, or invents enemies. It cannot tolerate critical, halfway adherents since they may undermine more effectively than outright opponents the dogma on which it relies.

On the other hand it accepts, if sometimes with reluctance, those fanatic supporters—the McCarthys—who may discredit it by their behavior but who must not be offended lest they turn nasty. Those who direct the operation use fear as a weapon, and soon fear becomes a force itself, dominating both the leader and the led, the informer and his victim, the cautious liberal and the cause he quietly abandons. Soon it comes to seem reckless not only to criticize the government's foreign policy but to speak in favor of socialism in Saskatchewan or French reforms in Tunisia—or academic freedom at home. Everything tends to be drawn into a single framework of what constitutes conformity—and the name of this sort of conformity is fascism.

AS THIS discussion has tried to show, the American witch hunt is tied, too closely for comfort, to the course of economic and political developments throughout the world. It would be naive to expect that as long as the cold war grinds on there will be an end to repression, official or otherwise, in America. But even the dialectics of world revolution permit periods of lessened tension and shifts of direction. The process going on today is infinitely complex; trends are mixed, in this country as elsewhere. The course of events itself can change in response to popular or official pressures; new political

Wind and Whirlwind

The unprecedented outburst of terror and terrorism which at the moment is venting itself upon Socialists, Communists, "Reds," and agitators of all sorts in this country grows in volume and intensity from day to day. . . . Every radical thinker or reformer in the United States today who belongs to any organization which the Department of Justice has put under the ban, or who expresses sympathy with the men and women who have been pounced upon, puts his personal liberty in danger if his sympathies be known. . . .

What must happen if this sort of thing goes on, every sober-minded citizen knows. . . . The belief, startlingly confirmed only the other day by no less respectable a body than the Carnegie Foundation, that there is in this country one law for the rich and powerful and another for the poor and weak, will be strengthened; as will the conviction that free speech, free debate, and free publication of opinion, whether for the citizen or the alien, are rights to be enjoyed by such only as say what the Department of Justice and powerful business interests approve. . . . We shall not safeguard liberty by repressing it; we shall not raise American prestige abroad by sending overseas the disillusioned and the unassimilated. The only way to end dangerous discontent in the United States is to remove its causes. Unless that is done, those who today are sowing the wind will before long reap the whirlwind.

—The Nation, January 17, 1920.

leaders will emerge and new governments be elected, and policies which themselves were responsible for encouraging the witch hunt may in turn be damaged by its impact—this is demonstrably the case with some of the foreign policies of the Truman Administration.

There is also the natural impulse of opposition which is set in motion by the piling up of cruel and unjust measures; if the rise of a new fascism generates fear, it also creates the will to resist. At some stage, also, infringements of people's rights become so obviously out of line with the supposed dangers they are intended to guard against that even the most docile citizen grows uneasy and ashamed and a natural reaction sets in. When the smear reaches enough well-known persons of high repute—Jessup, Acheson, even Eisenhower—doubt is cast on the whole enterprise; and when the point is reached at which other prominent individuals muster enough courage and concern to fight back, one can assume that abatement is under way.

It would be premature to announce that this has yet begun, though some hopeful omens can be spotted here and there. Among the most important have been the recent statements before Congressional committees of Owen Lattimore, Sidney Buchman, and Lillian Hellman. The successful faculty rebellion against the loyalty oath

at the University of California; the formation of groups at the community level, as in Englewood, Scarsdale, and Berkeley, by citizens determined to fight for their rights; and the campaign to unseat Senator McCarthy, rapidly taking shape at this moment—all these can be set off against ugly signs of revived grass-roots vigilantism, such as the "Sixth Column" committees and various veteran and bundist groups—the boys who picket and burn cars and serve as self-appointed informers.

The elections offer a chance to focus and organize the scattered movements of resistance. From the conventions on through the campaign, people alerted to the need of action can force the civil-liberties issue to the front, demanding that candidates from the Presidential nominees down take a clear stand for the restoration of

democratic safeguards and procedures. This special issue of *The Nation* is designed for one primary purpose: to provide an arsenal of facts and ideas for all Americans who are ready to take up this fight. The contributors have been chosen by and large from those occupational groups which have suffered most heavily from repressive measures, statutory and otherwise: science and education, the civil service, the publishing industry, the varied world of entertainment, the legal profession, and the broad field of organized labor. So in essence this issue is a compilation of the reports of specialists. We hope that their findings will be put to good use between now and November, to the end that the question, How Free Is Free? may be resolved in accordance with the traditions of liberal America.

Spies into Heroes

WHAT is constitutional may still be unwise. The reluctance of the Supreme Court to let the Bill of Rights block various activities meant to protect the nation from foreign attack and revolution merely puts constitutional objections out of the way. Other very serious objections to what is actually done under the law still remain and urgently require consideration.

The time has come for the American people to look at what is happening to us because of the numerous and novel types of suppression that are now in operation. Legal issues can desirably be laid aside while we engage in the much more familiar activity of watching men and women. What is being done to human beings in the name of national safety? What kind of human beings are doing it? Do they behave in ways we like or are they departing from American habits of kindness, fairness, and common sense? All this is the sort of thing we need to look at.

While trying to do some such observing, I find that a good many aspects of what is going on now disturb a man who loves the kind of country in which he grew up and fears that it may disappear unless present trends are checked. This is the place to speak of one matter which calls for a good deal of watching and thinking on the part of the regular run of American citizen.

I am disturbed by the growing inclination to turn spies into heroes. One of the earliest lessons learned by children is that tale-bearing is a dirty business. No doubt

BY ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.

there are several long-recognized crimes harmful to the community, like counterfeiting, where conviction would often be hard to obtain without stool-pigeons and spies. Here the need for the betrayer's evidence is great enough to outweigh the evils of spies. But when one is considering a novel crime, it is a question whether the game is worth the candle. The use by employers of spies in labor unions shows what can happen. And when it comes to political crimes, historians of the Popish Plot and sedition laws in England during the French Revolution have demonstrated that spies were a black blot on such affairs. Spies sometimes become *agents provocateurs* who incite the very crimes they are hired to report. Hence it is disquieting to read the evidence against the eleven Communists in New York two years ago by at least three spies, working under the direction of the FBI, who joined the Communist Party and served on its recruiting committees. Thus these government employees were actively inducing American citizens to become members of a conspiracy against the United States. A still more pervasive evil of spies is the breakdown of confidence in social and family life. Intercourse is poisoned if one never knows whether his fellow guest at dinner is going to report his casual statements to the secret police. One would suppose we had heard enough of what went on in Germany under the Nazis or what goes on in Russia today to abjure this kind of thing.

The worst spy of all is the renegade. He has already double-crossed the community by engaging in wrongdoing and then double-crossed his associates by deserting them and helping to punish them. After such an experience, truth-telling does not come naturally. The renegade has to make a good story in order to obtain immunity for

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his own admitted misconduct. Hence there is a great temptation to exaggerate or falsify the behavior of his former associates. And since it is often his word against theirs, he has magnificent opportunities for gratifying personal spites.

The latest phase in the current glorification of the political spy is to compare him with Major André or Nathan Hale. There are sharp differences between the military spy and the political spy. In the first place, a man employed by an army to report on troop movements, fortifications, etc., is going to give facts. What he says can be verified. If he misleads those who employ him, his falsehood will soon be detected and he will pay a fearful penalty. The political spy, on the other hand, reports conversations and midnight contacts in dark alleys. There is usually no way to check up on him, and his opportunities for falsification are almost unlimited. Another difference is that the military spy does not have the temptation to lie. He is not accusing persons, but telling about things. The political spy can send human beings to prison or deprive them of a job, and so he may have strong motives to distort his story for personal reasons or to shield himself. The military spy has no chance to poison human relationships.

This is not to say that spies as witnesses against men accused of political crimes will tell nothing in court except lies. Undoubtedly, some of them will try to tell the truth during their whole testimony while others will mix a good deal of truth with falsehoods. But there is a much greater risk of false testimony from spies than from ordinary men. Every witness, no matter how honest, natu-

rally wants to make a good case for his own side. But this desire is affected by several factors. Truthfulness is a requisite of most normal occupations from bookkeeping to the practice of medicine. An ingrained habit of telling the truth is carried on to the witness stand. And the ordinary witness knows that his lack of veracity may be detected when he testifies, as he usually does, about matters which are capable of proof or on which he can be contradicted by disinterested eyewitnesses.

But when spies appear in court, such checks operate in a much weaker way. The very nature of a spy's work requires lying. He has to deceive his associates into thinking him one of themselves. The longer he spies, the greater the tendency for the boundary between truth and falsehood to be blurred. One can never be sure that Dr. Jekyll has not changed into Mr. Hyde. Readers of Conrad's "Secret Agent" and "Under Western Eyes" will have no doubt of this. And the subject matter of a spy's testimony in political cases may not be susceptible of neutral verification. The only other possible eyewitnesses of the transactions he narrates are usually the suspected person he is helping to punish and other members of the alleged conspiracy. It is impossible to let in the light of day upon these dusky happenings.

The trouble is not that you can be sure a spy is lying. The trouble is you cannot be sure he is telling the truth. The risk of false testimony is tremendously increased. Therefore, the fact that it is hard to obtain convictions for political crimes without the use of spies is not an argument for using spies. It is an argument against having political crimes.

The Battle of the Books

BY MATTHEW JOSEPHSON

HERE we are in the early years of the American Century, called to lead the world, as we are assured, and this not only by the persuasive force of napalm bombs or A-bombs but by the power of ideas and the example of our moral beauty as a nation. However, many West Europeans, who are our allies in the cold war against communism, have begun to express doubt that we have the wisdom and self-command to lead the whole world. The metropolitan press of Western Europe has been reporting items touching on our bizarre folkways, under the heading Americana and presented in the style of Mencken's chronicles of the Amer-

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ican "booboisie." Our political trials, our inquisitions of Hollywood movie actors, our American Legionnaires attacking schools and libraries, our mass hysteria over internal Communist enemies—all this is duly noted by our European friends and set beside our pretensions to be the saviors of Western civilization. I say nothing of what our ideological opponents in the East, whom we are so eager to liberate, may make of lessons in democracy such as the following (reported by the United Press on February 12, 1952):

Sapulpa, Okla., Feb. 11 (UP)—Charles Hartman, vice-president of the Sapulpa Board of Education, said today that some books in the Sapulpa School Library had been burned by the school after being criticized by a women's civic group for the way they dealt with socialism and sex.

He stated that only "five or six" books had been de-

stroyed and they were "volumes of no consequence." He added that he believed one was a history judged to be too approving of socialism and the others fiction which dealt too frankly with sex.

"They just weren't good reading for teen-age children," Mr. Hartman declared.

That "it" has happened here, in an Oklahoma town of 13,000 inhabitants, and in several other small towns as well, should not surprise us. For years we have been told that we are in a state of crisis, though we are not officially at war. Some of our most prominent "Americanist" shepherds, in Congress and in the press, have been rousing up their flocks. A strange "battle of the books" has been going on for about five years, since the early stages of our political conflict with Russia. Of late it has reached an intensity that has frightened reasonable Americans who were disposed not to take alarm unduly at the occasional excesses of our small-town vigilantes.

SOBER reports of the American Library Association *Bulletin* indicate that there have been "hundreds" of incidents throughout the United States in which self-constituted guardians of the public safety have taken action to remove, censor, suppress, or destroy teaching material or books deemed by them "subversive" or "un-American." The curious thing is that these groups are made up of people who have never been interested in literature, or pedagogy, or scholarship, or science. Yet they come armed with fixed notions of loyalty or "Americanism" to which all other groups in the community, our learned professions and institutions, our publishers and writers, are asked to conform. Thanks to their petitions, new investigative committees are being set up in Congress, one of them vested by the recently enacted Gathings resolution with extremely broad and vague powers to make inquiry into radio and television productions, comic strips, pocket books, and other media of public communication, for "immoral" content or expressions "otherwise offensive."

"The book trade today is up against a new development, the threat of censorship on political grounds," according to a statement made by Donald Klopfer for the Book Publishers' Council a year ago. False information about books now widely circulated, he added, might lead to political censorship on the ground of national security.

A nation-wide study of the censorship movement made by Benjamin Fine, the education editor of the *New York Times*, was a front-page story in that newspaper on May 25, 1952. The country's leading educators, Fine wrote, are filled with anxiety at the widespread and concerted character of the attacks directed in recent months at schoolbooks and other reading material. "Self-appointed committees" are being organized in many different areas to "screen" books used by colleges and

lower schools and free libraries, in order to halt the circulation of books by authors suspected of "subversive" ideas. Books long in use, it was reported, are suddenly being denounced by groups "not accountable to any legal body." Librarians are being intimidated. "A book-burning such as took place in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, does not often occur, but the end result is just as serious when books . . . are removed from school or library shelves."

Throughout the country organized groups are assuming the initiative and leading the local patriots into action against the alleged purveyors of "dangerous thoughts." The names of their organizations may be new or old, they may be Catholic or Protestant or Jewish, but their procedure is the same. The affair may begin, as at Worcester or Grand Rapids, by the publication of an anonymous letter in the local paper assailing the high-school superintendent or town librarian for harboring "subversive" books. The object is to ban not only works that seem to advocate social change but in many cases writings that are simply critical of our business morals, like James Rorty's "Our Master's Voice: Advertising," or Laura Z. Hobson's "Gentleman's Agreement," a novel about anti-Semitism. Or even, as in Peoria, Illinois, works which urge support of the United Nations.

At Bartlesville, Oklahoma, a group known as Pro-America levels its guns on the town librarian for keeping copies of *The Nation* and the *New Republic* on file. The librarian is promptly fired by the mayor, and so are the library trustees, for having tried to defend her. In Cleveland, the Mothers of World War II, assembled in convention, vote to investigate libraries, bookstores, schools, and newspapers in order to "purge them of all subversive material." In Peoria, as in many other towns, the local American Legion post goes into action to the same end. In suburban Scarsdale, New York, there is only a Committee of Ten that fights to stop the town from reading Mr. Louis Untermeyer's anthologies of modern American and British poetry. In Burbank, California, the library trustees themselves vote to label all books by placing stickers in the volumes of authors who belong to organizations on the Attorney General's subversive list or "similar lists."

Amid the excitement of the "battle of books" that gripped Burbank last autumn one notes that a team of public-relations men from nearby Los Angeles quietly offered to "check" on the authors of all books in the Burbank public library for the modest fee of \$200. Their earnest intention was to extend this pioneering business to all the cities of California, while promoting the sales of *Alert*, a newsletter resembling *Counter-attack*, and offering "facts to combat communism" to a select list for \$25 a year. These investigative and censorial procedures were eventually blocked in Burbank as in other California towns by the responsible municipi-

pal authorities, thanks to the vigorous action of California members of the American Library Association.

Nevertheless, a new Citizens' Committee appeared in Los Angeles last May and was reported as calling for seventy-five volunteers to examine books used in the Los Angeles County high schools. Alas, only twelve citizens answered the call, and these were described by the newspapers as "elderly persons," all but three of them old ladies. They were much photographed by the press as they donned their spectacles and made ready to peruse some 600,000 volumes, including the spacious works of Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, John Dewey, and Bertrand Russell. No reflection is intended against the old-age group in our population. On the contrary it is not our youth but the older folks, with their remembrance of times of full intellectual freedom, who have been putting up the stoutest resistance to the groups of frightened patriots and the professional bigots or "full-time complainers" who lead them. Meanwhile the climate of opinion, as reflected in these reports from the field, has thrown our authors and book publishers, as well as our theater and film producers, into a deep funk.

HOW does the hysteria in 1919, after World War I, compare with that of today? I remember how the returned war veterans, the fervent patriots, and the eager vigilantes joined in a hunt for "criminal syndicalists" who were credited with having perpetrated a series of bomb explosions. The FBI carried out a dragnet operation among masses of foreign-born residents. Two Italian anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti, were picked up. Then as appetite for such business mounted, headquarters of many labor unions, both A. F. of L. and I. W. W.—for there were no Communists to speak of then—were raided by "volunteers" and not a few lynching parties took place in the provinces. Socialist leaders and pacifists were thrown into jail. Yet all this *furor Americanus* seems ill organized, spontaneous, and full of hearty animal spirits compared with the present movement. The people who were saving the republic then were not interested in ideas, books, or even journals of opinion.

Today's breed of super-patriots is a good deal better organized, less given to physical violence, and pretends to be *literate*. These people do not beat up women marching in labor-union parades, as in 1919. Instead, they go trooping into little Carnegie libraries or bookshops or high schools to spy out "Red-slanted books" and administer the anti-Communist "treatment." They know Karl Marx well and the "infiltration" methods of his votaries. Even our red-blooded American Legion has become ideological in its way. Why You Buy Books That Sell Communism is the title of a leading article by Irene Corbally Kuhn in the *American Legion Maga-*

I can think of only one way in which the Kremlin may still conquer us, and that without war. It is by so frightening us (but it is we who allow ourselves to be frightened) that for fear of the enemy within we transform our own society imperceptibly into an apparatus of totalitarianism indistinguishable from the society of Soviet Russia—a system which may not be criticized, whether the British parliamentary system or the American way of life, for fear of damaging national unity, the unity of the grave; a system in which the bully and the corrupt may not be denounced or the underdog uplifted because nobody will dare risk being called a Red.—Edward Crankshaw, "Cracks in the Kremlin Wall" (The Viking Press).

zine for January, 1951. Here sensational charges were made that "Commie-minded" bookshop clerks, editors, and newspaper book-reviewers "manipulate the book business to promote works written by their soul-mates and kill off opposition books." The author, as if citing a typical incident, pictured a patriotic book-buyer inquiring in vain for some anti-Communist work which is always reported to be out of stock. But when, cunningly, he used the trick of calling for a volume by Owen Lattimore, the salesclerk "fell over herself in her eagerness to haul out a fresh copy." Thus a stereotype of "Red-slanted bookstores" at every street corner was offered to the 3,000,000 readers of the *American Legion Magazine* and was reproduced in syndicated newspaper columns. Our leading newspapers, such as the New York Times and Herald Tribune, were accused in this article of employing chiefly "fellow-travelers" to write book reviews for their Sunday supplements and steer the innocent customers toward the party line. The most respectable newspapers, book publishers, and textbook houses were attacked in the same article for promoting or circulating books that favored "collectivism," while discouraging the literary productions of writers who had given their hearts to private enterprise. After Miss Kuhn's article had been hawked around the country, hundreds of persons, in a well-organized demonstration, telephoned or wrote letters to complain of the alleged "subversive" doctrines promulgated by those prudent, loyal, profit-seeking men who run the Times and the Macmillan Company.

The textbook trade is a large and lucrative business compared with that of publishers dealing in novels and general books. The principal textbook publishers have long cooperated closely with local politicians who in their different states run education commissions or school boards; indeed, no section of the publishing field is more practical than this. Textbook authors, in order to survive, have become the timidiest of all writers, diluting their product so that the most bigoted reader need find

nothing to offend him. New editions of well-known textbooks have been constantly revised in the direction of extreme political neutrality and dulness. One can scarcely imagine any American boy or girl being impressed or persuaded by anything found in such texts. Yet as has been observed by Father James Keller of The Christophers, who has written pamphlets of vocational guidance urging young people to follow callings in which they might fight against "godless" doctrines, the school, and particularly the library, must be regarded as the "arsenal of ideas" to be kept under the control of right-thinking persons.

Another who has worked hard to alter our cultural climate is Lucille Cardin Crain, editor of the *Educational Reviewer*, a quarterly journal which urges the suppression of schoolbooks guilty of advocating change, or even simply of recording such change as has taken place in the past (under the New Deal). Miss Crain has been called an educational bigot by school authorities, and the new body that liberally finances her activities, the Conference of Small Business Organizations, has been styled by the House of Representatives' select committee on lobbying as a "pressure group" given to devious methods in order to secure—paradoxically enough—"big-business support" for its projects. In this same orbit we find also the familiar, undemocratic figures of Merwin K. Hart, of the National Economic Council, Allen Zoll, now running something called the National Council for American Education, and Zoll's old friend, Upton Close. It is they who suddenly profess acute alarm over a textbook like the late Frank Magruder's "American Government," used for a generation by millions of high-school students.

THE agitation at the school and library level has surely helped to depress the whole field of education and letters in America. Gradually the pattern underlying these seemingly spontaneous or sporadic incidents is becoming distinct. At least ten Front Organizations are trying to direct the course of our school system and our universities toward their own standards of "loyalty." This statement is based on surveys made by the National Education Association and by a special committee of the American Library Association. The attention of these Front Organizations is being extended more and more to the field of textbooks and literature, as well as of education. They claim that they seek only to defend the republic, but several of them distribute propaganda attacking the United Nations and movements for world peace and the reduction of armament.

A recent survey of these "professional bigots" prepared by the Anti-Defamation League—"The Trouble-Makers," by Israel Epstein and Arnold Forster, published last month by Doubleday—shows that they "work together through the exchange of 'sucker' lists and,

by exploiting common propaganda, have established a nation-wide network." Their financial contributors, it is reported, are usually wealthy, middle-aged women of the type who regularly supported Zoll's so-called patriotic projects during the 1930's. "The outstanding common denominator of these professional propagandists is that *they make money from their efforts*." Seven such organizations reported that their combined income recently exceeded \$1,000,000 annually.

WHY is there such intense activity in peddling the propaganda of prejudice, fear and hate? Nothing comparable was experienced during World War II when the country was in actual danger from the Nazis and the Japanese. During the period of our police action for the U. N. in Korea, federal and state loyalty boards, Congressional committees aiming at thought-control, and our big Drummer Boy Joe in the Senate have created a veritable panic over the alleged internal danger offered by a few Communists—a panic that has particularly affected our less sophisticated citizenry. (It is possible that the augmented power of suggestion or hypnosis now exercised by radio and television has not been fully estimated.) High-level officers of the Chamber of Commerce, the N. A. M., and the American Legion regularly deny that they favor movements for the censorship of opinion or the restriction of our civil liberties. Nevertheless, the editors of the *American Legion Magazine*, with a circulation of nearly 3,000,000, proceed much as they please.

Since 1946 the United States Chamber of Commerce, from Washington, has issued a series of widely distributed pamphlets on the subject of Communist Infiltration, one such pamphlet, entitled *A Program for Community Anti-Communist Action*, published in 1948 and reprinted since, has reached a circulation of 683,000. Its prescriptions, as careful students of the so-called "Americanist" movement have noticed, have been followed faithfully in widely separated communities throughout the country. Here are a few:

1. Subscribe to a good newsletter or magazine specializing in Communist exposure.
2. Read one or more books on communism each month.
3. See that books and periodicals exposing communism are in school and public libraries.
4. Ask newspapers, magazines, and radio stations to carry useful material on communism. Praise them when they do so.
5. Be sure that your local bookstore features good books exposing communism.

The public is further exhorted to support "patriotic ex-Communists who cooperate with the FBI"; to protest against public officials who display "softness" toward radicals and demand of them "a more patriotic

attitude." The new patriots are warned to be on guard chiefly against *liberals*, who speak too much for civil liberties.

The enemies of free opinion, it would appear, proceed to the attack in four columns. One besieges the schools and their textbooks; a second assails the consumers of reading matter in libraries and bookstores; a third denounces authors by means of anonymous letters and "smear" articles in publications that welcome such material; a fourth has begun a drive against the publishers. There is a "fifth column" too, as we shall see.

THE "smearing" of book publishers began in earnest with the January, 1951, issue of the *American Legion Magazine*. Angus Cameron, for many years vice-president and editor-in-chief of Little, Brown of Boston, was singled out for "treatment" because he had continued to publish Howard Fast and had taken an active part in the Progressive Party's Presidential campaign for Henry Wallace in 1948. Last year there were rumors that the book-publishing trade, like motion pictures and

radio, would be investigated by the Un-American Activities Committee. Then, on August 31, 1951, *Counterattack* devoted an entire issue to Little, Brown and Angus Cameron—who, according to *Time*, has sometimes been called "the foremost

United States book editor." It was charged that thirty-one authors on the Little, Brown list were either avowed or secret Communists. As "evidence" of guilt the fact was cited that some of their books, like James Aldridge's "The Diplomat," had won favorable notices from a Communist Party official in the *Daily Worker*. A number of the authors and books mentioned as "objectionable" had only the slightest connection with Little, Brown; some were not even handled by it.

The directors of Little, Brown seem to have been thrown into confusion by the attentions of *Counterattack*. After two weeks the firm replied by issuing a printed statement that refuted many of the allegations made against it. Moreover, the great preponderance of its publications, it was explained, were those of popular-fiction writers like J. P. Marquand and Mazo de la Roche, the works held "objectionable" by *Counterattack* being estimated at only 4 per cent of its book volume. At the same time, though Little, Brown's management said nothing, it became known that Cameron had resigned, upon request, of course.

Other publishers were greatly incensed at Little, Brown's dropping of Cameron the moment the firm came under attack. Shortly after this incident, which received a good deal of attention in the press, a meeting of representatives of thirteen New York publishers was called by Douglas Black, head of Doubleday and presi-

dent of the American Book Publishers' Council. Black's aim was to persuade the other publishers to close their ranks and reach agreement on the position they would take in case of further attacks by professional propagandists or by Congress. Instead of panicking like the film producers and the radio broadcasting companies, the publishers had hitherto maintained a dignified reserve during the furor over "subversive" literature. The tradition of a free book press was strong in most of the publishers. A member of the group was assigned to compose a "Book Publishers' Bill of Rights," to be displayed in all bookshops. A similar directive, based on the civil-rights clauses in the Constitution, had been issued several years before by the American Library Association to its thousands of members and displayed by them on their bulletin boards throughout the country, with good effect on the bigots. Here it was affirmed, as the policy of the A. L. A., that "in no case should any books be excluded because of the race or nationality, or the political or religious views, of the writer"; nor should sound reading matter be "proscribed or removed from library shelves because of partisan or doctrinal disapproval"; or through the coercive action of "volunteer arbiters of morals or political opinion."

The publishers were also going to stand together for the "free access to ideas and full freedom of expression that are the tradition and heritage of Americans." For the group of publishers a subcommittee on censorship, headed by Donald Klopfer, began to gather data on false propaganda about the book trade and on current attempts to suppress or "label" books.

SINCE the autumn of 1951, however, a succession of unpleasant episodes have markedly lowered the morale of the publishers and disposed them to bow to what they call the "climate of opinion." The organized "smearing" of Max Lowenthal, author of a book on the FBI, and of his publisher, William Sloane Associates, as "pro-Communist," in newspaper columns and over the air, is one of the worst of these incidents. The attempt—eventually frustrated—to remove the books of Mark Van Doren from the library of a New Jersey state junior college was another such affair. This was provoked by a man who had never read them and was unaware that they were entirely unpolitical. The slandering of many of our leading writers in Congress by Representative George Dondero, of Michigan, also makes it possible for false, inaccurate, or exaggerated statements to be quoted from the public records with immunity.

Publishers, who are for the most part small business men, have no more courage than others to face constant slander or misrepresentation. Thus the "Book Publishers' Bill of Rights" has been put away in a drawer. No powerful effort at publicity—which the publishers

know a good deal about—has been made to counteract the "Americanist" propaganda. With a few noteworthy exceptions the publishers have adopted a policy of silence, to avert further attacks which may result in their being cut down one by one, as the more far-sighted have warned.

"We are doing things we never dreamed of five years ago, or that we thought could happen only in Mussolini's Italy," a publisher said to me recently. One well-known firm, after contracting to publish a manuscript by a "controversial personality" and announcing it in its spring, 1952, catalog, turned chicken-hearted and wriggled out of its agreement because it suddenly realized that the distribution of such a book would invite attacks. Most publishers are turning to innocuous, non-committal, or "right-thinking" books which, they hope, will entertain the public and offend no one. Editors do not admit that they reject manuscripts because they might be branded "un-American" or stir up controversy, but only that such books might not sell or "would not appeal to women readers."

OUR book press is one of the last outposts of free inquiry and opinion. Newspapers, radio-television, and slick-paper magazines are all affected by the advertisers and it is becoming increasingly difficult for intelligent readers to find disinterested information in the press or on the air. Our very business interests would seem to require the publication of books on foreign affairs that do not mislead us about what a fine job Chiang Kai-shek or Syngman Rhee is doing. The suppression or silencing of men like Edgar Snow and Owen Lattimore, for example, who know a great deal about the Far East, leaves us in danger of flying blind. Less and less of a hearing is given to our "loyal opposition." Should a change in foreign policy become necessary, we may find that we lack the knowledge needed to prepare us for it.

In Nazi Germany a people who were among the best read in the world were reduced to reading only what Goebbels believed was good for them. Will American publishers and their authors also wait patiently until everyone is "coordinated," that is, made to think the same thoughts and read the same few books? What, then, will become, even materially, of our once flourishing book-publishing enterprises? For our poor bigots are merely literate—"mechanized peasants," in a sense—reading few books and buying fewer. The solid core of our reading public, a tiny proportion of the population compared with Denmark or England, is composed of liberals. The success of Paul Blanshard's "American Freedom and Catholic Power" (190,000 copies sold) despite its rejection by a score of publishers, and that of Thomas Sugrue's "A Catholic Speaks His Mind," strongly support such a view.

During a recent stay in Italy I heard Alberto Moravia make some illuminating observations about the state of literature under the Fascist regime. He was then a fledgling writer, but one of his first books was suppressed by order of Mussolini. The Italian authors, Moravia said, were all trying to write "little still lifes" which would avoid offending the regime: trivia about domestic life and love or tales of the past that shunned social questions. Literature, and publishing as well, stagnated until the Allies arrived in 1943-44.

WE MUST conclude that our writers, and their official organization, the Authors League of America, have been as meek and inoffensive during this crisis, of censorship as their publishers, who, after all, are men of trade. One would have thought that some of our writers who had attained great fame and age might have considered themselves, like Zola, "expendable" in the true interests of civilization. Yet I can think of few who have lifted their voices effectively against the self-appointed thought police. Up to date the Authors League, as the official writers' organization, has not made an issue of freedom of thought versus censorship, or strongly pleaded its own cause before the public.

Whatever resistance there has been has developed among the 400,000 school principals and teachers of the N. E. A. and, particularly, the members of the American Library Association. Much credit is due to the national directors of both organizations, who have steadfastly applied their influence wherever danger has threatened. For the A. L. A. courageous leadership has been furnished by David K. Berninghausen, librarian of Cooper Union, who up to 1951 was secretary of the A. L. A.'s Committee for Cultural Freedom. By his reports in the A. L. A. *Bulletin* on the professional bigots, by his patience and vigilance in rallying A. L. A. members and their friends to defensive action at the various focal points of trouble, Dr. Berninghausen (together with his A. L. A. associates) has demonstrated that our modern Know-Nothings can be held in check—as has happened lately in California, New York, New-Jersey, Ohio, and elsewhere.

A questionnaire issued in 1951 by the A. L. A. to librarians in twenty-four states asked for their opinion of proposals to label books on political grounds and segregate some of them in "subversive" rooms or reserved bookshelves. But were these not precisely the methods of Stalin, several librarians asked? The answers were more than five to one against such action.

One wrote: "I'm an adult. Sound mind. Good education. Who the hell has the right to tell me what to read or warn me what not to read?"

And another commented: "How soon after we start labeling books will we begin to burn them?"

They have begun.

Behind the Asbestos Curtain

BY GILBERT W. GABRIEL

NEVER meddle with actors." So pleaded one Cervantes Saavedra, four hundred years ago. As a hack playwright who had had a pretty bastard by a loving player, he might have been accused of special pleading and some slight bias. But, no, he was out to state a rule for the general public, and to stand up proudly for the stage. "Actors are a privileged class . . . merry people," he said, "who give pleasure, and whom everyone favors and protects."

Up to now, the American theater has enjoyed just this sort of fond, fairly easy existence. Its practitioners have been less troubled by sponsors' prejudices and mob pressures than those in practically any other branch of the entertainment world. Its produce has been listened to with that smiling leniency—and that half an ear, often—which mark it as bright but readily forgivable stuff from the mouths of babes. We've had no royal prohibition snapping back at an impertinent Beaumarchais. Our stage folk, in or out of grease paint, have never been much else than Cervantes' merry people, unminded and—unless they took to killing Lincolns—habitually exempt.

That's how it was. Of such old flats and cut-outs was the scenery of this fools' paradise assembled until today. Until today, too, it still looked good and handsome from out front, still giving off the grateful shine of that privilege to say, sing, dance, act, produce whatsoever piece, hire whatsoever talent, the theater itself desired. All over the country, from Broadway to the remotest summer barn, our living theater was going to go on proving itself one of the least troubled refuges of our right to the free expression of fun, stir, sympathy, ideas, the truth.

It looked good, yes, and sounded all the better in contrast to those strange new codes in the rest of the cousinly trades around. The movies might have to beat their celluloid breasts and mumble a billion-dollar *mea culpa*, but nobody could involve the theater in such nonsense. Video might vie with the universities at extracting loyalty oaths and firing employees in crocodilic sorrow, but the theater was honestly too busy to be bothered. Ex-editors could give their all—and their ex-

comrades' all, of course—in suddenly glorious, solidly profitable serials which the book clubs would canonize, but the stage would never be stampeded by their breed. Disgruntled academic painters could cue an obliging Congressman to explode into official ranting against all modern painting trends as traitorous, subversive, Communist per se, and a phalanx of one society of sculptors accuse the Metropolitan Museum of deliberately harboring maleficent left-wing bronzes, but the theater was too wide, too wise, ever to let itself be dragged into such an antic zone of dervish exhibitionism. Well, so we thought, and so were reassured.

GRANTED, we had been getting some gossip-column warnings to the contrary. We were already hearing it on the wind, how the "Red Channels" outfit, having paled the complexions of Hollywood and Radio City, would proceed to catch and skin all the tawnier showcats of the Times Square district. We were encountering certain theatrical celebrities loath to tell, but who nevertheless told with bated breath, about other theatrical celebrities being summoned mysteriously to appear in Washington. We'd had rumors, first or second hand, of acrimonious politico-patriotic powwows inside the sundry professional guilds, equities, and unions. These were bad things to hear. They made us want to believe in the theater all the more.

Our faith wasn't shaken even when, last winter, the ladies' advisory council of a benevolent producing organization—we shan't identify it further for it has a large heart and an ability to bring whole series of plays, well done and at nearly nominal prices, to several scattered neighborhoods of New York—resolved that hereafter no works shall be allowed upon its list which are composed by known or suspected—mind you, suspected—Communists. The ladies backed up their resolution with three examples of the playwrights they were banishing. One of this poor trio has been turning out a frantic yearful of articles, plus an entirely denunciatory full-length novel, to prove how much he hates Communists. One is deservedly famous for beautiful but weepy studies of female psychopaths and probably never had a political notion of palest hue. The third has since repented publicly a short party membership, and so will undoubtedly be readily returnable to the collective bosom of these ladies.

Let's stop grinning about this: the theater is still a happy-go-lucky institution, happier of purpose and luckier in its several latitudes of make-believe than most,

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but if we don't watch out it will not be so for long. Let's be blunt: the threat to freedom in the theater is only just beginning, but it has begun. It has already reached that borderland of the ridiculous where, during a recent tryout of the revival of a play as sentimental and gaily old-Czarist as "Tovarich" in the national capital, Legionnaires felt it an affront to our native land's honor and flung up a picket line.

This picketing of plays is fairly new. So far it is also fairly intermittent and none too effective. When the Theater Guild produced John Wexley's annal of the Scottsboro Case, "They Shall Not Die," back in 1933-34, nobody organized any militant cordons to save innocent audiences from its heat. But when the same piece was revived a couple of years ago by a smaller producing unit which—sin of sins—wanted to remind its listeners that some parallel doubts were permissible in modern Trenton, it had a rough sidewalk treatment throughout its engagement. To its credit, it continued to run. Only small companies can.

FOR around the theater picketing is a peculiarly dire threat. A book will often outlast its noisiest critic. A magazine has subsequent issues in which to justify itself anew. An offending radio program is not necessarily a lasting loss. But plays are much bigger risks, much more perishable, grimly mortal. It costs major efforts and round fortunes to bring productions to Broadway nowadays. Failing, they seldom win second trials anywhere, even amateurs mistrusting them, and must be whiskbroomed off with a sickening finality and speed. Axiomatic, but there's the theater's weak point—its total dependence on a usually passive, easy-come, easier-going audience. Regrettable, but there's the reason for the theater's increasing jitters—that ghostliest chance of any play's surviving the two or three successive empty houses which low-jinks measures like picketing and boycotting can all too immediately bring about.

There were a couple of plays last season which had to recognize this bull by the shadow of its horns. Long before their first nights, shenanigans commenced. Their bewildered New York producers were being pestered by New Jersey phone-calls, anonymous advices to quit, abandon work and all contracts, finances, and hopes forthwith. Some of their actors were thumbed from the rehearsal wings to hear similar abuse. The author of one of those plays—his was merely an adaptation of a classic—had a dream of doing something defensive in advance. He spoke of declarations all prepared and paid for to the billboard firms and newspapers. He conceived a battle plan of counter-picket lines drawn up in reserve and of a protest meeting which might beat any hoodlums to the punch. His dream, speech, plan got nowhere. Fellow playwrights of more experience and weightier reputation quickly turned them down. They

smacked of press-agentry, some murmured; worse still, others implied, of totalitarian domineering. In our democratic play-world, it was pointed out, the picketing of productions is all right, whereas counter-picketing reeks of the Left. That menace, in short, remains. Play picketing is in. Some of us fear it may be in for bigger use and sheer abuse next season.

THE American theater has been passing, not without growing pains, through twenty years of propaganda plays. This period seems to have begun with a near-masterpiece of romantic invective, John Howard Lawson's "Processional." It included things as exciting as the journalistic "One Third of a Nation," several of the Group Theater's better choices, and, at this end of the trend, Arthur Miller's magnificently protestant tragedies. Seven times out of ten, the rest were pretty poor plays, although that ratio can also be applied to other brands of plays with equal justice. The propaganda sort gradually built up a public, a minority public but an intense one, given to such fierce hurraing for any of its first nights, good, bad, or plain dull, as almost to suggest an opera claque or the gallery at that historic Victor Hugo opening. But, anyway, this period is already on the wane. Thanks to frightened managements and reluctant audiences-at-large, it looks pitifully close to being past, leaving behind it little except a compunction to scent ulterior purpose and tainted politics in every light-headed young farce we go to see.

Sorry, we are not exaggerating. Not when an anemic but well-meant piece like "The Legend of Sarah," which is much ado about the double-bedded memoirs of a brave mistress of the Revolution—ours, ours in 1776, please!—and is just corn-fed fun throughout, gets the pummeling it lately got in Pasadena. Not when Garson Kanin's hilarious hit "Born Yesterday," which deals with a junkman's graft on a world-war scale, gets the shilly-shallying treatment it got in some typical hinterland repertory. Not when our own Manhattan drama departments' mailbags are suddenly brimming with wild remonstrances against the revival of "The Male Animal," the Messrs. Thurber and Nugent's strictly hundred-percent American salute to an ordinary college professor's rudimentary courage. Not when Ibsen is gravely indicted in one daily reviewer's court of higher learning as a dangerous source of Red influence.

That did befall. A new version of Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People" was produced the winter before last. It was a version much needed. It had a burly force to it, a colloquial tang, which made it a change from—if not a complete improvement on—the scholarly gentility of previous translations, and so it was much welcomed. Favorable notices prevailed. Within a week, however, the tabloid editorials were scenting something wickedly subversive in such an association of brazen

ideas with such bold talents—both the adaptor and the stars having lately had some *Counterattack* trouble—and a critic who had written one of those favorable notices was backtracking and admonishing all his readers not to be caught in another Commie trap. That chap Ibsen had gone bad.

Don't hold it against us drama critics as a whole. Most of us do fight on the sane side. Our circle has, at the very least, a liberal circumference, and we've done out decentest to deplore this rabid mess. We should naturally prefer to sit down to live plays than to dead ducks, no matter by whom or what about, but our plurality has social as well as aesthetic consciences, and the stage we still want is a free-speaking, adult-thinking stage. Richard Watts of the *Post* will not hesitate, therefore, to chide his favorite aisle-seat neighbor when he finds him ivory-towering at the above-mentioned "The Male Animal." Brooks Atkinson of the *Times*, in his sage Sunday corner, points out the clear and present validity of that same play by citing last autumn's actual gag-rule on the Ohio State campus. He likewise gives "Born Yesterday" a clean bill of realism by recalling how, only this spring, two junkmen were put up for influence-peddling in Washington. "Life catches up with the theater now and then," he concludes, displaying a characteristic affection for life on both banks of the footlights. But how long—here's the glum question—can a thin file of rueful critics stave off a rush of fools?

ITS PROVED popularity remains a play's best self-defense. In New York, where "Death of a Salesman" originated and ran for a gratifyingly long time, there may have been some moron-fringe mutterings against its emotional impact and message, but nobody dared any open interference. It was too well liked, well respected, for that. Red Channels & Co. would have to wait until it took to the road before advocating that.

The road of the middle-sized cities is a comparative cinch for idiocies and alarums. The Midwest road is known among amusement folk as the Ambush League. Peoria, Illinois, is part and paragon thereof. Peoria was having itself a rousing Anti-Subversive Week, where the principal speaker before its heterogeny of veterans' associations, business-men's lunch clubs, and fraternal orders was an on-the-spot representative of "Red Channels." That gent was no mean opportunist. Spotting a placard which announced that "Death of a Salesman" was soon to arrive, he proceeded to demonstrate his inside dope. The author, the producer, the principal actor of this troupe, he proclaimed, all belonged to Red-front organizations and had been contributing stated portions of their earnings from the play to the Cause. Patently, anybody who'd buy a ticket to that play would be helping to support the Communists. Obviously, boycott it, everybody; and so, then and there, vote to boycott

it everybody did. The Peoria papers made front-page features of the yarn, the gent's accusations—without troubling to investigate them—the glowing speech, the sweeping vote, the editorial amens, all. It was one of the most sterling smears in years of semi-yokel print. Four days later, of course, those papers had the horse sense to publish—as their attorneys may have advised them, even if without the grace of a single regret—the explicit denials which the author, the producer, the principal actor, had wired back. But what about the boycott, who'd stop that? What about that poor, lost-in-the-shuffle issue of a mighty good play it would have done the people of Peoria much good to see? The Authors League sent an optimistic but apparently unpersuasive telegram to the mayor of the city, detailing how many prizes the work had won and urging him to keep his citizens from being altogether silly. A national picture magazine talked of sending out a photographer, in case they still were. But there's only this left to add: a week or so afterward, that road company of "Death of a Salesman" called quits, closed down, was done. Now the play belongs to the movies.

THIS brings us, by uneasy stages, to this very drama's director, and to some other prominent and successful commanders of the play parade in our area and our time, and to what has been lately done to them, and what they have lately done in turn to their theater and ours. We are arrived at personalities.

That rumor of certain theatrical celebrities being called down to testify in Washington came true with the appearance there of Elia Kazan. An eminent director now for both stage and screen, he had once been a member actor—an excellent one—of the Group Theater. He testified that he had concurrently been a member of the Communist Party. His repentance of that error was resonant, and not only orally so. He also made simultaneous recantation in an advertisement in the press, going the whole hog of his erstwhile peccancy and his present patriotism with a fervor which would win him rounds of paragraphers' applause. Kazan supplied the committee with several names. He supplied some which had been only tentatively mentioned hitherto, and some which had not been even that. His intentions specifically to the contrary, he nevertheless came pretty close to giving the impression that a connection with the late Group Theater had been next door to inevitable partnership in a Communist cultural plot. Talk—as we have—to assorted ex-Groupers and they'll tell you, as affrighted as indignant, that that impression is unfair, false. Talk to those of them who, by today's process of associational tarring, have been finding it almost impossible to get jobs in pictures, radio, or television, and you'll understand why they are now resigning themselves to similar block exclusion from the stage. It may all

be supposed to save our country, but it's sure hell on the theater.

Kazan named his old friend and Group comrade, Clifford Odets. Since Odets is one of our foremost playwrights, this gave us a proper jolt. It may even have jolted Odets. He took his turn down in Washington. He seems, according to the news accounts, to have spoken somewhat more heartily than Kazan had. He got off some good, strong truisms in explanation of why he had joined the Communist Party in his "ten-cents-a-day" days, and why he had quit it within nine months. "It wasn't for me." They'd misused his talents, misappropriated his signature, and he was a liberal and still is. His liberality now allowed him to do as others did, to give other party members' or ex-members' names. One was a new name, that of an actor last seen on Broadway in—don't let this depress you—an Odets play. Another actor was J. Edward Bromberg, who had recruited him into communism, so he told. A year ago, appearing before this same House committee, Bromberg had refused to name anybody. Half a year ago, suddenly deceased, Bromberg was being memorialized by Odets as having suffered an unnatural death, a death "by political misadventure" . . . and, "Goodnight, sweet friend." Odets now took pains to corroborate that John Garfield had never been recruited into the party, but it probably occurred to nobody to solicit his goodnight to that sweet friend, too. He made it anyway. "Julie, dear friend," Odets wrote in the *New York Times* (May 25th), "I will always love you."

One more distinguished dramatist, Lillian Hellman, has—at this moment of writing—appeared before the inquiry in Washington. She did so with exceptional dignity. She was fully willing to talk about herself. She refused to tattle about anybody else. Her Congressional

rewards may be meager, and that's predicting it mildly. But she alone, of this fresh batch of theatrical witnesses, has done the theater no disservice and lost none of its respect.

We whose knowledge of the law comes mostly from old Al Woods courtroom melodramas can deliver no expert opinion on whether it's so unalterably necessary for such witnesses to spill their giant-killing beans about their fellow pygmies. We who've been so busy going to plays that we've never had much time or temper to go to party meetings of any tinge at all, are still left wondering what ill wind eddying through Shubert Alley could ever persuade one melancholy bit-player to take an active interest in politics in the first place, to hanker for the cold comfort of a Communist cell in the second, third, and *n*th. We who never were, are not now, nor ever will be, and all those solemn so-forths of the most exhaustive loyalty tests, still contend that even the ex-Communists are none of our business. No, and none of our pleasure, either. But the theater is: the theater which, we were praying, would retain its four-hundred-year-old right to favor and non-meddling; the theater of the one-time merry people where, it now stands to unreason, the slaughter of the semi-innocents may next be going on.

"Actors are afraid to act, writers are afraid to write, and producers are afraid to produce anything amateur sleuths could possibly attack." This gospel afterthought was uttered by whom but Elia Kazan himself, supplementing his Washington testimony with an address at Harvard. He should know. He should have showman's instinct enough to be afraid of this, besides: that that large, passive, habitually so patient public has its own rights to stay away in disgusted droves, saying, "a plague on *all* your playhouses."

Hollywood Meets Frankenstein

BY "X"

Hollywood, California

ON OCTOBER 24, 1947, three of Hollywood's top directors sent a telegram to scores of key figures in the film industry. The wire read:

THIS INDUSTRY IS NOW DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF. UNITY MUST BE RECAPTURED, OR ALL OF US WILL SUFFER FOR YEARS TO COME. YOUR AID IS REQUIRED IN THIS CRITICAL MOMENT. THIS IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANY PICTURE YOU EVER MADE. SIGNED,

JOHN HUSTON, WILLIAM WYLER, BILLY WILDER

The pseudonym X is used for a group of top-flight writers who have important positions in major Hollywood studios.

"This critical moment" was an investigation of Hollywood by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the issue of "The Ten," then still this side of prison.

In those first days of the committee's onslaught, a broad group of film people stood up and fought back. More than fifty stars appeared on two nation-wide broadcasts. Others made a junket to Washington to watch the shabby circus in action. Several top studio executives, among them Dore Schary and L. B. Mayer, said brave words. Both insisted that what mattered in the case of talent was performance, not politics.

But in the hierarchy of the film corporations, men like Schary and Mayer are less than kings. The overlords of

the industry are the New York executives who control financing, distribution, and the theater chains. The motion-picture business is primarily a real-estate operation, and the real estate is in the hands of men like Loew's Nick Schenck, Paramount's Barney Balaban, and Fox's Spyros Skouras. It was these big boys who, at the close of the committee hearings, whistled the studio heads to a meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria. The high-priced hired help were given a brisk caning and a lecture on the facts of life. They emerged from the meeting to issue a statement announcing the firing of "The Ten." A portion of that document is worth quoting, for it has become a Pike's Peak of irony:

In pursuing this policy, we are not going to be swayed by any hysteria or intimidation from any source. We are frank to recognize that such a policy involves dangers and risks. There is a danger of hurting innocent people, there is the risk of creating an atmosphere of fear. Creative work at its best cannot be carried on in an atmosphere of fear. We will guard against this danger, this risk, this fear.

Actually, with the firing of "The Ten," Hollywood created for itself a monster that was to grow as gruesome as any that ever frightened the wits out of children at a horror matinee. Since that day, the film industry has been in panicky retreat before every attack on civil liberties. It is now a hapless pushover for any witch-hunting outfit that seeks to collect blood or blackmail.

THE spectacle of a giant monopoly gibbering with fright may seem curious until one recalls a bit of Hollywood history. The film executives (not unlike those in other industries) have always had an abiding faith in "the fix." They would rather buy off a racketeering union boss than sit down with an honest labor leader. It was this policy that led to the B-picture episode, a few years back, when the studio heads left a satchel of greenbacks in a hotel room to buy off Willie Bioff. It was this faith in the fix that (when a cog slipped somewhere) led to the landing of 20th Century's Joe Schenck in the federal pokey for income-tax evasion.

Hollywood is a company town, and beneath the fancy publicity it is not so different from a coal town in Kentucky or a cotton town in Alabama. When a strike broke out in 1946, the studios smashed it by using tear gas, fire hoses, and gun-toting deputies.

A few final details to fill in the background. Nineteen fifty-one was a rocky year for motion pictures. The Supreme Court had handed down an anti-trust decision ordering the divorcement of theater chains from production facilities. The public, hit by high prices, began to cut down on money spent for entertainment. Television antennae darkened the sky. In Los Angeles, movie attendance dropped 30 per cent. Hundreds of neighborhood theaters shut their doors. 20th Century's Skouras

asked his 130 highest-priced personnel to take salary cuts, some up to 50 per cent. Warner Brothers (showing a comfortable profit for the fiscal year) fired five department heads, one of them with twenty-three years' service.

The film industry, following a national pattern, was searching for a way to slash employee's paychecks and intimidate their unions. Many movie executives looked upon the investigations of Hollywood as a faintly noxious blessing. True, they created nasty publicity. But they also made workers fearful and reluctant to press wage demands. They also kept the unions from becoming militant. Hadn't the conviction of "The Ten" knocked off half a dozen leaders of the Screen Writers Guild?

Meanwhile, the witch hunters were busy. After "The Ten" came the hearings of last year, which used Larry Parks for a burnt offering. Then the Hollywood subcommittee session at which Sidney Buchman turned out to be the main event. Each of these investigations was regarded by the employer element as the big crisis which, once past, would get everybody off the hook and permit a return from panic to Hollywood's normal condition of twittering nervousness. A spokesman for the Un-American Activities Committee actually told an interviewer on TV that last year's hearing would definitely wind up the investigations of "Red influence" in films.

Early in 1952 there seemed to be some easing of the pressure against studio personnel. Studio heads were no longer (or less often) making rousing speeches against The Menace. (One top executive, at a compulsory meeting of the entire staff, from producers and stars to grips and messenger boys, demanded that every one of the workers become an informer and report immediately anything of a suspicious character in the words or actions of fellow employees.) But this sort of thing decreased and a numbed weariness settled over Hollywood. The monster had been fed, it seemed, and for a while would be content to digest its victims.

THIS prediction turned out to be wishful thinking. A new quarry was marked for the hunt—liberals and "fellow travelers." This meant attacks on more than isolated writers, directors, actors, and a few producers. It meant the impugning of certain top executives themselves, no matter how fervid their protestations of anti-communism, no matter how many anti-Communist pictures they had produced.

Dore Schary (in charge at Metro, the biggest studio of them all) became a prime target. So did Paramount's chief of production, Don Hartman. So did Stanley Kramer. The Wage Earners Committee, a local nuisance group, picketed theaters throughout the Los Angeles area and paid its respects to Schary and Kramer with placards, on one of which their names dripped blood.

Neither Schary nor Kramer took it lying down. Both filed suits for more than a million dollars against the Wage Earners, and these actions are now pending in the courts. Schary took a big ad in the movie trade papers and the Los Angeles dailies, defining his suit as "a challenge to all those who recklessly and viciously peddle the tawdry wares of defamation and personal slander." Even the right-wing Producers Association came out in behalf of the libel suits.

The picketing did not stop. But for a moment, there seemed to be a stiffening of resistance. The worm turned, ever so slightly. People who had long ago resigned themselves to a relentless and inevitable McCarthyism crawled up from their cyclone cellars. There even seemed to be a ray of sunlight. When the Republican faction on the Un-American Activities Committee released a report denouncing Hollywood for having failed to purge itself of Communist influence, elements of the Producers Association blasted the report. So vigorous was this reaction that the Democratic members of the committee later dissented from the Republican stand.

Had Hollywood had enough? Had the loss of talent and revenue and the acres of damaging publicity finally exasperated the studios? Had they glimpsed, in the light of events, the shadowy reflection of a lost principle, the principle of civil liberties? It almost seemed as though the saturation point had been reached when, as in the Salem witch hunts, the fanatics started to go after the higher echelons.

PERHAPS by coincidence, perhaps by design, but at this moment—at a time when Schary and Kramer found themselves on the barricades lately manned by people who are now for the most part jobless—Howard Hughes joined battle with the Screen Writers Guild over the issue of monies and credit due screen-writer Paul Jarrico. The latter, a Fifth Amendment casualty, demanded both credit on a finished picture and \$5,000. Hughes galloped into the fray, Sir Galahad in tennis sneakers, doing the noble thing to defend free America. That is, it began to be noble after \$3,500, for which sum Hughes was originally willing to settle with Jarrico. The Guild, whose contract with the entire industry stipulates that it alone shall arbitrate credits, tried to force Hughes to honor a contract which he publicly and blandly renounced. So far, two courts have upheld Hughes, or at least relieved him of the obligation to fulfill his contract with the Guild.

And since we've come to the courts: recently a jury in federal court awarded Adrian Scott (one of "The Ten") \$80,000 due him under an unfinished contract with RKO. Judge Ben Harrison, acting on the appeal of the studio, reversed the decision on the ground that the jury didn't know everything it should have known about the

case. In announcing his decision, Judge Harrison also made a pejorative statement concerning what he thinks of a man who refuses to answer a question at a Congressional hearing. At the same time, it is only fair to say that in the case of another member of "The Ten" the judge allowed a verdict for a smaller amount to stand.

The Hughes controversy broke at just about the time that Elia Kazan (with a juicy new contract pending) confessed all to the Un-American Activities Committee and published an advertisement in which he urged "liberals" to "speak out" and inform on associates. The blasts from Hughes and Kazan sent a good many liberals scuttling back to their cyclone cellars to sit it out in what they hoped would be silence.

Then came a development that reached down into the cyclone cellars.

THE American Legion for some time has had a proscribed list which feeds the hungry maw of the *American Legion Magazine* whenever that publication feels the need for more red meat in its diet. About three months ago, the Legion's Americanism experts found a brilliant new way of harassing the studios and getting them to lop off reddish pinks and pinkish whites. The method: picketing.

One or two pictures were picketed in one or two cities, and immediately Representatives of the Industry (run when you hear that phrase) rushed to the Legion experts with a view to arranging some kind of truce. The idea was to arrive at a formula whereby the studios would get a guarantee that pictures would not be picketed. What was dreamed up was a clearance mechanism that may well become Exhibit A in the evidence of this era's corruption of the American tradition. The mechanism works something like this:

Actor or writer finds himself on the list. He is called in by the chief in charge of such matters at the studio which employs him and is given a dossier of "charges" against him. These range from parlor gossip to hearsay quotes from the Tenney Committee reports, to scuttlebutt from the pages of "Red Channels," to data from state and county volunteer committees. Mention in the *Daily Worker*, other than outright attack, is considered a charge.

Out of the "appeasement" meeting between the Legion and industry representatives came a preliminary list of some 300 names, furnished by letter to each studio. The letter stated that if the studio employed any of the listees, picketing on a national scale would ensue when the picture involving the person's services was released.

To meet this, the studio now calls the listee, presents him with the charges, and asks him to write a letter "to the head of the studio" answering, by what is known as an Affidavit of Explanation, the following questions:

1. Is this so?
2. The reasons for joining organizations cited in the charges.
3. The people who invited you to join.
4. Did you invite others to join?
5. Did you resign? When?

The letter or affidavit (copies of which go to various agencies and organizations, and to certain individuals, including, so it is said, George Sokolsky, Howard Rushmore, and Freddy Woltman) is then submitted to a vague "central committee" for "clearance."

What makes this of particular interest, even among the exhibits of atrocities against civil liberties that are so plentiful these days, is the unblushingly investigative character of the questions, as revealed in the third and fourth items. This goes beyond the Un-American Activities Committee in asking liberals or "sympathizers" to name other liberals or "sympathizers."

In addition to Hollywood's troubles with the Legion, the Un-American Activities Committee has announced a new round of hearings for this coming autumn. Its process-servers are as busy as ever. Throughout the spring, deputy marshals sought out Los Angeles physicians, lawyers, radio, and television artists. Film folk were not ignored. One of the latest to be subpoenaed is a screen writer who received his summons on the floor of a Screen Writers Guild meeting—a meeting presumably open only to members in good standing. Considering the fact that the writer's address and phone number appear in the local directory and that no attempt was made to serve him at home, so far as he knows, the choice of time and place was clearly a calculated intimidation. Fear,

suspicion, and wild rumor can be kept at fever pitch without the necessity of formal hearings. All the committee needs is an unlimited supply of pink subpoena forms.

As matters stand today, Hollywood is using half a dozen blacklists, as well as supplementary graylists based upon the vaguest sort of innuendo. The assumption that a person is guilty until proved innocent has become standard operating procedure. A weedy growth of professional witch-hunting outfits has sprung up. Fingermen are doing a brisk business, hourly supplying additional names. In an effort to protect themselves from the cruder forms of blackmail, the studios are hiring their own investigators. Quite likely the talent scouts who once signed up young starlets are now combing the country for promising ex-FBI men.

All this has its effect on the kind of films that are being made. A fair cross-section of the pictures now in production includes the following: "Time Bomb," "Tribute to a Bad Man," "Apache Trail," "Flat Top," "Road to Bali," "Pleasure Island," "Something for the Birds," "Springfield Rifle," and "Bela Lugosi Meets the Gorilla Man"—plus two others whose titles seem uncomfortably autobiographical: "Panic Stricken" and "Tonight We Sing."

It is the opinion of the seasoned if not shell-shocked observers out here that if the industry goes all the way with appeasement of the Legion or any other pressure group on the setting of standards for employability, it will finally deliver itself to the Sokolskys, the McCarthys, and the Wage Earners Committee. After that there can only be darkness and television.

Trouble on Madison Avenue, N. Y.

BY MERLE MILLER

A FEW months before John Garfield's death his agent, Bobby Sanford of the Music Corporation of America, received a telephone call from the producer of one of the better dramatic shows on television.

"Who," the producer asked Sanford, "have you got like John Garfield?"

Sanford, a small, aggressive man with a disconcerting habit of speaking his mind, reported later: "I say, 'What do you mean who've I got like Garfield? I've got the boy himself. Why don't you use him?' And this producer says, 'We just can't do it. I'm sorry but we just can't, and you know why we can't.' I tell him, 'You're damn right

I know why.' But I wanted him to say it. Not that they ever will."

The next week Dane Clark played the part which might have been Garfield's. Clark is not listed in "Red Channels," a 213-page publication issued on June 22, 1950, by three war-time appointees of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Garfield is.

Shortly after Canada Lee's recent death Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wrote in the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, "A whispering campaign was circulated among broadcasting and advertising executives that Mr. Lee was 'too controversial' because he had appeared at benefits for organizations purportedly fighting race prejudice which subsequently had been placed on the Attorney General's subversive list.

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"... He told me," White reported, "of four lucrative television appearances which had been offered him, in each of which the sponsor told him that he would employ Mr. Lee after he had 'appeared on some other program.' But none had the courage to be first."

Lee, according to White, had wanted to dramatize his problem by buying a shoe-shine box and setting it up in front of the Bijou Theater where the movie version of "Cry, the Beloved Country" was playing. Lee's performance had been highly praised by the critics; nevertheless, not only was he without work in radio or television, he did not receive a single movie offer either. He proposed to place placards on the shoe-shine box explaining the boycott against him.

"Now," White wrote, "I know I was wrong in dissuading him from his melodramatic plan."

IF GARFIELD and Lee were still living, neither of those experiences could be related without doing them further harm. In the present atmosphere in radio and television, any mention of a performer's or writer's name in such a context makes him more "controversial" and, therefore, more unemployable.

There are several blacklists in use within the industry; for example, the Columbia Broadcasting System has its own catalog of those not to be employed on its programs, but, two years after its publication, "Red Channels" is still the most powerful, and one of this country's largest industries remains prostrate at the feet of what *Fortune* magazine has called "a handful of busybodies."

A well-known and widely respected television writer named in the book recently tried writing under another name because he was unable to get any assignments under his own. He has nevertheless been turned down for one hour-long dramatic assignment on television—told his pseudonym "just doesn't have enough credits."

A long-time radio actress is now clerking in a department store; a distinguished actor has turned to teaching; a script writer is unsuccessfully attempting magazine fiction; a former network executive is entertaining at a summer resort; a second is "hopefully" shooting films in Mexico. He has yet to make a sale.

These people are all named in "Red Channels"; Canada Lee is not. Gilbert Gabriel, the novelist and dramatic critic, is not. Nevertheless, a year ago he was at the last minute turned down for a television quiz show on which he had been scheduled to appear regularly. When he asked the reason, he was reminded that he was then head of the censorship committee of the Authors League of America. "What difference does that make?" he asked. "I'm afraid," he was told, "it makes you too controversial."

But the fear is not confined to New York and the Mecca of the advertising agencies, Madison Avenue. For more than a year Dr. Harold H. Story, head of adult

education for the Los Angeles Board of Education, appeared almost weekly on one or another panel show on Station KLAC-TV in Hollywood. In April, on a program called "Hollywood on Television," he said that members of a local pressure group, the Freedom Clubs, were largely "Ku Kluxers in dinner jackets." The Freedom Clubs and their affiliates, the Liberty Belles, went to work on the program's sponsors; two immediately canceled their contracts with the station. Dr. Story was told that he could no longer appear on any of KLAC's programs.

A few days later Paul Price wrote in his column in the *Los Angeles Daily News*, "Right now—this very minute probably—some of these vicious and vociferous organizations are trying to sabotage our more liberal and free-thinking newsmen and commentators." In Dr. Story's case, Price went on, "... KLAC took the easy way out. ... It doesn't have to be that way. ... Harry Maizlish of KFWB [a local radio station] proved that you can fight these organizations when they attacked his program for presenting Eleanor Roosevelt. This particular attack was as usual well organized and two sponsors withdrew their support from the program. So do you know what Harry Maizlish did? He countered by presenting Eleanor Roosevelt twice a day!" There are very few employers like Mr. Maizlish in the industry.

Shortly after the infamous August weekend in 1950 when because of a few telephone calls (some say 20, others 200) Jean Muir lost the role of Mother Aldrich in General Foods' "The Aldrich Family," she told the press that she would not cooperate with any committee that wanted to "make a cause out of me." She was, she added, afraid that the Communists would work their way into any such campaign.

"I don't want the Communists to use me," she went on. "I want to stay clean. The best way for me to refute these charges is for me to get a job in television, radio, or in some acting capacity. There must be someone with enough courage to hire me." Up to now, no one has.

True, there has not been another Muir case; it seems unlikely that there ever will be. According to Frank Reel, executive secretary of the American Federation of Radio Artists, "These days they just don't hire anybody who *might* get into trouble." Or, as the manager of a network station in New Orleans put it, "Now if you have to drop anybody, you simply say you are making a change in the programming. ... These things can be handled very simply if management is alert. ... I have had complaints about a couple of my people, and if there's any more trouble, it's off with their heads."

As for questioning the ethics of using a blacklist, no one in the industry has—publicly anyway; no one has questioned the motives of the three men mainly responsible for "Red Channels"; apparently, no one has even bothered to find out who or what they are.

Theodore C. Kirkpatrick, John G. Keenan, and Kenneth M. Bierly resigned from the Federal Bureau of Investigation shortly after the end of the Second World War; early in 1947 they set up a firm with a capitalization of \$15,000 called American Business Consultants. The first issue of *Counterattack*, a weekly newsletter of "Facts to Combat Communism," was published in mid-May. Most of the money to launch the publication came from Alfred Kohlberg, the wealthy importer who has been one of Chiang Kai-shek's most active and vocal backers in this country as well as one of the most influential supporters of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

American Business Consultants was a success from the start. Keenan, its president, told a representative of the trade magazine *Sponsor*, "Conservatively, you can say we gross [from all the firm's operations] between \$50,000 and \$100,000 annually." But he hurriedly added, "That isn't really much. Why, we know plenty of other ex-FBI men who make a lot more dough than we do working for big corporations." A long-time admirer of the organization was even more flattering in his estimate. "They have an annual income, a net income, of about \$70,000 from *Counterattack* alone. I know that for a fact."

Among the targets of the newsletter have been Trygve Lie ("Stalin's choice"); the U. N. itself ("Its officials deny it is a shelter or cover for Communists and pro-Communists"); a judge of the New York State Supreme Court who used the words "witch hunt" in one of his decisions; William L. Green and Philip Murray; the Blatz Beer Company, for using a "fellow-traveling" actress from Milwaukee in one of its ads (the newsletter asked its readers to write directly to the brewery and complain); the book-review sections of both the New York Times and the Herald Tribune (sometimes for damning a book like "Seeds of Treason" of which *Counterattack* approved, again for praising a volume the newsletter disliked); the Yale Law School, for having "Reds" on its staff; the Associated Press, for distributing an article "misleading" the public on communism in Hollywood; the "slick, sophisticated New Yorker magazine . . . read in all parts of the United States . . . for what the C. P. calls its 'upper-middle-class' type of humor and culture"; *Life*, *Look*, *Time*, the *Atlantic*, *Fortune*, Standard Oil of New Jersey, U. S. Steel, all the major radio and television networks, and scores of producers, directors, actors, singers, and dancers, and, of course, *The Nation*.

BESIDES the weekly publication, American Business Consultants provides what the National Better Business Bureau has described as "... information on subversive activities to newspapers, periodicals, radio, and other public-opinion media"; it also "offers to business firms research services on subversive activities on a

fee basis." The fees often total several thousand dollars each.

Despite the fact that the organization does not have access to the files of the FBI and has never been officially approved by J. Edgar Hoover, a book publisher reports that in a recent interview one of A. B. C.'s salesmen strongly emphasized the FBI theme. "He didn't exactly say Keenan and Kirkpatrick still get a look at the FBI files," the publisher declared, "but he had a moth-eaten letter which pointed up their former association, and his whole approach was the 'fear technique,' implying that the firm might get in a lot of trouble if we didn't have an investigation made of our people or, at the very least, take several subscriptions to *Counterattack*."

Actually, many firms using such "research" have been dissatisfied with the results. The managing editor of a New York newspaper said, "We were led to believe we'd be getting some 'inside dope' on a certain Commie reverend we were gunning for. . . . There wasn't a thing we didn't already have in our morgue or, for that matter, hadn't already published ourselves, but the whole thing cost us \$500."

Shortly after *Counterattack* remarked that, "All networks let some Communists and Communist frontiers get on their programs, but C. B. S. is worst of all," the network hired the publishers to "investigate" its employees. The results, a high official has said, "were completely worthless. It was the same kind of thing they put in 'Red Channels.'"



Herblock in the Washington Post

"Whatever Happened to Freedom from Fear?"

Perhaps coincidentally, shortly after the Hutchins Advertising Agency turned down an offer for an investigation of the personnel used on the radio and television programs it handles, including the Philco account, *Counterattack* had an item headed "Philco Does It Again" in which it denounced an actress appearing on one of the Philco programs and urged its readers to protest. Nevertheless, the agency still did not accept A. B. C.'s proposal for a \$1,000 "research" job.

According to *Sponsor*, "Whether intentional or not, the organization is in the position of hanging a double-edged sword over the head of broadcast advertisers. It serves at one and the same time as disturber of the peace, prosecuting attorney, judge, jury, and detective agency. That is to say, it publishes allegations in 'Red Channels,' then follows them up by urging letter-writers to put pressure on sponsors in *Counterattack*; later holds hearings on the accused in its private offices; and personally solicits sponsors to hire its detective agency 'research service.' " Meanwhile, the two branches of the business continue to operate side by side.

RECENTLY, however, the firm has been undergoing internal dissension. For example, Vincent W. Hartnett, a dark, thin-faced, intense young man who now advertises himself as the "author of 'Red Channels,'" is no longer associated with American Business Consultants; Keenan has said that he never was and Kirkpatrick has added, "He is not an employee and has no other connection with us whatsoever except that he did write the introduction [to 'Red Channels']."

Despite that, Hartnett not long ago placed an advertisement in the Brooklyn *Tablet* with the headline, "'Red Channels' Was a Piker." The booklet, the ad went on, "only scratched the surface of Communist influence in radio and TV." To hear "the full, documented expose," Hartnett urged the readers of the *Tablet* to book him for a lecture, "A MUST for every Holy Name Society, K. of C. Council, C. W. V. Post." His rates in and around New York are, he has said, "usually around fifty dollars a lecture." Out of town, the fee is higher.

Moreover, as the self-styled "nation's top authority on communism and communications," Hartnett has gone into the publishing business for himself. His office, complete with files, is in his crowded East Twentieth Street apartment in New York City. As his first independent venture, Hartnett brought out a mimeographed loose-leaf book called "Confidential Notebook (File No. 13)." The book, which is sold by the publisher himself, is in the hands of a good many sponsors and advertising and network executives, most of whom, as usual, deny ever having seen it.

The technique employed in assembling the material is approximately the same as that used in "Red Chan-

nels," and many of the names also appeared in the earlier book, sometimes with more "front" organizations which those listed allegedly belonged to or supported. However, "Confidential Notebook" includes additional names of playwrights, musicians, book and magazine publishers, editors, and writers, newspaper columnists, and even a few well-known lawyers. In some cases, again as in "Red Channels," Hartnett uses the *Daily Worker*, a letterhead, or a report of the Un-American Activities Committee as the source for his allegations. In others, he credits only "a private source." During the Second World War, Hartnett was an officer in Naval Intelligence.

To supplement his income, Hartnett occasionally makes his files available "to a few qualified persons." "By qualified," he explained, "I mean not everybody would understand them and be able to weigh the information properly." This service is not given gratuitously even to the "qualified." "The price," Hartnett declared, "varies, but you might say it's frequently in the neighborhood of \$500."

Finally, the one-time intelligence officer is working on what he is said to have described to potential subscribers as "an encyclopedia of communism and Communists in the United States." The new book, he is quoted as saying, will "contain several thousand names, some of which will be a complete surprise to everybody, and there will be a lot of textual material too." He adds that owning the book will be "essential to anyone in a position of authority who is a true anti-Communist." It will be available only in a limited edition—understandably, since he told the executive quoted above that the price will be \$500 a copy.

IN ADDITION to Hartnett's separation from American Business Consultants, Bierly, one of the founders, has also parted company with the firm in a manner which he says "you couldn't exactly call friendly." He has moved his office to a West Fortieth Street address and has set up a new organization, partly concerned with "getting people out of the trouble 'Red Channels' got them into." One of his more lucrative accounts is Columbia Pictures.

His first job for Columbia was "to clear up the confusion about Judy Holliday," a "Red Channels" listee who has frequently been denounced in *Counterattack* as well. Miss Holliday has not recently appeared on either radio or television, but she did play the lead (and won an Oscar for it) in the movie version of "Born Yesterday," and, currently, in "The Marrying Kind." When the pictures were released there were threats of a picket line wherever either was shown. ("Born Yesterday" was in fact picketed in New York when it played the Victoria.) However, most of the threats did not materialize, and Bierly has said, "You might put it that I had

something to do with getting the facts, the true facts, to the right people. . . . You can say . . . that Miss Holliday is not a Communist and never has been, and neither are a lot of other people in it." By "it" Bierly meant "Red Channels."

More recently, Kirkpatrick himself is reported not to be active in the organization for which he was so long the most vociferous spokesman. At this writing, the office of American Business Consultants will say only that, "Mr. Kirkpatrick is on vacation." They add, "The time of his return is uncertain." Kirkpatrick himself is not available for comment, but the rumor is that he plans to run for Congress in Queens on the Republican ticket.

Thus, of the founders of American Business Consultants probably only Keenan remains, a man described by Bierly as ". . . more the business man and . . . the most right-wing of us." Keenan, now forty-one, was born in Brooklyn, graduated from Fordham, received his law degree from St. John's, and, before joining the FBI in 1941, was a member of his father's long-established law firm, Alexander and Keenan, at 42 Broadway. Now he is a partner. It was Keenan who said, ". . . After the hullabaloo of 'Red Channels,' and the Korean War following after that, and all this hodgepodge and mess, we felt we had laid an egg that was a bombshell. . . ."

Nevertheless, although its ranks are depleted, American Business Consultants goes on; Keenan is still its president; *Counterattack* continues to appear every week; the firm continues to sell its "research" and "Red Channels" remains "the Bible of Madison Avenue."

THERE are 151 names in "Red Channels"; they include such notable playwrights as Arthur Miller (who was told by a radio producer, "We'd like to repeat some of those adaptations you did for us right after the war, but you're in 'Red Channels,' brother") and Lillian Hellman; there are important directors, and world-famous actors and actresses. Some of those listed were only well-paid hacks and a few of the performers never advanced much beyond an occasional soap opera, but their talent or lack of it is unimportant. All of them have suffered, financially and spiritually. One influential and vigorously anti-Communist lawyer, some of whose clients are named, puts it this way: "Every one [of the 151] has been affected. A few don't even know it, but they've *all* lost some shows. A majority have lost a great many jobs, and a good-sized minority just aren't working at their professions any more."

After each of the 151 names is a list of organizations which the person is "reported as" having once belonged to or supported. Although the subtitle of the book is "The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television" and the cover shows a giant red hand grasping a microphone, the publishers of "Red Channels"

In Whose Image?

Speaking at the Baccalaureate services for George Washington University on May 26, the Very Reverend Doctor Francis Bowes Sayre, Jr., Dean of Washington Cathedral, called attention to the fact that men are forced nowadays to account to the American Legion and "other 100-per cent American groups" for their character and integrity. "To me," he protested, "that is the next thing to being answerable to Moscow. In whose image are we created? In that of the American Legion or of God?"—*From the Washington Post, May 26, 1952.*

have not said that all or any of the 151 is a Communist or even a Communist sympathizer. According to Bierly, the book was published because early in 1950 it had ". . . been quite some time since we had any special report at all. Most of our subscribers [to *Counterattack*] had come to expect these occasional things, and we were wondering what perhaps might be desirable or timely." They decided on radio and television; there had been previous special reports on such subjects as the Progressive Party and the Mundt-Nixon "Communist-control" bill.

However, in putting the book together the publishers made no attempt to differentiate between what Kirkpatrick was later to call "the dupers and the duped." Such a distinction, according to Bierly, was impossible. "It was immaterial whether they [the 151] were Communists, entirely immaterial to what we were trying to do. It had no bearing on whether they were Communists. In the first place, we don't know who is a Communist. In the second place, we couldn't find out if we had asked them who were anti-Communist and who were pro-Communist."

No attempt was made to check with those named to find out whether or not the allegations were true. Irene Wicker, for example, is listed only as having been a member of the Committee for the Reelection of Benjamin J. Davis. When her attorney failed to find her name among those of the 30,000 nominating Davis for office, he forced a retraction from the *Daily Worker*, which had published the allegation first. Miss Wicker was officially "cleared" in *Counterattack*. Nevertheless, she is still not working in radio or television.

Many of the listees have taken part in clear-cut anti-Communist activities; with a few exceptions, these are not mentioned. Gypsy Rose Lee has denied each of the four activities attributed to her; more important, she points out that she played benefits for France and Britain during the non-aggression pact; she took part in another for Finland when that nation was being attacked by Russia. No party member or fellow traveler would have done so. Yet these facts are not mentioned in "Red

Channels." Miss Lee has said, "If a man (or woman) is to be judged by the company he keeps, he should be judged by all the company he keeps."

But Bierly has said, "... we do not really concentrate on collecting anti-Communist statements as such. . . . We didn't go out and . . . actively try to find out how many Communist statements they [the listees] made at cocktail parties, nor how many anti-Communist statements they . . . made at cocktail parties or in business, or anti-Communist organizations they belonged to, nor did we try to find out whether they were Communist, pro-Communist, Fascist, or what have you. . . ." When "Red Channels" was published Miss Lee was working

A Citizen's Creed

None of us can know how much of this inquiry into the private lives of American citizens and government employees is necessary. Some of it is necessary—but we have no way of knowing which, when, or where. We have seen enough to know for sure that a great deal of it is altogether irresponsible. Well, there is a way of making it all responsible, of fixing responsibility. As one citizen of the United States, I intend to take that way, myself, from now on.

Representatives of the FBI and of other official investigating bodies have questioned me, in the past, about a number of people and I have answered their questions. That's over. From now on any representative of the government, properly identified, can count on a drink and perhaps informed talk about the Red (but non-Communist) Sox at my house. But if he wants information from me about anyone whomsoever, no soap. If it is my duty as citizen to tell what I know about someone, I will perform that duty under subpoena, in open court, before that person and his attorney. This notice is posted in the courthouse square: I will not discuss anyone in private with any government investigator.

I like a country where it's nobody's damned business what magazines anyone reads, what he thinks, whom he has cocktails with. I like a country where we do not have to stuff the chimney against listening ears and where what we say does not go into the FBI files along with a note from S-17 that I may have another wife in California. I like a country where no college-trained flatfeet collect memoranda about us and ask judicial protection for them, a country where when someone makes statements about us to officials he can be held to account. We had that kind of country only a little while ago and I'm for getting it back. It was a lot less scared than the one we've got now. It slept sound no matter how many people joined Communist reading circles and it put common scolds to the ducking stool. Let's rip off the gingerbread and restore the original paneling.—*Bernard De Voto in Harper's Magazine, October, 1949.*

regularly in radio and on television; she no longer is.

In the two years since June 22, 1950, the industry has been seeking an answer to "Red Channels." Mostly it has simply not hired those named in the book. In addition, the Columbia Broadcasting System has required each of its employees to sign a "loyalty statement." One or two resigned; the majority were humiliated and indignant; so far no "subversives" have been turned up. There was talk of an industry-wide screening board and of asking the federal government to declare the industry "sensitive" and thus use governmental screening agencies. The board never materialized; the government refused. The American Federation of Radio Artists set up a clearing house for voluntary statements by those listed in "Red Channels" or accused elsewhere of being "disloyal." A year after the plan was initiated, the union's executive secretary, Frank Reel, said, "... in my opinion it has been a failure." A vehemently debated constitutional amendment aimed at those who have "... maintained membership in . . . or joined the Communist Party since December 31, 1945," has not at this writing been tested. It probably will not be.

Actually, no one in authority in the industry, on either the union or management level, has publicly defined what is being looked for. Is one affiliation in "Red Channels" enough to bar a man from future employment? Are a dozen required? Are forty-one necessary? Who can say?

To date, no one has even tried. A multi-billion-dollar basic industry has simply knuckled under to the pressure of a trio of troublemakers capitalized at \$15,000.

SHORTLY after the publication of "The Judges and the Judged," a man from Atlantic City who identifies himself as "a man on the street" but whose name is known to this writer wrote to the president of the Columbia Broadcasting System suggesting a way to deal with a blacklist. "I am giving it to you first because I like your 'Invitation to Learning' program," he wrote.

"All pressure groups," he continued, "are overrated. Like pressure, they blow up, and the man on the street goes in the store and buys your stuff anyway. Why don't you and your sponsors hire anybody, no matter who he or she is, just as long as he, or she, or they, have the talent for the job, even if it's being president of the company?"

"In the first place, it is legal, which means it is constitutional . . . and . . . it is democratic . . . and it is virtuous, too. The results? Well, there will be a lull, the first few days, a lot of stupid talk, and then everybody on the other networks, and his brother, including the sponsors, will want to join your act. . . . And, finally, it will be the finest thing that ever happened to this country since Columbus came over and started all the trouble."

Confessions of a 33d-Degree Subversive

BY LOUIS ADAMIC

MYSELF, I've been as subversive as my energy and other means have permitted me to be. If I weren't subversive I couldn't endure myself. In 1948 the Department of Justice published a list of subversive organizations and, according to the press, I was, or had been, or was alleged to be, connected with most of them. Then, in the spring of 1950, Congress appropriated a large sum of money for the Un-American Activities Committee to prepare and publish a sort of Who's Who in American Subversion. The volume will probably require a five-foot shelf, for by press accounts it will contain the records of more than a million individuals. I hope mine will take up at least a page.

I don't know—and in a way don't care—how many subversive organizations I was, or still am, or was or am alleged to be, connected with. But I claim that I belonged to, or was on the sponsor list, or appeared on programs of several of those that favored the Loyalist government against Franco in Spain; went through the motions of protecting the foreign-born; believed in improving the status of Negroes; supported the war effort under Roosevelt; favored the idea of avoiding World War III immediately after World War II; preferred friendship to conflict with any country, yes, even with the Soviet Union; objected to the execution of Greek subversives under the aegis of the Truman Doctrine because, as reported in the press, they had "leftist leanings"; and so on.

The Un-American Activities Committee never informed me of the data it had on my subversiveness; but whatever it has is all right with me, as far as it goes. I'm sure, however, it doesn't go far enough. I am guilty of derelictions that the committee isn't aware of yet; and to get the space I deserve in the forthcoming Who's Who in American Subversion, here's the record.

In my study hangs a framed diploma-like document that recognizes my help in selling war bonds during 1943-45. Some of the millions I wangled out of the American public doubtless went—through the channels of the American "free-enterprise" system—for lend-lease to the Russians. This document on the wall of my study is signed by F. D. R's personal friend, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., a fanatic anti-Nazi who put forth the Morgenthau Plan to disindustrialize Germany. I daresay Morgenthau will get into Who's

Who in American Subversion too, for advancing the plan, unless of course the Herculean job is abandoned when Washington discovers that practically everybody in America is subversive and that there's no point competing with the telephone book.

While I was abroad in 1949, friends sent me clippings of news stories which reported the latest "revelations" about me by "ex-Communists" and self-confessed Soviet spies converted to Catholicism and out to make a name for themselves. Reading the clippings, I found out that I was "a tower of strength" behind I don't recall what organization, a Stalin stooge, and, at the same time, a Tito-tooter. One paper said that somebody in Washington had compiled a list of thirty-two "really dangerous subversive organizations and publications" and that I was or had been a member or sponsor of, or a contributor to, thirty-three.

THE discrepancy bothers me. Was it my book reviews for the New York *Herald Tribune* that made me a thirty-third-degree subversive? Could be. According to Westbrook Pegler, a rooter for the Un-American Activities Committee, the *Herald Tribune*, while nominally a Republican sheet, is suspect for employing editors and critics who are ill-disguised Reds. And Karl Marx wrote for the *Tribune* when it was edited by Horace Greeley, a radical to the left of Lincoln who was denounced by the Peglers and Thomases of his day for being not merely subversive but an out-and-out traitor. Or was I a thirty-third-degree subversive because I was a long-time member of the American Legion?

To be a member of the American Legion one has to have served in the armed forces of the United States. Could that be it? I did serve in the American army in World War I, but subversion was no problem then. So I reviewed my connections with the United States army during World War II, and I swear on a stack of Sears, Roebuck catalogs that all I remember is the following: I talked with Commander-in-Chief Roosevelt three times. I urged General Staff and Intelligence officers to bone up on the Tito movement before they decided to invade and liberate Yugoslavia. And one evening in the Carlton Hotel bar in Washington I bawled out a general who had had a couple of highballs too many and practically revealed the date set for the Normandy invasion. Could any of these items have fattened my subversive record?

Or was I a super-subversive because I wrote "The Native's Return" on a Guggenheim fellowship? That made me a Guggenheim fellow traveler for life, along

LOUIS ADAMIC'S last book was "The Eagle and the Roots," which was completed before his death in 1951. This article is an excerpt from an unpublished manuscript.

with the poet who wrote "John Brown's Body" and the novelist who wrote "God's Angry Man"—both in praise of a crazy character so subversive he had to be hanged.

Or let's consider this episode in my reprehensible career. One day in 1937 I was sitting on the stage in a ballroom in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel during the proceedings of the annual New York *Herald Tribune* Forum when the polite stranger next to me introduced himself as David Stevens and turned out to be the head of the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Instead of listening to the speakers, most of whom were subversives of one kind or another, Mr. Stevens and I held a whispered conversation about a magazine article of mine he had just read, and the first thing I knew he asked me if I could use a grant-in-aid. I wasn't

exactly broke at the time, but the offer was one of those flukes that could happen only in America; and who was I to scorn our Way by refusing a Rockefeller grant? On the other hand, being a subversive and hep to some of the history of great American fortunes, and also being tired after finishing a book, with my whole character in a wobbly and sagging condition, I didn't—I couldn't—refuse Rockefeller money. In short, I took it. And for a while in 1949, thinking back, I was almost sure it was *that* which made me a thirty-third-degree subversive. For guilt-by-association is a subtle, haphazard, long-armed, wide-ranging invention that's almost bound to drag you in. There's no dodging it except maybe if you live on an island all by yourself and have nothing against anybody or anything—and then you might as well be dead.

Scientists in the Doghouse

BY KIRTLEY F. MATHER

MEN and women who devote their time and energy to scientific research are peculiarly vulnerable to suspicion, recrimination, and punishment in times like these, when irrational fear restricts the fundamental freedoms. The headquarters files of the American Association for the Advancement of Science are rapidly filling with documents, many of them confidential, revealing the startling extent to which individual scientists in all parts of the country are suffering the consequences of the effort to gain security through secrecy and of the campaign to paralyze all independent thought, discussion, and dissent concerning America's foreign policies.

There are some obvious reasons why scientists are favorite targets of those who look for potential traitors and subversive characters behind every bush. In the first place, scientists, by the very nature of their mental habits, are internationalistic rather than chauvinistic in outlook. They know that fellow scientists in foreign lands are working on problems more or less akin to their own. More than anyone else they are aware of the deep indebtedness of American technology to the scientific research pursued by citizens of other countries. They know that the progress of science is most rapid when there is the greatest freedom for uninhibited communication among scientists throughout the world. All who can afford to do so belong to one or more international organizations of researchers in their own special field. As a group, scientists want to reduce the keeping of scientific secrets to the absolute minimum neces-

sary for national security. It is only natural that they should heartily dislike the red-tape curtain dropped around the United States by the 1950 McCarran act.

In the second place, scientists are necessarily devoted to the most important and most fundamental of the democratic freedoms, the freedom to think one's own thoughts and to express them so that they may be appraised in the court of public opinion. The fraternity of scientists is, in fact, the outstanding example of a "free society" in modern civilization. Each scientist is not only permitted but encouraged to form and express his own judgment. When he thinks others are wrong, he says so. By the same token, he is ready to submit his opinion to the judgment of his fellows.

It is not surprising, therefore, that scientists occasionally speak up in defense of a fellow scientist who is charged with disloyalty because of his associations or who is being persecuted for alleged "un-American" ideas he may have expressed. Even though one scientist may strongly disagree with another's opinions, he knows he must defend the other's right to express them, else he will be false to his high calling as a seeker of the truth. He trusts the laws of libel and misconduct to take care of any pernicious extension of the principle of freedom, and with Thomas Jefferson, who was a scientist as well as a statesman, he says, "We are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor tolerate error as long as reason is left free to combat it." And if there enters his mind the suspicion that perhaps in times of ideological conflict a little thought control might be desirable, he has only to remind himself of the sorry plight of the biological sciences in the Soviet Union.

These attitudes, the inevitable fruits of the intel-

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lectual discipline of science as a method of gaining knowledge, are of course in perfect accord with the genius of American democracy. Once confirmed by training and experience in the laboratory, they are almost certain to characterize the scientist in all aspects of his life, as a citizen as well as an investigator of nature or a technician in industry. Indeed, therein lies the danger for the man of science. Freedom to think for oneself and to express one's own thoughts in the comparative safety of the white-tiled, gadget-crowded laboratory is one thing. To carry over that habit into the world beyond the laboratory is quite another—as many a scientist has learned through bitter experience in recent years.

THE machinery for teaching scientists that lesson is unfortunately extensive and well oiled. There is as yet no equivalent of "Red Channels" for the nation's scientific man-power, but *Counterattack* is right on the job, and Senator McCarthy has made a start in compiling his own blacklist of scientists. On October 20, 1950, the ineffable Senator spread on the pages of the *Congressional Record* a blacklist of seven prominent scientists who, according to him, are "supporting the causes of Stalin's fifth column in this country."

The Subcommittee on Subversive Activities of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion periodically publishes its blacklist of lecturers, writers, and others "whose past activities make them unsuitable or inappropriate for Legion sponsorship." Several well-known scientists are included in this list. Although the directive concerning the use of the "information" by Legion posts states that it was compiled so that no Legion post would endorse, or its members participate in a meeting with, a subversive person, the practice in many local posts goes far beyond the instructions from national headquarters. On many occasions over-zealous Legionnaires have made strenuous attempts—not all unsuccessful—to bar scientists from appearing on local programs.

Scores of scientists connected with institutions of higher learning are listed in "Red-ucator Dossiers"—"Red-ucators at Harvard," "at Columbia," "at Chicago," etc.—issued by the National Council for American Education "as part of its campaign to rid the schools and colleges of socialistic, un-American teachings and teachers." Fortunately, the stronger universities have stood their ground. But the campaign has made headway in other institutions, and its repercussions have ramified throughout the entire company of American scientists. Younger men and women, especially, have regretfully decided that the opportunity to pursue their chosen profession undisturbed can be gained only by completely avoiding controversial issues.

The election of Dr. E. U. Condon to the presidency of the American Association for the Advancement of

Science in December, 1951, was seized upon by Representative Richard B. Vail, of Illinois, as the basis for an attack upon the association itself. "What manner of organization is this association and what sort of people comprise its membership who elect such characters as their leaders? I commend the outfit to the attention of the FBI and the Committee on Un-American Activities." Fulton Lewis, Jr., eagerly picked up the Representative's allegations that the association follows "the typical Commie line" and spread across the country smearing insinuations about its officers and members in his syndicated newspaper column.

Without exception, the tactics of these would-be repressors of the civil liberties of scientists involve the use of the obviously un-American procedure now known as "guilt by association." Justification for labeling a person "fellow traveler," "Commie sympathizer," "pinko," or "Red" is based upon his alleged affiliation with organizations that have been listed as subversive by the Attorney General, the Un-American Activities Committee, or the legislative committees to investigate communism that have been set up in several states. Scarcely any publicity has been given to the Supreme Court's stinging denunciation, in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, of the Attorney General's procedure in compiling his blacklist, without notice or hearing, a rebuke that presumably would apply to legislative committees as well. This ruling was handed down nearly a year ago, and yet no hearings have been granted, and the list still stands.

Although the heads of many scientists are bloody but unbowed, the heads of many others have been lopped off. The number of such tragedies is far greater than any statistician can ever discover. Both the unfortunate victims and the institutions by which they have been employed have characteristically shunned publicity, for reasons that may differ from case to case but add up to a definitely "hush-hush" policy.

THE major portion of research activities in university laboratories is subsidized by federal agencies—which makes the universities and science particularly vulnerable to the Congressional witch hunt. Consequently, political screening, rather than mere technical competence, has been accepted as necessary at many academic institutions even when the work is completely unclassified and does not involve access to anything that could be considered a military secret. Administrators dare not risk charges that might be made by Congressional committees or radio and newspaper commentators that they are employing "red" scientists. Visits of FBI agents to heads of departments, project directors, deans, and presidents did not cease with the war. Some institutions have their own security officers, who are concerned not only with classified projects but

also with research projects not covered by security regulations. Particularly where academic tenure has not been a stumbling block, it has been comparatively easy to dismiss, or bar from employment, capable scientists accused of past association with organizations now considered questionable or subversive.

There are, moreover, other ways of punishing scientists who are under suspicion of political heresy. Especially since the passage of the McCarran act, despite President Truman's wise and strongly worded veto, the Department of State has been exercising increasing control over the movements of American as well as foreign scientists, both in and out of our country. The power to withhold passports and visas is a power which, when improperly used, can deal a serious blow to scientific progress. International gatherings of scientists have been seriously curtailed, both in America and abroad, by the establishment of political and ideological tests of fitness. Freedom to travel may not be one of the justly celebrated "Four Freedoms," but for the man of science it ranks at least as high as any other.

The seriousness of the present situation and the attitude of responsible scientists toward it are accurately portrayed by the resolution adopted unanimously by the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Philadelphia last December:

The Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science is profoundly disturbed over the present world conditions which so severely impede the free interchange of knowledge even among friendly nations. Danger to the future of our nation is implicit in such restrictions.

The Council recognizes the need for measures which will effectively safeguard our security, but expresses its troubled concern over the manner in which such measures, in particular the McCarran act, are being administered, to prohibit American citizens from going abroad and citizens of other nations from coming here to interchange knowledge of science which does not affect security.

The Council strongly urges that the administrative procedures under the McCarran act be reviewed and modified so as to minimize injustices and to increase both our internal strength and our prestige abroad.

The Council further urges revision and improvement of the relevant portions of the act, to retain the objectives of necessary security, but with adequate provisions to maintain free interchange of knowledge that has no security implications.

Since the adoption of that resolution there have been numerous incidents that emphasize the wisdom of giving consideration to its recommendations. For example, a letter was recently received at the Washington office of the Federation of American Scientists from Louis Leprince Ringuet, eminent physicist and member of the French Academy of Sciences, concerning the difficul-

ties encountered by several French scientists who wanted to attend scientific gatherings in the United States or to accept invitations to teach or do research in American institutions. He wrote, in part:

Many French physicists who would like to have contact with their colleagues in the United States are no longer willing to make the request, since the resulting formalities will complicate their lives. . . . We are often ignorant, moreover, of the reasons for these delays. . . . Conversations with the American officials often raise hopes that visas will be granted after a short period, and this impression is repeated at each request for a complete inquiry. . . . The applicant has the real feeling of being a suspect who is put off from week to week; the more so because he receives a long interrogation as if before a police magistrate. This state of affairs seriously impedes the possibilities of contact with scholars in the United States and is most detrimental for science. . . . Lastly, the multiplicity of instances of delay produces a deplorable effect on French opinion. . . . I have even seen the expression "iron curtain of the West" applied to the United States. . . .

THE other aspect of the passport problem is the refusal of the State Department to grant passports to American scientists for foreign travel, which often prevents them from pursuing research projects of vital importance to the United States. There have been many such instances; one of the most glaring is that of Linus Pauling. Dr. Pauling is one of our most eminent chemists, former president of the American Chemical Society and chairman of the Division of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering at the California Institute of Technology. His outstanding contributions to our military strength during World War II won him the Medal of Merit, bestowed on him by President Truman in 1948. Dr. Pauling applied for a passport to enable him to take part in a conference of the Royal Society of London, this spring, on the structure of proteins. His application was denied; the only explanation offered by the State Department was that it had refused to issue a passport on the grounds that issuance would not be in "the best interests of the United States."

Not only does this appear to be unreasonable and unusual punishment of Dr. Pauling, but the repercussions of such events throughout the great body of American scientists cannot but be deleterious in the extreme. Not knowing what alleged crimes have brought this penalty upon one of their number, the scientists, upon whom the future security and prosperity of our country depend, will find their efficiency decreased in subtle but significant ways. Each will decide that the only way to avoid a similar fate is to withdraw completely from all participation in public affairs. No longer will they dare to give critical consideration to the social implications of their work. In one large compartment of

their lives, in which they should accept their responsibilities as citizens in a democracy, they will fit their minds into the Procrustean bed of rigid conformity to official governmental policies and majority opinion. How soon this acceptance of authoritarian dictates will carry over into the other compartment of their lives, in which scientific habits of thought have proved so invigorating for scientific progress, is a neat question for the psychologists. At the moment, it is generally held that schizophrenia is quite bad for a man.

The Bigots and the Professionals

BY VERN COUNTRYMAN

FOR years the House Un-American Activities Committee and its allies in bigotry have had three favorite targets: labor unions, entertainment stars, and government employees. Recently there have been growing indications that the bigots are beginning to focus on certain other professional groups: lawyers, ministers, doctors, and newspapermen.

The attack on the lawyers is of longest duration, and understandably so. Many people haled before committees on "un-Americanism" have retained lawyers who, with varying degrees of success, have opposed the typically high-handed methods of the investigators. And as any members of a committee on un-Americanism can tell you, a person who opposes the committee is a Communist.

This sort of reasoning was employed in the House committee's report of September, 1950, labeling the National Lawyers Guild the "legal bulwark of the Communist Party." In addition to a typical distortion of the Guild's record to make it coincide with the "party line," proof for this charge was found in the fact that a number of Guild members had advised their clients to invoke the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination when asked about Communist Party membership. (In December, 1950, the Supreme Court held this to be sound advice.) These attorneys, said the committee, "knowingly or unknowingly function under a directive issued by the . . . Communist Party which prohibits its members from cooperating with the committee."

The committee also charged that "almost without exception" Guild leaders "seek to bring the courts and its [*sic*] procedures into disrepute." Evidence for this sweeping charge was found in Judge Harold Medina's

Certainly the scientists of America cannot be expected to do their best work as long as they remain in the doghouse. The appeal to get them out into the fresh air, where the winds of freedom and confidence will once more stimulate them to high intellectual adventure, is based not so much upon selfish desire for the personal welfare of individual scientists as upon the recognition of what is absolutely essential to the continuing health of science as an important contributor to the future of America.

action holding five Guild members—three of them Guild officers—in contempt of court for their conduct of the defense in the Dennis case. Although the Supreme Court confined its review of these contempt actions to procedural matters, three justices expressly indicated that they considered Medina as much at fault as the lawyers for the spectacle the trial provided. But Medina was promoted and the lawyers went to jail.

Nor was that the extent of the punishment, for some of the lawyers at least. Two of them have been disbarred and proceedings are pending against a third. Strangest of these proceedings is the action of Federal Judge Hincks in disbaring Harry Sacher for "an excess of zeal." The incident which most offended Hincks was a remark by Sacher that if the prosecutor were a contemporary of Jesus he "would have had Jesus in the dock." This remark, said Hincks, was "crowning proof . . . that Mr. Sacher is a skilled master in the art of inflammation and so habituated to the practice of that art that he cannot safely be left as a member of this bar." Thirty-two years ago, in another Communist prosecution, Clarence Darrow charged that the prosecutor "would have sent Christ to jail just the same as you would these defendants." In the comparative calm of the 1920 Red hunt no one thought of disbaring Darrow or holding him in contempt. And the bar weathered many more years of his zealous arguments for the defense.

The House committee's latest move on lawyers came in its Los Angeles hearings last January when sixteen local attorneys who had been active in liberal causes were subpoenaed. Because the sixteen opposed the subpoenas on constitutional grounds, the committee has not yet moved to compel them to testify. But the nature of its proposed inquiry can fairly be anticipated from its past attempts to compel lawyers and their clients to disclose confidential conversations covered by the legal privilege for attorney-client communications.

This type of harassment is not confined to lawyers.

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Judges who preside over convictions in political cases are promoted and successful prosecutors get judicial appointments. But judges who make rulings favorable to the accused feel the wrath of the bigots. Judge Edward Dimock, when he permitted certain Smith act defendants to leave New York to collect defense material, was subjected to bullying editorial abuse by the New York *World-Telegram* and the *Journal-American*. When Judge Delbert Metzger reduced the bail of Smith act defendants in Hawaii from \$75,000 to \$7,500, Senator O'Mahoney denounced his order as "outrageous" and declared that Metzger, whose term expired a month later, would not be reappointed. Three months later the Supreme Court reversed a federal judge in California who had fixed bail for still another group of Smith act defendants at \$50,000, and bail in their cases was ultimately fixed at \$5,000 to \$10,000. Judge Metzger has not been reappointed.

Longest under attack has been California's Federal Judge Leon Yankwich. In 1947 the Tenney "Little Un-American Activities Committee" labeled the People's Educational Center in Los Angeles a Communist organization and listed Judge Yankwich (who had delivered one lecture before the center in 1945 attacking Hitler's racist theories) as a member of its "faculty." Years later, Judge Yankwich presided over a suit for breach of employment contract brought by Lester Cole, who had been discharged by M-G-M because of his failure to answer questions of the House committee. When the jury gave answers favorable to Cole on certain factual questions submitted by M-G-M, Yankwich entered judgment for Cole for \$75,000. This judgment was reversed on appeal because of some erroneous instructions to the jury, but M-G-M, apparently far from confident of its case even in a new trial with corrected instructions, settled out of court with Cole and Dalton Trumbo, who had a similar suit pending, for a sum reported to exceed \$100,000. A few weeks ago, Representative Richard B. Vail reached into the grab-bag of unsupported charges, pulled out the Tenney Committee's attack on Yankwich, added his own charge that Yankwich had interpreted "the law and the evidence in diametric opposition to the national interest" in the Cole case, and demanded a Congressional investigation of the judge's fitness for office.

FACED with the intimidation of lawyers in political cases, disregard of the attorney-client privilege, and insistence that judges interpret the law and the facts in accordance with the "national interest," it might be supposed that the American Bar Association would become concerned about such constitutional fundamentals as the right to counsel and a fair trial. But the A. B. A. is preoccupied with other matters.

In February, 1951, it adopted resolutions excluding

from the A. B. A. and urging disbarment for all lawyers who are members of the Communist Party or who "advocate Marxism-Leninism." Since that time it has been engaged in circulating a Brief on Communism: Marxism-Leninism, prepared by a committee working "in close cooperation with the American Legion." The brief fails to define "Marxism-Leninism" in any comprehensible way, but it does throw some light on how the A. B. A. resolutions are to be interpreted: (1) "All Communist conspirators are not members of the Communist Party"—some of the "most important . . . Communists and fellow travelers are forbidden . . . to hold official membership." (2) "The Communist conspirators . . . may be depended upon to support the increased domain of government in business, in credit, in transportation, in communication, in housing and power projects." (3) Any lawyer "who is a member of the Communist Party . . . or who embraces and practices the doctrines of communism, either as an ardent Communist or as a fellow traveler," should be disbarred.

MINISTERS are less frequently involved in political causes than lawyers but have no greater immunity from attack if they do participate—on the wrong side. Three years ago the Reverend John Howard Melish was removed by the Protestant Episcopal Church from a pastorate he had held for forty-five years because his son and assistant had been identified with a number of "Communist-front" organizations. More recently, the Reverend George Abbe of the First Universalist Church of Annisquam, Massachusetts, was dismissed by his parish committee because he joined a committee for the defense of Professor Dirk Struik of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who is charged with violation of a Massachusetts version of the Smith act. And a few weeks ago the Reverend Henry J. Carpenter, executive secretary of the Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council of New York City, was denied a passport to visit Japan for the State Department's usual non-revealing reason: his trip would be "contrary to the best interests of the United States."

A less publicized but still current instance is that of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, which for many years has been under attack by the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press. Late last February—and less than two months before the Methodist Church's quadrennial conference—the House committee released a special report on the Federation, consisting of a collection of previously published statements (principally from such reputable sources as the New York *Herald Tribune*, the *Daily Worker*, the Chicago *Tribune*, the *National Republic*, and the Bureau County [Ill.] *Republican*) and concluding with a simple exercise in addition: "The Federation advocates social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

William Z. Foster . . . said: 'Socialism is the first stage of communism.' " The Methodist conference in April voted to request the Federation to drop the word "Methodist" from its name and to vacate its offices in the New York Methodist Building. The conference also amended its Social Creed to endorse "the principle of the acquisition of property by the Christian processes. . . ."

The bigots were less successful with the Reverend Stephen Fritchman, minister of the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, who refused last September to violate the confidence of his congregation by answering questions of the House committee about activities in his church. On December 14 *Counterattack* labeled Fritchman and his church "a center of front activity" and urged its subscribers to complain about Fritchman's regular Sunday broadcast over station KFWB. On December 21 Fritchman was notified that his contract had been canceled because the station "had been subject to criticism." The board of trustees of his church—which had also endorsed his position before the House committee—promptly appealed his case to the public and stirred up such a protest that the program was reinstated on December 30.

FOR doctors, signs of a concerted campaign began last September and were repeated in January when the House committee summoned a number of them to testify about their own and others' political activities. One of those who refused to answer the committee's questions at the first hearing was Dr. Murray Abowitz of Los Angeles. Two months later, as described by Hannah Bloom in *The Nation*, May 3, 1952, Drs. Abowitz, Richard Lippman, and Alex Pennes—all of whom had opposed the Tenney Committee's proposed loyalty oaths for licensed professions—were dropped from the staff of Cedars of Lebanon Hospital, without hearings or charges, for "political" reasons. Only concentrated community action forced the hospital trustees to reconsider their decision.

Coincident with the committee's hearings was the announcement by Henry Kaiser's Permanente Hospital, also in Los Angeles, that it would employ no doctor "whose loyalty to the United States government is not established to the satisfaction of Permanente." This same policy is required of all public hospitals in California under the Levering act, which imposes a loyalty oath on all state employees. Pennsylvania's Pechan act imposes the same requirement, and Philadelphia General Hospital last April dismissed a resident physician, a nurse, and a group of internes because they refused to take the oath.

The Doctors' Draft law of 1950, permitting the drafting of doctors up to age fifty while others are subject to draft only up to age twenty-six, has also become an instrument for testing loyalty. Doctors who will not take

a loyalty oath are denied commissions. Without a commission the army will not permit the doctor to practice. But he is drafted anyway—as a private—and, if he is lucky, may be assigned to duty as a laboratory technician.

So far the intimidation of doctors for their political views has brought no protest from the medical associations. The A. M. A. has busied itself, instead, with voting contributions to the American Legion's All-American Conference to Combat Communism, memorializing Congress to investigate the schools for "infiltration of un-American fallacies of collectivism," and pinning the "socialist" label on all who support national health insurance. And the New York State Medical Association last May raced ahead of the A. M. A. by adopting a resolution that made the loyalty oath obligatory for all of its members.

NEWSPAPERMEN thus far have been subjected to few attacks from the investigators of "un-Americanisms," but this is not surprising; with very few exceptions the press has given the investigators invaluable support by headlining their irresponsible charges and, in many instances, embellishing them somewhat. But when Drew Pearson criticized Senator McCarthy, the Senator's appeal for a boycott of Pearson's radio sponsor pushed Pearson off the air for several months, and McCarthy's response to similar criticism from *Time* magazine was: "I am preparing material on *Time* magazine to furnish all your advertisers." Senator McCarran resorted to the same technique against a Las Vegas newspaper which had the temerity to criticize him in his own bailiwick.

There is evidence, moreover, that the House committee is not fully satisfied with the performance of the press, and that newspapers and magazines may expect fuller treatment. In its hearings last January the committee produced two ex-Communist newsmen to begin revelations on a "cell" of journalists in Los Angeles, and Tom O'Connor, managing editor of the New York *Compass*, was haled before the committee last month. This inquiry may work from the bottom of the profession up, following the bait tendered by Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, who—speaking either from divine revelation or from some remarkable detective work for a man in his position—told a Rome audience last April that in the United States in 1936 "there was hardly a prominent newspaper commentator who did not have a Communist secretary." Louis Budenz, one of the Bishop's converts, will doubtless supply references as needed.

Resistance to this assault can be successful if it is vigorous, courageous, and prompt. Meanwhile, Americans must apparently be careful about what they confide to their lawyers, ministers, or doctors—their confidences may make newspaper headlines any day now.

6,000,000 Second-Class Citizens

BY RALPH S. BROWN, JR.

MANY people today refuse to admit that there is any difference between political liberalism and communism, and assert the right and duty to impose on others their own standards of belief and conduct. One group that is especially vulnerable to such imposition is the six million Americans who work for the government—federal, state, or local.

Working for the government means working for all of us. If "we" want to limit the civil liberties of our employees, several rationalizations are available. One is to assert that since public office is a public trust certain disabilities attach to its acceptance. A less velvety way of reaching like results is to advance the doctrine that public employment is a privilege, not a right, and may therefore be burdened with conditions. Another approach derives from the contrary assumption that the government employee, far from being a servant, is our master. We must put hooks into Leviathan. The immense opportunities of bureaucrats for corruption, sabotage, oppression, and subversion must be held in check, even if the process deprives the bureaucrat of liberties cherished by other free-born Americans.

The Hatch act, with its brood of little Hatch acts in the states, was directed at overt political activity. It left untouched the right to vote, to belong to a political party, to contribute to it, and to join in petitions. Little noted at the time was another provision that marked the beginning of loyalty tests for federal employees. Section 9-A of the Hatch act denied federal employment to anyone who belonged to an organization advocating the overthrow of the government.

If 1939 marked a turning point in the civil liberties of government employees, as it did in so many aspects of human affairs, its importance was soon submerged in the tide of war. Section 9-A and similar requirements in appropriations acts were interpreted to refer, essentially, only to membership in the Communist Party, the Bund, and a few other clearly Communist or Fascist organizations. The Civil Service Commission was the chief enforcing agency; its War Service Regulations permitted denial of an appointment if there was a "reasonable doubt" as to the applicant's loyalty—the same standard that is now in effect in the federal loyalty program. But it was applied with a difference: the commission's instructions implementing the regulation showed some

sophistication and restraint. By the time the Truman Loyalty Order came into effect, more than 1,300 applicants had been declared ineligible by the commission. Loyalty dismissals by employing agencies probably did not exceed 200.

During the war little public attention was directed to this program, or to the dismissal of civilian employees on security grounds, which the military departments were making in considerable numbers. When in 1947, under Congressional pressure and amid confused cross-currents of public opinion about spies and "subversives" in the government service, President Truman inaugurated the present loyalty program by Executive Order 9835, he attached considerable importance to its aim to protect the employee as well as the government. Procedures and criteria were now to be uniform, in contrast to the mists of obscurity that surrounded the war-time programs.

WE HAVE now had almost five years under Executive Order 9835, and the mist is still swirling. With the federal government showing the way, anti-subversive legislation has proliferated in the states and municipalities. Congress has added trimmings here and there, and a ponderous capstone in the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Since national security was the ostensible goal of all the turmoil, special efforts were directed toward the agencies most concerned to protect it. There is no question that they have been given ample powers to eliminate security risks and have exercised them alertly. The war-time legislation authorizing summary dismissal by the military departments was revamped in 1950 and extended to the State Department, Justice, Commerce, and other agencies that deal in state secrets. In its present form it might better be called a "summary-suspension" statute, for the procedures leading to final dismissal do not differ significantly from those of the loyalty program and are usually carried out by joint loyalty-security boards. The Atomic Energy Commission stands a little apart, with its own statutory command to satisfy itself of the "character, associations, and loyalty" of every employee, and of every contractor's employee having access to "restricted data." But its procedures also follow the general pattern.

Consistency of procedures between security and loyalty programs is a normal development, but one might have expected sharp differences between the standards for dismissing an electronics expert and a charwoman. The

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standards, however, have tended to merge. When an agency has both loyalty and security jurisdiction, the only distinguishing mark of a loyalty case may be that it goes to the Loyalty Review Board, which does not have security jurisdiction. Critics have called for a sharper description of sensitive positions and for a refinement of security standards, but the overlap exists, so that the main problems persisting after five years are usually common to both security and loyalty cases.

These problems, as they affect the fairness of the programs and thus, both directly and indirectly, the civil liberties of government employees, are fairly well known. One way of listing them, as *The Nation* (May 17, 1952) and others have done, is in terms of the deviations of loyalty cases from what would be considered constitutional rights in a judicial trial.

In this piece I shall not discuss how close to a judicial trial these proceedings ought to be; legally, there is no present constitutional necessity for any resemblance, in view of the Supreme Court's failure to upset the decision of the Court of Appeals in the Dorothy Bailey case. If we are to consider the effect of the program on the freedom of the employee to hold, voice, and act on unpopular opinions, three elements stand out: the lack of any intelligible published standards, the consequences of secrecy (these two are of course related), and the multitude of apparently groundless cases.

IF A government employee is fired because there is a reasonable doubt of his loyalty, everyone, including the administrators of the program, agrees that the stigma is overwhelming. But does the decision—as a matter of underlying standards, not just the facts of the single case—mean to imply that the victim is another Benedict Arnold? Or only that he is not another Nathan Hale? If we can take at face value one of the definitions that have been proffered by the chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, Nathan Hales are called for. Mr. Hiram Bingham, addressing the American Bar Association in 1951, said, "Where there is reasonable doubt as to whether an individual will put his country above his personal interest, his employment constitutes a potential danger to the security of the government."

One can surmise that everyday administration is not so exacting for if unswerving subordination of personal to national interest were in fact the test, the executive department would have been decimated, while the imagination recoils at the hypothetical application of such a test to the legislative branch. Indeed, there is more than surmise that the standards in fact consist of a rather mechanical schedule of so much involvement with proscribed organizations and so many associations with suspected individuals.

The present point, however, is not what the cases would show, but that it is settled policy for them to show

"Constitutions must be defended by the wisdom and fortitude of men. These qualities no constitution can give. They are the gifts of God, and He alone knows whether we shall possess such gifts at the time we stand in need of them."—*Edmund Burke*

nothing, except the final decision of the boards. Even for internal use, opinions and findings are discouraged. Though the facts of a number of celebrated cases have been widely ventilated, mostly by Congressional curiosity, in literally only one case do we know what influenced the departmental board (as it happened) to clear and the Loyalty Review Board to dismiss. That was the result of the State Department's insistence on explaining why when it was finally ordered to fire John Stewart Service.

This secrecy is defended in the interests of security because of the counter-espionage elements that may be present in some cases, or in the interest of protecting the employee, of which more later. The failure to expound, even in expurgated summaries, the meaning of the work of the loyalty boards is thus part of the general pall of security censorship that makes these cases so difficult to defend. As is painfully familiar, the FBI and other investigative reports that form the basis for federal loyalty-security cases need not be disclosed to the respondent if in the judgment of the investigators the security of their operations would be prejudiced, and the source of reports may be withheld even from the boards.

This policy has two major consequences. First, the charges may be incomplete. Second, the presentation of the defense is hampered by the inability to confront witnesses and to know what the board may have up its sleeve. These obstacles are not insuperable. The respondent is not barred from guessing at what episodes in his life lie behind the charges, and he is free to develop at length what a good boy he is, in the hope that a shining record of anti-communism (if he can prove one) will either meet the lurking but unspecified accusations or overbalance them. Further, there is said to have been a marked improvement from the primitive and suspicious beginnings of the programs. But however great the ingenuity of employees and their counsel at divining that a disgruntled landlady is at the root of it all, the burden of defending a loyalty case is still exhausting. Even if a successful defense led to a certificate of purity instead of to further harassments, the difficulty of making it seems certain to curb freedom of action.

The resolution of the security dilemma has so far stumped the experts. Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., doughty battler though he is, accepts the proposition that if all witnesses had to appear, "the operations of the FBI would be crippled." One of the great riddles of the loyalty program is whether this concession is necessary.

It is in partial recognition of the inadequacy of standards and the potential unfairness of decision, I suspect, that the reviewing mechanism of the program has become so elaborate. As Alan Barth says, several heads are no better than one when they are acting on faulty premises, but the troubled administrators seem to welcome the gamut of screening and appeals that, though it may only multiply fallibility, at least spreads responsibility for it. The Loyalty Review Board was probably designed in part to take the heat off administrators, and it served this function boldly, for example, in finding no grounds for denying William Remington's present loyalty at the time when he was under public attack.

OF LATE, however, the board seems to conceive its function to be turning on the heat. To substantiate this view one need not resort to the pungent minutes of a board meeting that someone leaked to Senator McCarthy and that were never disowned. The 1951 shift in the formal standards from the requirement that "reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal" to the present rubric that requires dismissal if "there is a reasonable doubt" was initiated by the board. There have been a number of attempts, both official and amateur, to define the difference between these formulas. The best is probably that proposed at a recent meeting of the American Society for Public Administration: "Another turn of the screw."

Besides turning the screw, the Loyalty Review Board persists in a policy that to my mind is the worst defect of the program, because, unlike the two already mentioned, it could easily be corrected. That is its insistence on having cases carried through to formal hearings, though the statistics show that most of them should not be. To minimize the effect of the program it is customary to point out that fewer than 400 employees have been fired (these figures, based on detailed tabulations, refer to the loyalty program; no adequate data have been published on the security cases). Walter Gellhorn and other acute critics argue that this is not a boast but an indictment, when it is compared to the number of adjudicated cases, now about 10,000. That is, no more than 4 per cent of the loyalty cases have resulted in "convictions." The defendants in the other 96 per cent have had the dubious blessing of being cleared—until something else turns up and proceedings start again. The board views the hearings simply as an extension of the investigative process and points to a supposedly beneficent kind of secrecy, their confidential character. This is an illusory safeguard. Aside from the suspicions aroused among neighbors and others by a "full field investigation," the defense of a case, as former Attorney General Francis Biddle has pointed out, requires the employee to enlist the aid of his family, his friends, his associates. Total strangers need know nothing about it.

The chief impact of the federal loyalty program has come from the hearings and the threat of dismissal, rather than from sweeping purges. The search for disloyalty has diminished the liberties of civil servants in three ways. First, there are the procedural shortcomings. Second, an employee who has once been involved in a proceeding loses a good deal of his former freedom to transfer to a different job, either outside or (especially) within the federal service. These effects are felt by those who have got caught in the wheels. Third, and this affects millions rather than thousands, it seems certain that a program of "thought surveillance" operates to twist the political and social thought and action of anyone who is or may want to be a federal employee. A job applicant, by the way, may never even get to the hearing stage. If the personnel officer thinks the record might lead to a hearing, the prudent course is to find the applicant "unsuitable."

THE effects of the program on the morale and independence of government employees, of which we have had many impressionistic reports, are now receiving experimental verification. Marie Jahoda and Stuart Cook of New York University have made a preliminary study based on seventy extensive interviews, the results of which were published in the March issue of the *Yale Law Journal*. It seems likely that a wider survey would produce further evidence that the threat of loyalty or security proceedings has made federal employees less willing to read, to criticize, to join civic groups, and, what is most depressing, to trust their fellows.

For what have we paid this price? The goal of all the programs is supposed to be to strengthen national security. It is ostrich-like to deny that spies and saboteurs exist and that the government must make strenuous efforts to frustrate them. But we have chosen a terrifying device. No one, I think, claims that the loyalty mills have caught a single spy.

Political tests have so far been applied to circumscribe the liberties of government employees with a Communist record or with a radical record that, any time in the last generation, could easily be smirched by Communist associations. But there is nothing to prevent the Communist smear from being spread thinner and thinner. Finally it may represent only a token allegation whenever a majority, or a resolute minority, is bold enough and illiberal enough to take hold of the existing loyalty machinery and use it without restraint against its opponents. The djinn is out of the bottle.

Some people still look to the courts to rub their lamp and dispel the monster. The judicial record to date on the issues should dispel the hope. Fear of communism, or, as Arthur Sutherland has shrewdly suggested, anger at communism, has provided the driving force for these programs. One can only hope that it will abate before we

have got too used to having a djinn to do our bidding.

A recent modest request by the Civil Service Commission for legislative assistance illustrates this last point. There has been a long and obscure struggle within the government over the control of the hiring and firing of hearing examiners. The Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 confirmed their quasi-judicial status and pro-

vides that they can be removed only "for good cause." The commission would like Congress, please, to relax this requirement. It has had loyalty complaints about some of the examiners, but its hands are tied. Why? Because of some troublesome constitutional rights. "Good cause" means that hearing examiners are entitled to due process of law.

Labor and Civil Liberties

BY ARTHUR EGGLESTON

THERE are those who say that the effect of the witch hunt on the learned professions, the schools, the churches, the universities, the courts, and the institutions which concern themselves with things of the spirit and intellect may be even more serious in the long run than on the labor movement. That may be true, but if the labor movement is destroyed, there will be no "long run." It is important, moreover, for professional and academic people to understand that the organized-labor movement stands between them and the abyss of complete conformity and spurious scholarship, if only through sheer weight of numbers, its strategic position, and its traditional concern for civil liberties and the general welfare.

What is the proof of these statements? Simply this: the employer groups who are behind the Taft-Hartley, Smith, and McCarran acts, the new anti-labor proposals in Congress, the assault on minimum-wage laws, the witch hunts on all levels and in all segments of society are not interested in ideologies or abstruse theories. No high principles, for example, prevent them from granting the union shop to one union on Monday and withholding it from another on Tuesday.

Their attack on the labor movement, using the witch hunt to divide and confuse it, is right out of the adding machine. If their calculations had shown them in 1945 that by continuing the labor practices of the New Deal they would have been able to increase net profits, life in America would have been very different these last few years. But the adding machine told them that if labor improved its relative and absolute economic position, profits and dividends would shrink. And if, as they thought in 1945, and are beginning to think again in 1952, a depression is on its way, there will have to be a concentrated drive to weaken the bargaining power of

labor—to prepare for wage cuts, mass lay-offs, and the speed-up.

From 1945 on it has been war—against *all* labor organizations. No matter how "anti-Communist" the union and its leaders may be, no matter how actively they support the defense program or the Administration, when it comes to cents-per-hour, contract benefits, and labor's rights to an equal voice in determining wages and conditions, the war is against all unions. Effective unions and leaders can never "purge" themselves unless they allow themselves to be captured, neutralized, or destroyed.

The witch hunt is a tested device. The first recorded use of the "foreign-agent" theory of labor troubles was in Boston in the 1820's. Carpenters struck for the ten-hour day. The master-employers could not believe "this project to have originated with any of the faithful and industrious Sons of New England, but are compelled to consider it an evil of foreign growth."

So it is today. Under the guise of rooting out "foreign agents," the drive got under way in 1947 with the loyalty "purge" of government employees a year after the United States Chamber of Commerce suggested that this might be necessary. Then came the Chamber's demand for publication of a list of "Communist-controlled front organizations and labor unions"—a suggestion now being seriously considered by the labor-management subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. But the real drive was foreshadowed in a report of the Chamber early in 1947 on Communists within the labor movement, which predicted: "It is probable that the Eightieth Congress will modify the Wagner act so that employers can work more effectively and without fear of law violation with American-minded employees in opposing Communists within the labor movement." Congress got the point immediately and in June, 1947, passed the Taft-Hartley act.

So the witch hunt, which began with "foreign agents," is being extended to cover liberals of all shades of economic and political belief. Those who do not conform must be barred from factories, business offices, schools, colleges, government, the entertainment world—in short,

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from their jobs. The Chamber of Commerce is behind this suggestion, too.

Congress is acting promptly. The Senate labor-management subcommittee, headed by Hubert Humphrey, is considering the best methods of "ridding unions of Communist-domination," without, as Secretary of Labor Tobin puts it, "injecting the government too far into the regulation of the internal affairs of unions." It is getting helpful advice on how to deprive members of accused unions of their jobs. James B. Carey, head of the C. I. O. International Union of Electrical Workers, which is fighting one of the independent left-wing unions, the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, does not favor new legislation to bar Communists from union offices. But he likes the method used by the Atomic Energy Commission, which simply refused to allow companies working on its materials and supplies to deal with the U. E. This method, it seems clear, could easily be used by other government procurement agencies.

THIS is not an isolated case. Albert Epstein, a labor economist, told the Humphrey Committee: "The problem of civil liberties is not involved since it is already public policy to disestablish company-dominated unions and one could hardly contend that a Communist-dominated union should enjoy any more privileges than are allowed to a company-dominated union. It is clear that we are dealing in an area where government intervention is accepted and proper."

Members of a union *choose* their officers; employers *impose* both leaders and union on employees in the case of company-dominated unions. There is no similarity between the two situations. Neither the Communist nor the Republican Party imposes Harry Bridges on the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The members elect him by secret ballot and can remove him at any time by recall proceedings which can be instituted by only 20 per cent of the members. Yet the National Labor Relations Board told the Humphrey Committee that since the C. I. O. Steel Workers have barred Communists from holding office, Congress can bar Communists from holding union office. No doubt the board would argue that because the C. I. O. convention expelled a number of unions, Congress can expel a number of unions from the C. I. O.

Benjamin C. Sigal, attorney, wants government procurement agencies to set up tripartite boards to investigate charges of communism against unions and leaders and withhold contracts from firms which continue to deal with unions found to be dominated by Communists. Sigal, who has represented a number of unions, including the United Shoe Workers, recently learned what it was like to be on the receiving end of the witch hunt. He and John Brophy, C. I. O. members of the Wage Stabilization Board, were "Red-baited" by Rep-

resentative Richard B. Vail at a recent public hearing of the House Labor Committee, as the chairman listened without objection and the other committeemen, including some "friends of labor," maintained an embarrassed silence. Both men, of course, denied the charges. So it goes. The purgers are purged and then the purgers of the purgers are purged.

DO THESE examples indicate that division and confusion have gone so far that labor leaders have lost their grip on reality? No. A number of sane voices are raised now and then in protest, and if the trend observable in recent conventions is an indication, the heyday of the witch hunt in the labor movement is over.

An outstanding recent instance of this trend was the strong stand which Hugo Ernst, general president of the A. F. of L. Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, took in defense of Abram Flaxer's refusal to turn over membership lists of the United Public Workers to the McCarran Committee. Ernst did this because, he said, "if we don't rise up to defend ourselves against these violations of our basic rights, we are certain in the end to pay heavily for precedents now being set at the expense of the 'untouchables.'" He cited, too, with approval the protest made by Charles MacGowan, president of the A. F. of L. Boilermakers Union, and Dan Tobin, president of the A. F. of L. Teamsters, against the Supreme Court decision upholding a Taft-Hartley act \$750,000 damage suit against the I. L. W. U. Both leaders are ultra-conservative, but as MacGowan said, the fact that the union involved was considered to be "Communist-led does not change the fact that if they can legally do it to that organization, they can likewise impose it on the most conservative labor organization."

A few sane voices were raised, too, before the Humphrey Committee recently. Joseph Curran, president of the C. I. O. National Maritime Union, bluntly told the committee: "Unions in a free country should be permitted to take their own action to keep their house in order. Repressive legislation cannot help. There already exists enough law to protect our country against treason, etc. Committees should examine into the questions on which Communists thrive, discrimination, slums, and so forth, with a view to helping to stamp out violations of democratic ideals."

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., also opposed legislation to deal with Communists in the labor movement. Let the movement handle the problem, he said. "It would be extremely difficult," he told the committee, "to prove that members in a labor union are Communists, to establish beyond peradventure of a doubt that members of a labor union or those who are members and dominate a labor union are Communists."

Philip Murray, president of the C. I. O. and of the

United Steel Workers, termed the committee's apparent move to pass laws which would intervene in trade-union elections "unnecessary and unwise." He said:

As a basic philosophy, we in the C. I. O. believe that the right of American workers to choose their own collective-bargaining representatives is as fundamental to our democratic way of life as the right to speak, to worship, and to assemble freely with one's fellow-men. Encroachments upon this fundamental right to choose collective-bargaining representatives should never be undertaken except after a showing that such encroachments are vitally necessary to our national safety. We do not believe any such showing has been made. We believe that if the government undertakes to determine what unions can represent workers in this country, it will have embarked upon the long trail toward government control of unions.

J. B. S. Hardman, veteran labor editor, warned the Humphrey Committee, "not many will buy anti-unionism disguised as anti-communism—nor will union members accept ineffectual union leadership merely because it is attired in anti-Communist battle dress." "Unions," he added, "do not seem to respond easily to compulsion. Legislation, and likewise the courts, proved unable to check unionism when that was the objective in the early days of the Republic. They succeeded only in making union advance painful, halting, and more costly." That is a delightful reminder to the labor movement, which sometimes becomes pessimistic, and to its attackers, who are sometimes too optimistic, that the movement has more vitality than appears on the surface.

Of all the testimony concerning the latest phase of the witch hunt against labor which was introduced before the Humphrey Committee, the most revealing was given by L. R. Boulware, vice-president of General Electric, and Gwilym A. Price, president of Westinghouse. These were not off-the-cuff statements, but formal responses of two key industrial executives to a policy question posed by the committee. Boulware is one of the newer militant and surprisingly frank industrialists who have to deal with labor organizations but don't like them and don't pretend that they do. He starts off by saying: "Concern for the national security in this area [presumably electrical manufacturing] involves necessarily the consideration of some possible limitation on free choice of representatives by employees." He wants Congress to use its full powers to hunt Communists out of labor unions, to identify and expose them, to place Communist-dominated unions on "subversive" lists and thus remove the possibility that strikes for "political" purposes will be called. But here is his dilemma:

In practice, however, it is not only difficult to determine what strikes are "political," but we would hardly feel justified in identifying unions as being Communist-dominated merely because they call or support

strikes in defense plants. Certainly in the present defense period, the various anti-Communist or right-wing unions are at least neck and neck with any left-wing unions—publicly suspected of subversive tendencies or dangers—in their threatened or actual interruption of critical defense production in our own atomic, steel, electronics, and aircraft plants.

Our own actual day-to-day negotiations and other such governmentally compelled relationships have not provided us with any conclusive evidence for our reliably and authoritatively determining that one or more of these unions were in actual fact under Communist domination. In certain anti-Communist unions, we so often find ourselves dealing with substantially the same leaders in a new role who only yesterday and for years past were in the camp they now denounce.

Now it comes! How lasting is conversion? What does it profit a right-winger if he used to be a left-winger? And how do you tell whether he's a right-winger who used to be a left-winger or a left-winger posing as a right-winger? "It is our impression," says Boulware, "that the employees and the country at large are entitled to know authoritatively who are the leaders who have shifted for reasons of internal union expediency or, more important, who are agents of new infiltration of the reformed group."

And then he levels on the whole basis of the witch hunt without realizing that he is giving the show away:

One of the criteria we hear most frequently urged—for use as positive proof of Communist Party membership or other such dangerous association—is sworn testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee or other Congressional committees. But we have never been able to convince ourselves that we could determine what unions or individuals were Communists merely upon the existence of such testimony, for the reason that we did not believe that we were qualified to determine the . . . trustworthiness of the individuals who testified.

It seems to us to be obvious that individual employers such as we, cannot and should not make the determination as to what unions are led by Communists even on the basis of sworn testimony, for the reason that some of those union leaders who are now most avowedly anti-Communist have, in fact, been identified by testimony under oath as having been at one time members of the Communist Party. For example, there is testimony under oath before the House Un-American Activities Committee in October, 1939, that Mr. James B. Carey, secretary of the C. I. O. and now president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (C. I. O.), who is quite vocally opposed to communism and Communists, was a member of the Communist Party. From anything we know, we should think that such a statement was inaccurate in the extreme.

Obviously anti-communism, no matter how loud, is not enough. If you still continue to represent a union which presses for increased wages, benefits, pensions,

Next in importance to personal freedom is immunity from suspicions and jealous observation. Men may be without restraints upon their liberty; they may pass to and fro at pleasure: but if their steps are tracked by spies and informers, their words noted down for crimination, their associates watched as conspirators, who shall say that they are free? . . . The freedom of a country may be measured by its immunity from [espionage]. Rulers who distrust their own people must govern in a spirit of absolutism; and suspected subjects will be ever sensible of their bondage.—*May's "Constitutional History of England."*

seniority—for all the things that interfere with an employer's unilateral determination of his workers' wages and conditions—you're from the other side of the railroad tracks. Incidentally, Mr. Boulware, who wants the government to prepare blacklists and void union elections, gives as support for his recommendation his view that the left-wing unions were expelled, "not because they were found to constitute a danger or threat to the country, but chiefly because they had refused to follow the political and other policies which had been adopted and endorsed by the C. I. O."

Mr. Price, head of Westinghouse, doesn't express as many doubts about what to do as Boulware does. He has a sort of "germ theory" to apply to labor leadership: "Active participation by an individual in the affairs of a union found to be Communist-dominated should create a presumption that the individual is a Communist supporter, and that presumption should taint other labor organizations with which the individual becomes associated. . . . The active participants in the affairs of Communist-dominated unions should bear that stigma with them wherever they go." But sometimes Communists deliberately refrain from taking office so they can operate under cover. Or they actively oppose the union leadership. Therefore, government must investigate everybody in the union, officials and members. And any "interested party," including employers and rival unions, should be able to initiate investigations of individuals and should be free from libel and slander charges. In addition, employers should be permitted to suspend individuals whom the employer has accused.

Well then, what are the witch-hunters up to? Are they worried about Communists and foreign agents or are they worried about so many cents per hour, vacations with pay, pension plans, and the like? Listen to Mr. Boulware. Recently he testified that the attitude of several anti-Communist unions in wage negotiations with General Electric "is just as much help to Joe [Stalin] as if these union officials were, in fact, Communist agents." And to which unions was he referring? The conservative and anti-Communist A. F. of L. International Association of Machinists, the anti-Communist C. I. O. United Auto-

mobile Workers, the anti-Communist A. F. of L. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the anti-Communist C. I. O. International Union of Electrical Workers. What price the witch hunt?

All these attacks are hopeful signs that the mask will soon be ripped off, that the labor movement may cease to be confused and divided into warring sections which destroy one another. Recent conventions representing nearly three million workers spoke out strongly against the Smith, McCarran, and Taft-Hartley acts, against the McCarran immigration act, against attacks on minimum wages, and against attacks on civil liberties. Frank Rosenblum, vice-president of the C. I. O. Amalgamated Clothing Workers, declares that these measures have "created, in effect, a parallel legal system superseding the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and our traditional body of law. . . ."

THERE are other equally hopeful indications that opposition to the witch hunt with its "parallel" system of law is mounting. Under a Presidential Executive Order of October 12, 1950, the Coast Guard has been screening the nation's waterfronts and ships. At first the longshoremen and seamen accepted the screening in good faith as a necessary part of what was termed a "port-security program." But evidence has been growing that it is being used to bar from the docks men with militant trade-union backgrounds.

The contention of the maritime workers who have been "screened" off the docks and the ships—and out of their jobs—that the Coast Guard has failed to observe due process in its investigation was recently upheld by Federal Judge John C. Bowen in Seattle. In a decision which is destined, perhaps, to become an important trade-union and civil-liberties precedent, Judge Bowen ruled that "the loyalty-screening proceedings . . . violate the due-process-of-law requirement [of the Constitution] because the defendants are not advised of the nature of the disloyalty charges against them and [are not] given a hearing on those charges before adverse findings are made." This, in effect, is the decision which the United States Supreme Court avoided making in its 4-4 split on the Dorothy Bailey case last year. If upheld, Judge Bowen's ruling will put an end to star-chamber proceedings of this type.

The words of a longshoreman who was screened out of a flour mill by the Coast Guard—not off the ships or the docks but out of a flour mill—are worth recording. After pointing out that screening as practiced by the Coast Guard has been a thought-control and black-listing device, this man remarked: "The real solution lies with the labor movement and with the people in general. It is traditional in America for people to come to the aid of anyone who is being mistreated—once they realize what is going on."

The Witch Hunt and Civil Rights

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE past few years have witnessed an anomalous development in the struggle to safeguard human freedoms. Some progress has been noted in the effort to extend civil rights, but serious setbacks have occurred in almost every category of civil liberties. The more obvious this paradox has become, the greater has been the stress placed on the distinction between civil rights and civil liberties—as though it somehow explained the paradox.

The distinction has, of course, some historical basis. Since the passage of the original federal civil-rights act, rights which stem from legislation aimed at preventing discrimination on account of race, creed, or color have been called "civil rights," whereas the basic liberties are those previously sanctioned by the Bill of Rights. Though historically valid, the distinction has been used to create the impression that human rights are adequately protected, when in fact the opposite is true.

Recent events explain the emphasis now placed on the distinction. When President Truman presented his civil-rights program to Congress on February 3, 1948, basing it on the report of his Committee on Civil Rights, he created an issue that was a major factor in his election that fall. But by then the cold war had begun to make serious inroads on civil liberties. Even earlier, in fact (March 22, 1947), the President had signed the executive order creating the federal loyalty program; and it was not long before a marked change was noted in the climate of national opinion. The freedom of public debate and minority dissent which had been allowed with few restraints in the war years began to be sharply curtailed. For example, many outstanding radio commentators with a liberal point of view who had won large audiences during the war found that the networks now had no place for them, and the radio time of the few that were retained was reduced to an insignificant minimum. It also became clear that the people were accepting without question the slanted opinion dealt out to them.

At first the inconsistency of distinguishing between civil rights and civil liberties remained unnoted. The great ferment of the war years about human rights seemed to carry into the post-war period. The cold war even appeared to add impetus to the movement for civil rights. We could hardly continue, many hopefully believed, to sanction racial discrimination at home while bidding for world leadership abroad. But by the end of 1949 disturbing signs had appeared. The joint report on civil rights issued by the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People and the American Jewish Congress for that year called attention to "an ominously increasing recourse to violence by groups intent on maintaining existing discriminatory and racist standards. . . . The opposition to racial equality was able to stymie the federal civil-rights program in the United States Congress so that not a single civil-rights measure was enacted."

In 1949, it will be recalled, occurred the savage Peekskill riots, which began as an "anti-Communist" demonstration but quickly became the occasion for the manifestation of extreme hostility not only to Negroes but also to Jews. Compelling evidence of the same trend may be found in the killing of two unarmed Negroes in Westchester County, New York, by a retired Yonkers policeman and his recent acquittal by an all-white jury. The year 1949 also witnessed the Peoria Street riots in Chicago, which lasted off and on for five days, and the week-long violence in Groveland, Florida, over the alleged rape of a white girl by four Negro youths. Reports of the N. A. A. C. P. and A. J. C. refer to thirty-four Negroes killed in 1949 while "in the custody of the police," to forty-one cases in which Negroes were injured by mobs, to forty-two acts of anti-Semitic violence, and to scores of attacks on Negroes who sought better housing in Chicago, Atlanta, Richmond, Chattanooga, Nashville, Birmingham, and Washington.

THE trend continued the following year. According to the joint report of the N. A. A. C. P. and the A. J. C., "after fighting broke out in Korea, the civil-rights issue rapidly lost ground. It failed to figure in the election of 1950 to anything like the extent it did in 1948." Moreover, "the Eighty-first Congress, which came to office in an election generally regarded as a clear-cut victory for the civil-rights program, belied the promises of both the Democratic and Republican 1948 platforms by failing to enact any major civil-rights measure. The civil-rights issue was no more than a political football." At the same time the outrageous attack on the appointment of Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg as Assistant Secretary of Defense indicated how anti-Semites had begun to use the "anti-Communist" sentiment generated by the witch hunt for their own ends.

By 1951 the full impact of the witch hunt on the struggle for civil rights had become apparent. The murder of the Florida N. A. A. C. P. leader Harry Moore and his wife, the Cicero housing riot, and a succession of dynamite bombings in Miami designed to terrorize

Negroes, Jews, and Catholics were a few of many symptoms of the increased tension. In 1951 at least 131 cases of police brutality involving members of minority groups were reported, and 33 Negroes were killed "while in the custody of the police." While the number of lynchings declined in the post-war years, the night-time dynamite bombings greatly increased. Thoughtful citizens could only conclude that the reason for the decrease in the lynching rate was that mobs no longer needed to lynch Negroes—the police killed them "by due process of law." "More disturbing than the resort to violence itself," reads the joint report of the two organizations for 1951, "was the apparent unwillingness or inability of organized government to deal with it. . . . This increasing spread of lawlessness and the use of brutality have consequences far beyond the struggle for civil rights. Human freedom is indivisible, and we cannot advance on one sector of the struggle while we retreat or are forced back in another. The social atmosphere of the past few years has been surcharged with political emotion and, too frequently, with panic."

In an attempt to identify the causes of the retrogression noted the same report states:

The excesses of many of the loyalty investigations and the unreasonable character of much of the federal and state security legislation have intensified the tendency to identify support of unpopular or controversial causes with subversion. The blacklisting, official or otherwise, of persons suspected of unorthodox opinions or associations has had an intimidating effect. Opposition to segregation or discrimination has too frequently been cited as an indication of disloyalty or unreliability. Thus . . . many persons have refrained or withdrawn from active participation in or identification with the cause of civil rights.

The direct effect of the loyalty program on the struggle for civil rights is clearly shown in the accounts of loyalty hearings. For example, among the questions asked to determine loyalty have been these: "Did you ever write a letter to the Red Cross about the segregation of blood?" "Do your convictions about equal rights for all races and classes extend slightly beyond the normal feelings of the average individual?" One Loyalty Board member said: "Of course the fact that a person believes in racial equality doesn't prove that he's a Communist, but it certainly makes you look twice, doesn't it? You can't get away from the fact that racial equality is part of the Communist line." And members have asked: "Do you associate with Negroes? Do you invite Negroes to your home?"

This "fear of the smear" has today become a major deterrent to participation in committees concerned with cases involving civil rights. The knowledge that federal employees, despite civil-service status, have lost their jobs because they contributed to the Scottsboro defense

fifteen years ago, has effectively paralyzed the impulse to make similar contributions today.

The "smear" has also a reverse application. When extreme left-wing elements have displayed an interest in a particular civil-rights case, liberals have shied away. On the other hand, when liberals have taken the initiative and organized a defense committee, they have frequently been so fastidious about their associates and so concerned with keeping their committees or picket lines "pure" that little else has been accomplished.

The consequences of this disgraceful internecine feuding have been tragic. Witness the outcome of the chief *causes célèbres* in the past half-dozen years: Willie McGee, the Martinsville seven, the Trenton six, the Groveland case, the Cicero riots, the Cairo bombings, and the murder of Harry Moore. In the Groveland and Moore cases, where the facts were especially shocking, the sponsorship of the protest was impeccable, but no national or international action of significant proportions has been organized after six months, and neither the state nor the federal government has announced any clue to the identity of the perpetrators of the Moore bombings.

THE failure to break through the divisive walls of prejudice and partisanship is not to be explained solely in terms of the sins and shortcomings of the leftists. Sooner or later the advocacy of civil rights was bound to reach a point where it ceased to be intellectually fashionable. Even now the struggle is being conducted on the assumption that full equality can be won for minorities without substantial changes in the political and economic status quo. But it is impossible to achieve fair employment practices without at the same time being seriously concerned about full employment. Nor can segregation be abolished in the public schools of the South without a great expansion of existing school facilities. Paradoxically, the so-called progress that has been made in civil rights has contributed to the impasse we now face. It is one thing to have brought about the admission of a few Negro students to a state-supported law school; but a new problem arises when we attempt to use this precedent to compel admission of Negro students on a non-segregated basis to the public graded schools of a state. The Clarendon County, South Carolina, decision is a case in point.

The present impasse in the struggle to enact a civil-rights program has become a source of acute embarrassment to those who conduct American foreign policy. Every act of racial violence undermines the prestige of the United States. Not only do our spokesmen at the United Nations find it difficult to offset the damage, but the same forces that block the civil-rights program in Congress intimidate those who protest before the U. N. Under the lash of McCarthyism many formerly militant American spokesmen now hesitate to support human-

rights declarations in the Assembly which they formerly sponsored or initiated. At the same time the Administration has increasingly sought to use minority spokesmen—American Negroes, for example—to explain domestic Jim Crow practices and defend American racial policies. To the extent that minority representatives have cooperated in this endeavor, minority protest against discrimination has been weakened in the United States.

Since 1949 it has indeed become increasingly clear that the civil-rights program cannot be enacted as long as the witch hunt goes on. It is folly to think that any major civil-rights legislation can be enacted by a Congress that has approved the McCarran immigration act. On the other hand, the moment the demand for full civil equality begins to find expression in independent political action, the struggle for civil rights will become one with the struggle to maintain civil liberties. At this point the protagonists of civil rights will either be smeared as Reds or threatened with legal action as disturbers of the peace. For example, just as in Chicago the first indictments in the Cicero housing riots were returned not against the rioters but against those responsible for the presence of a Negro tenant in the

project, so in Cairo, Illinois, the leaders of the movement to eliminate a Jim Crow school were indicted. That both indictments were later dismissed is of secondary importance.

Civil liberties and civil rights are not separable. One cannot be achieved while the other is denied. Indeed, the most important item on the agenda of organizations concerned with civil rights should now be to bring the witch hunt to a speedy end. This is not to say that in the field of civil rights token concessions will not be granted; they may in fact be granted as a means of dividing the forces which if united might terminate the witch hunt. But any concessions granted by the witch hunters will be subject to the implied condition that minority groups continue to talk about civil rights, not civil liberties, and agree to support the cold war.

In short, the witch hunt threatens to retard the movement for both civil rights and civil liberties for a long time unless there is early and widespread realization, particularly among minority groups, of the truth pointed out by Walter White, executive secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., and David Petergorsky, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, that "human freedom is indivisible."

The Public Schools Retreat from Freedom

BY GOODWIN WATSON

A PICTURE of what has happened to educational freedom in the period of general reaction since the death of President Roosevelt can best be seen in perspective. From the earliest days of public education communities have often made special demands on their teachers: church attendance, Sunday School teaching, celibacy, no dancing, no smoking, no card playing, no drinking, no cosmetics or bobbed hair. There have been epidemics of loyalty laws during or after each major war—1862-67, 1919-23, as well as since 1945. The depression decade, 1929-39, intensified both the criticism of our social order and the consequent curbs on such utterances. Almost every convention of teachers was then discussing issues which today would be regarded by even the leading academic organizations as dangerously subversive. But at the same time restraints and attacks on educational freedom were multiplying.

Attacks on schools, curbs on teachers, and purges of texts are an old story. But during the past half dozen years, as the social pendulum has swung to the

right throughout the Western or "free" world, there have been five significant changes in the nature of the problem of preserving educational freedom.

1. Established policy.

The sporadic incidents of repression which occurred during the New Deal and earlier have become organized and accepted public policy. Restraints once limited to certain localities are now the law of the land.

The number of states with one or more laws designed to assure teacher "loyalty" and freedom from "subversive" tendencies has grown to thirty-three. Twenty-six now require "oaths," despite increasing evidence that such tests of orthodoxy are worthless as security measures. Massachusetts has required a loyalty oath since 1935; only three employees have refused to sign and they were all conscientious persons of undoubted loyalty. Opposition to the oath requirement at the University of California was headed by Edward Tolman, a psychologist of unimpeachable character and patriotism who well merited the honorary degree Yale gave him in recognition of his leadership in the cause of freedom.

Maryland's Ober law, enacted in 1949, is one of the

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most sweeping efforts to curb "subversives": to become or to remain a member of a subversive organization is a felony; the public schools must bar from employment anyone who "aids, . . . advises, or teaches by any means any person . . . to overthrow, destroy, or alter . . . the constitutional form of the Government of the United States or of the State of Maryland . . . by revolution, force, or violence, or who is a member of a subversive organization." Pennsylvania's Pechan act, like the Ober law, requires that all public employees sign an oath. Here again the few "screened" by the oath test turned out to be highly valued and respected public servants.

The Feinberg law enacted in New York calls upon the Regents to promulgate a list of subversive organizations and requires dismissal of any teacher who belongs to them. When the Supreme Court sustained this law in February, 1952, John O'Donnell exultingly proclaimed in his column in the *New York Daily News*, "Guilt by association is now the law of the land." In his dissenting minority report Justice Douglas warned: "The law inevitably turns the school system into a spying project. . . . The principals become detectives; the students, the parents, the community become informers. . . . It produces standardized thought, not the pursuit of truth."

Even before the Feinberg law was upheld, New York's Superintendent of Schools William Jansen had used his power to remove teachers for "misbehavior and unfitness" and to suspend on charge of "insubordination" and "conduct unbecoming a teacher" those who resisted his inquiries into their past political affiliations, their attendance at meetings, their contributions, their friends, and their libraries. Teachers with a record of many years

of excellent service were removed by procedures which offered few legal safeguards for the suspects and were unrelated to anything they were alleged to have said or done in the classroom or with their students. Similar actions have been reported from Philadelphia; Silver Spring and Chevy Chase, Maryland; Arlington, Virginia; Honolulu, T. H., and other cities.

What has been the effect of bans against Communists upon the freedom of non-Communist teachers? This is a critical question with far-reaching implications. One faction holds that successful attacks on Communists encourage reactionaries to make more vigorous attacks upon the next group: "fellow-travelers," "Socialists," "pinks," "progressives," "New Dealers," "liberals," and finally anyone who opposes McCarthyism. Another holds that once the real (*i.e.*, "Commie") subversives are ousted, a better and stronger defense can be made for the freedom of the remaining teachers. The course of events seems to support the first thesis. The battle to remove the tiny number of Communist teachers has been pretty well won but the furor is not subsiding. The post-war witch hunt is seeking more victims. Eleanor Dushane was suspended in Buffalo (later reinstated by court action) on charges the gravest of which was announcing to her class a lecture by Max Lerner. Mobs demonstrated in Gregg Township, Indiana, against School Principal William Lewis and forced him out of his job, although his refusal to salute the flag (he stood at attention while pupils saluted) stemmed not from communism but from his religious beliefs. The two teachers, Eugene Leroy Mercer, Jr., and Paul W. Goulding, dropped on April 1, 1952, for refusal to sign the Pennsylvania oath were Quakers and neither had been charged with any Communist connections. None of the Pasadena board members who fired Superintendent Willard Goslin really believed that he was then or had ever been a member of the Communist Party or any other group committed to violent overthrow of the government. Frederick G. Cartwright's attempt to fire five Englewood teachers was not based on evidence that these teachers were or had been party members. Similar attacks in Port Washington, New York; San Angelo, Texas; Ferndale, Michigan; Montgomery County, Maryland; Arlington, Virginia; and Denver, Colorado, were aimed not at Communists but at persons vaguely called "subversive."

John T. Flynn's tirade in the *Reader's Digest* attacked educators who have been as vehemently anti-Communist as he is. When the National Society of Sons of the American Revolution declares that "subversive textbooks are in general use in the public schools of most of the states," it does not mean that these books are instruments of the Communist Party; it means only that its spokesman finds passages which he considers radical. Dr. Corliss Lamont reported recently (*New York Times*, April



6, 1952) that a twelve-year-old girl had been reprimanded by her teacher for quoting in her paper on American foreign policy a statement by that famous old subversive Herbert Hoover. The evidence that present curbs spread beyond the debatable "Communist" issue is overwhelming.

2. Subsidized attacks.

A second development of the past seven years has been increasingly effective organization of the forces opposed to freedom in education. In an unusual Publisher's Introduction to "This Happened in Pasadena," a spokesman for the Macmillan Company writes: "It is a fact that certain forces, vicious, well-organized, and coldly calculating, would like to change the face of education in the United States." The best-known is the National Council for American Education, run by Allen A. Zoll, who claimed a "large part" in engineering the ousting of Pasadena's very competent school superintendent, Goslin, and referred to "the millions of pieces of literature we have sent out during the past two and a half years to tens of thousands of molders of public opinion."

Zoll's N. C. A. E. is not alone in its efforts. One also finds the Guardians of American Education, Inc.; the Institute for Public Service; the Committee on Education of the Conference of Small Business Organizations (their publication is Mrs. Lucille Cardin Crain's *Educational Reviewer*); the American Education Association, headed by Milo F. McDonald; the Committee for Constitutional Government, founded by Frank E. Gannett and led by Edward A. Rumely; the American Parents Committee on Education, headed by Merwin K. Hart; the Church League of America, run by George Washington Robnett; the Constitutional Educational League, piloted by Joseph P. Kamp, who edited the pro-Nazi *Awakener*; the Employers' Association of Chicago, with Gordon L. Hosteller as executive vice-president; the Foundation for Economic Education; the Friends of the Public Schools of America, Inc., under retired Major General Amos A. Fries; the National Association of Pro-America; the Coordinating Committee to Oppose the New Methods of Progressive Education; and, of course, such groups as the American Legion's Committee on Evaluation of Instructional Materials. In addition there are numerous local groups.

A slick scheme has been evolved which usually works like a charm. A local committee is formed, with prominent names to screen the actual agitator. The starting point is any dissatisfaction with the schools, and there is always plenty to be found. Taxpayer organizations want costs cut down. "Americanism" committees want texts and teachers purged. Clergymen deplore the "godless" curricula. Employers complain that pupils can't spell, are disrespectful, or don't work hard enough. Any

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Innovation in the school program, redistricting to meet population shifts, "social studies," sex education, intercultural education, delayed beginning reading, or study of the United Nations may be played up as an indication that old-fashioned virtues have been lost. Local newspapers seize on the charges and counter-charges, for controversy makes news. Leading citizens make statements and pressure groups are enlisted. Those who defend a modern school program are linked with atheistic communism. Too often the school administration, seeking to restore harmony at any price, accepts the dictatorship of the obstreperous minority.

3. *Self-censorship.*

The third change—increased *precaution* against any possible charge of subversion—is a consequence of the growing prestige and power of the witch-hunters.

A Colorado teacher was advised to discontinue a study of the Mexican laborers in beet-sugar fields as "too controversial." A home-economics teacher concluded that a project in which pupils had tested certain advertised brands of household appliances would be criticized by business men and should be dropped. An English teacher found it wise to remove John Steinbeck's books from the literature course. A biology teacher was forbidden by his principal to continue use of the film "Human Growth." A Kansas teacher reports that he interprets the state oath to mean that "a teacher must be thoroughly sold on the American system of free enterprise" and must not support rent control or price control.

While there still are numerous reports of texts being banned—Frank A. Magruder's classic, "American Government," for example, has been dropped by Houston, Texas, and all Georgia schools—the repressive action now affects the stage at which books are being prepared. Publishers take few chances. An editor reported to the United States Conference on UNESCO in 1952 that D. C. Heath has been requested by one school board to omit from its textbooks any reference to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Manuscripts intended for school texts now must be censored in advance of publication by the same type of mind which continues to ban *The Nation* from New York and Newark school libraries. Speakers proposed for school conventions are checked against "Red" indices and only the "safe" ones are invited. Hence a row such as that raised by trustees over Professor Harold Rugg's speech at Ohio State University, or the controversy caused when Red Bank, New Jersey, canceled its invitation to Professor Theodore Brameld, or when the Englewood, New Jersey, Board of Education barred Mary McLeod Bethune, occurs only when the precautionary process has failed.

4. *Faint-hearted defense.*

A fourth feature of the present predicament is the pusillanimity of the fight for educational freedom.

Earlier attacks upon educational freedom aroused vigorous and often successful opposition. Seven states introduced an oath of allegiance for teachers during the Civil War period, but in five of the seven, counter-attacks led to repeal. The Lusk laws in New York after World War I were met by a fight which forced their repeal within two years. The "Little Red Rider" in the District of Columbia was thrown out after two years. Ohio's 1919 oath was wiped off the books in 1935.

Valiant struggles for educational freedom still are reported from a few communities—Scarsdale's embattled citizens, strengthened by a remarkable local newspaper, refused to bow to demands from its one-man "Committee of Ten"—but instances of successful resistance are not too numerous. Frequently an effort is made to keep some measure of enlightened education by throwing to the wolves the most contested part of the program—a teacher workshop, a guidance program, a controversial book, or any effort at objective study of Soviet Russia.

When, in 1949, the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities sent to colleges and state education boards questionnaires asking for lists of textbooks, a number of colleges raised a rumpus, but the public-school officials quickly complied. When the N. E. A. Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom recently polled its 400 advisory members (especially selected because of their concern with educational freedom) only 168 replied, and of these only 3 per cent believed teachers should have more freedom.

When charges of dangerous ideas arise they are no longer met by the answer that in a democracy we are not afraid to examine all sides of controversial issues. The standard defense is now one which accepts the totalitarian assumptions of the witch-hunters and merely insists that no deviant ideas are to be found in the local texts or teachers. This is surrender without a struggle.

5. *Religious controls.*

A fifth feature of the present disturbed scene is the growing influence of religion in public education. Between 1926 and 1950 the proportion of church members in the population of the United States rose from 46 per cent to 57 per cent, a change which tips the scales noticeably. Parochial schools are expanding. The pressure to bar *The Nation* from the public schools arose because it published Paul Blanshard's criticisms of the social and political activities of the Roman Catholic church. In January, 1948, the New York City schools banned Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, a lecturer in sociology at Columbia University, from conducting one session in a workshop in Intercultural Education designed as in-service training for teachers. The official explanation was that long before, in a pamphlet no longer in print, Dr. Stern had been critical of established churches.

In 1951-52 the Board of Regents of the State of New York drew up a prayer to be used along with the pledge of allegiance to the flag. One regent stated that the prayer was to be—"only a beginning." The Supreme Court, asked to rule on a New Jersey law requiring Bible reading and the Lord's Prayer, evaded the issue by a most significant ruling (March, 1952) that since the petitioners did not show tangible damage, such as loss of money or property, but claimed merely a violation of spiritual values, rights, and freedom, they had not established a sufficient degree of interest in the case to warrant their suit.

On January 20, 1952, Principal James P. McGeough of East High School, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, suspended one of the student clubs which called itself the UNESCO Thinkers. His reason? A charge by a Catholic paper that UNESCO is "under atheistic control." He was congratulated by the local school committee, the Pawtucket D. A. R., and the *Visitor*, organ of the Roman Catholic diocese of Rhode Island. Another school administrator objected when the dramatics club planned to present Arnold Bennett's "The Great Adventure," in which two young parsons appear as somewhat humorous characters. "It would never do, even in a friendly way, to ridicule members of the clergy," he said. The play was rewritten to make the humorous characters teachers!

The retreat is not yet a rout. Despite the general acceptance of loyalty oaths, a handful of University of California professors made a stand which has heartened other teachers. The Scarsdale citizens still hold their Thermopylae. Dean Ernest O. Melby of New York University's School of Education has warned that free education "may be destroyed by noisy super-patriots." The Citizenship Education Project conducted at Teachers College, Columbia University, is encouraging high-school pupils to study and to practice democratic citizenship. The National Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools, headed by Roy E. Larsen of Time, Inc., has encouraged local groups of business men to give increased study and support to the public schools, with results still not wholly clear.

The present social context, however, makes the prognosis for the current plague of repression less favorable than it would have been in 1870 or 1920. We now live in an economy which extricated itself from its worst depression only by defense and war expenditures and which depends upon these for continued equilibrium. Our world is pervaded by tension between two great powers, each of which strives to insulate its public from the influence of the other. So many atomic bombs are now ready that even the careful, peaceful obliteration of them would imperil human health on a global scale. The financial burdens in prospect may prove too heavy even for a wealthy nation. Neither insecure rulers nor an anxious public is likely to be tolerant of free minds.

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Academic Freedom and American Society

BY H. H. WILSON

OF ALL the civil liberties currently under attack, perhaps the one most seriously threatened is academic freedom. It is important, first of all, to recognize that this latest challenge to the universities cannot be dismissed as merely the most recent manifestation of the anti-intellectual tradition. Nor is it primarily aimed at campus Communists and radicals. It is directed, rather, at academic freedom itself: the right to free inquiry and discussion in the classroom. It demands from the schools not inquiry, but suppression, not discussion but distortion, not, in short, teaching but indoctrination. And it will be satisfied, not when the last Communist is exiled from the schools, but when the last honest seeker after truth is driven out of education.

Unfortunately, however, the cries of the professional school-baiters have spread doubt and confusion among citizens. Many today question the basic tenets of education and the essential functions of teachers. Some seriously wonder whether their offspring should be permitted to spend four impressionable years in the clutches of a university. It may be useful, therefore, to set forth the root principles and assumptions of academic freedom and to examine the threat to our schools.

Few teachers, of course, would argue that freedom to teach, to paraphrase Justice Holmes, is the freedom to shout "Fire!" in a crowded classroom, but beyond that extreme and necessary limit of all freedom, freedom to teach is restrained only by the obligation to search for truth. That obligation, in turn, requires full freedom of discussion in the classroom. The teacher is also entitled to full freedom in research and in the publication of results. The student, at the same time, is entitled to freedom to learn, including the opportunity to read any book and listen to any speaker. Moreover, since both teachers and students are citizens, they enjoy the same rights and have the same obligations as other citizens when they speak, write, and participate as citizens. Finally, the rights and obligations of the teacher suggest that the only legitimate basis for judging him is his performance as an individual and as a teacher. If there is any other test, if, in the words of Robert Hutchins, "we once let go of the Constitution and the law as marking out the area in which a professor is free to operate

as a citizen, and of the ability to think independently as establishing the standard he must meet as a scholar, we are lost."

We are similarly lost, Hutchins warns, if we abandon the principle of academic tenure, essentially a device to insure the teacher's role in society. There can be no freedom to teach if thinking is subject to the control of alumni, presidents, trustees, regents, or the public. Thus, after a probationary period teachers should have permanent tenure, with service terminated only for adequate cause and after proper hearing by fellow-teachers. No one denies that mistakes may be made, that some individuals may be falsely accused of the ability or the desire to think. Faculties, however, are better judges of teaching competence than administrators, politicians, or pressure groups.

But teachers are not the only people who have a vested interest in academic freedom and tenure. Society as a whole benefits when the university can provide it with the results of research, discussion, and thinking in all the areas—physical, philosophical, social—that impinge upon human behavior. Primarily, the university "is a center of independent thought," and "a university faculty is a group set apart to think independently and to help other people to learn to do so." On this assumption, society is not well served unless it receives from the teacher an honest report of his findings, based on careful analysis. To the extent that his findings reflect pressure from other men or organizations, or are influenced by the prevailing climate of opinion, society is cheated and weakened. And a society so betrayed, a society in which men cannot or will not think for themselves, is a society that will perish.

By hard experience acquired over hundreds of years we have learned that only under conditions of complete freedom, including economic security for the teacher, can the university perform its social function. Thanks to the Neanderthals of our age, it needs to be reemphasized that academic freedom is not a luxury, not a special privilege for an academic élite, and not a selfish interest of the teacher or university. Rather, academic freedom is an indispensable requirement of a healthy society. Without it society will cease to benefit from new discovery, and the university will cease to function as an educational institution. Finally, since education is absolutely vital to good citizenship in a democracy, to attack education is ultimately to attack and undermine democracy itself.

The attackers assert that the colleges harbor a sub-

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versive threat to our institutions, but it should be apparent to all honest observers that the universities are not usually staffed by radicals, innovators, and pioneer thinkers. In fact, more typically the universities, especially in the social sciences, have lagged behind events, and have been chiefly concerned to describe and justify, not analyze and suggest. Indeed, the ordinary pressures from within and without faculties are effective enough in discouraging fresh thinking, proposals, and hypotheses about the nature of society. Characteristically, we have no new ideas—or few that can safely be presented—about wars and depressions, but are surfeited with innovations in treating tropical diseases and splitting the atom. These discoveries are not unimportant, but equal attention should be paid to the social sphere. The danger is not that academic freedom may lead to some questioning of the verities but that teachers will fail to utilize academic freedom to the fullest extent in the posing of challenging analyses of vital problems.

WHEN it comes to the point, many of us do not really believe in education, although as a nation we have placed great emphasis on something we call "education." Thus parents, in general, do not want their offspring educated; they want them trained, or housebroken. Students, in general, do not want an education; they want to acquire salable skills and/or degrees. The majority of teachers do not want to arouse anxiety in either students or parents; they want to survive, and, too often, survival limits the horizons of knowledge from graduate school to emeritus retirement.

As a graduate student the would-be teacher is almost totally dependent on the judgments of his professors, judgments which are too frequently entirely subjective. Then follows the long period of economic insecurity, punctuated by decisions of senior colleagues, which, again, may be subjective. By the time the gantlet has been run, the average teacher has lost the drive and incentive to be even remotely interested in challenging the status quo, and has probably been beaten out of the urge to do creative thinking and research. Geniuses there are, but as Robert Hutchins has noted, they "have had a hard time as professors in America." Most teachers, writes Max Lerner, have lacked "not the freedom to say something, but something to say. . . . The safe course is to be either noncommittal or else the over-emphatic champion of the possessing groups." Thus the whole process constitutes a kind of natural selection by which the safe, the timid, the orthodox—or the indifferent—survive.

Perhaps the most effective device for enforcing orthodoxy and discouraging creativity among teachers is the pressure from colleagues. The casual phrase, "He is unsound," or "He is not scholarly," is often the most powerful and insidious challenge the young teacher has

APPEAL TO AMERICANS

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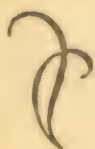
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to face. As put most delicately by one university president, "the coercion of sound judgment within the university faculty will always be a corrective influence upon the immature scholar who is inclined to accept untested findings and half-truths." "Coercion" is, indeed, the precise term to use.

Finally, our whole educational system, especially the secondary-school aspect, is only secondarily an institution for encouraging independent thought and for helping students learn to think. Partly because it has been regarded as "America's magic" and open to all, American education has been primarily a social device, a way of stamping "Made in America" on a diverse people, and a means for housebreaking the young. Consequently, it is extremely vulnerable to pressure from those who believe in indoctrination.

BERNARD DE VOTO once classified those opposed to academic freedom as the simple-minded nincompoops and the very clear-minded illegitimates. A third element should be added: an indifferent public composed of those who fail to understand the nature of the educational process and its relation to other essential characteristics of a democratic society. This public failure to understand the nature of education and the function of the university has strengthened the hands of the very clear-minded illegitimates who seek to subvert education for their own ends.

Let us not delude ourselves. Those who are conducting the campaigns today against our schools and colleges are not misguided. They know perfectly well what their goal is: to make a mockery of the democratic process. Specifically, I refer to: (1) Senators McCarran and McCarthy; (2) the (Illinois) Broyles committee; (3) the (Washington) Canwell committee; (4) the *Educational Reviewer*, edited by Lucille Cardin Crain for the Conference of Small Business Organizations; (5) the National Council for American Education, Allen A. Zoll; (6) the Church League of America, George Washington Robnett; (7) William F. Buckley, Jr., "God and Man at Yale"; (8) all others who adopt the techniques of censorship, repression, and thought conformity for the solution of contemporary problems in public education and elsewhere.

Let's face it: these individuals and groups do not believe in education but, as revealed by their literature and public statements, in indoctrination. Convinced that they have the truth, their disagreement with our schools and colleges is simply that these institutions do not indoctrinate and propagandize their truth. Although they think that colleges are centers of indoctrination, they do not really object to that. They intend to make certain that it is their particular credo that is indoctrinated. Using words like "freedom" and "individualism," but fundamentally authoritarian and anti-democratic, they

have a contemptuous attitude toward human beings and human intelligence. Believing that students are like the children of Hamelin, ready to follow the first Pied Piper who comes along, they are determined to pick the Pied Pipers. And if they succeed, they will force on all of us their corrupt methods and warped values.

We are much concerned today about corruption in Washington and elsewhere, but the really significant corruption in American society is not evidenced by gifts of deep freezes or vacation trips, nor even symbolized by the sacrificial slaughter of innocent mink. The really significant corruption in America is our willingness to pervert both our institutions and our ideals, and to disbelieve in ourselves, in one another, and in the democratic process. In this time of crisis, as the normal pressures in a conservative society are intensified by the cold war, the primitive elements among us seek to capitalize on our individual corruption by manipulating terror, apathy, and distrust. Today they demand control of the schools; tomorrow they will accept nothing less than total power.

THE present international tension makes us dramatically aware of the struggle between nations, but within all societies power is moving from ruling groups to new contenders, and those who wield dominant power are mobilizing for a last-ditch stand against any challenger. It is against this background that the whole issue of academic freedom must be considered. The pressure on the schools from those who would turn us into a nation of mutes and neuters has already produced

student apathy toward any kind of political action and a reluctance to write papers on controversial subjects.

No wonder *Time* can report that "the most startling fact about the younger generation is its silence"; that intellectually our young people are "a bit stodgy . . . mild, and safe," that they "seem to have no militant beliefs. They do not speak out for anything." The report concludes: "Many students and teachers blame this lack of conviction on fear—the fear of being tagged 'subversive.' Today's generation, either through fear, passivity, or conviction, is ready to conform."

An even more serious state of affairs is revealed by the recent Purdue Opinion Panel Poll of 3,000 students carefully selected from 15,000 high-school respondents in all parts of the United States. The poll showed that 49 per cent believe that large masses of the people are incapable of determining what is and what is not good for them—a massive rejection of the theory of democratic government; 75 per cent state that obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues that children should learn; 42 per cent believe that we should firmly resist any attempts to change the American way of life; and 58 per cent agree that police may be justified in giving a man the "third degree" to make him talk.

Clearly, 100 per cent American, native-born authoritarianism is already far advanced. It is no figment of Orwell's imagination that we are becoming, as a nation, a "captive audience," slaves of the demigods and demagogues of the status quo. As John Jay Chapman said, "An age of corruption destroys faith. This is the essential injury. This is the disease."

Style Note: The Campus Strait-Jacket

BY KALMAN SEIGEL

AMERICAN education, often a target of attack, is now facing perhaps its most serious onslaught of intellectual vigilantism. The campaign is being waged on every educational level, and its deleterious effects have made themselves felt not only among teachers and students but in the wider arena of the community. Its net cumulative effect is a mood of fear and distrust in college faculties that has inevitably filtered down to the undergraduates, narrowing their traditionally unlimited area of thought and inquiry. Yet nowhere is it more important, as Dr. Alvin Eurich, former president of the

University of the State of New York, has said, "to cherish and protect freedom of inquiry, thought, and speech than on college campuses—the training grounds for some 2,500,000 future citizens who must understand the values and responsibilities of democracy."

The present attack is not a new phenomenon, nor is it much different from the general pattern of conformity that is being forced upon the motion-picture industry, the stage, radio, and television. It has been gaining impetus in the last five years, fed by an unwholesome fear of subversion that assumes that ignorance of an idea is the best protection against it.

The current press makes gloomy reading as it details case after case of interference and pressure from political or super-patriotic groups organized as "citizens' committees." This meddling by special-interest groups—their

KALMAN SEIGEL, a New York reporter, won the George Polk Memorial Prize (for education reporting) for a series of articles in 1951 based on a survey of freedom of thought and speech on seventy-two major college campuses.

sudden concern for education cannot be called anything but meddling by design—has made teachers and students unwilling to discuss in the classroom such controversial topics as separation of church and state, communism, and race relations.

In some instances this intellectual timidity is nothing tangible; in others it is more definite. Discussions with students leaders, teachers, and administrators—part of a survey of seventy-two major colleges made in 1951—disclosed that among students this trend toward self-censorship and caution largely took these forms:

1. A reluctance to speak out on controversial issues in and out of class.
2. A reluctance to handle currently unpopular concepts even in classroom work.
3. An unwillingness to join student political clubs.
4. Neglect of humanitarian causes because they may be suspect in the minds of politically unsophisticated officials.
5. An emphasis on lack of affiliation.
6. An unusual amount of serio-comic joking about this or that official investigating committee "getting you."
7. A shying away, both physically and intellectually, from association with the words "liberal," "peace," "freedom," and from classmates with progressive ideas.
8. A concentration on college problems to the exclusion of broader current questions.

While some students say they feel no constraint about speaking out on controversial subjects, many of them privately admit hesitation to "sound off" and are cautious about what they say and where they say it. Among stu-

dents who plan careers in government or engineering there has been a general avoidance of controversy because of investigations and loyalty checks. One student editor reported that agents of the FBI were constantly inquiring about students who apply for government jobs, and that some graduate schools with government-classified projects were extremely leery of accepting students who had advocated "unpopular" ideas. The result has been sufficiently marked to bring from Justice William O. Douglas the accusation that youth is "holding its tongue" and sitting out the revolt against orthodoxy.

SINCE independence of mind is essential to students in a free society, the growing conformity and the limitation of the areas in which ideas can find free expression are negating the business of a university, which educators maintain is education by differences of opinion. Students are playing it safe because instructors are doing likewise. "The willingness of instructors to express their own honest viewpoint," to quote from one undergraduate paper, "has been slowly ebbing. Evidence in support of this statement cannot be given in black and white. It can only be felt in the classroom." "Girls are becoming afraid to advocate the humanitarian point of view," writes Dean Millicent C. McIntosh of Barnard College, "because it has been associated with communism. The most fearless will not be influenced, but the middle group is made to feel the confusion and fear involved in the 'obscurantism' that is McCarthyism." The Barnard placement director reports that "liberal" is a "poisonous word" to many would-be employers, who regard the "liberal girl" as an "obstructionist" and "organizer against employer interests."

The narrowed areas of free discussion and inquiry, with their characteristic moral equivocation, are an outgrowth of the developing cold war during the past five years—a half-decade in which demands that teachers sign loyalty oaths, the screening of speakers, visiting scholars, and graduate students, and the banning of critical texts grew at an alarming rate. The wariness and apathy are not solely the product of the current "hysteria," or as a majority of students and faculty put it, "the pressures generated by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin." This is an important factor, but much of the wariness and apathy stems from the "times"—the imminence of the draft, the fear and uncertainty in national life, and a fatalistic conviction that little can be done on the campus to affect international developments.

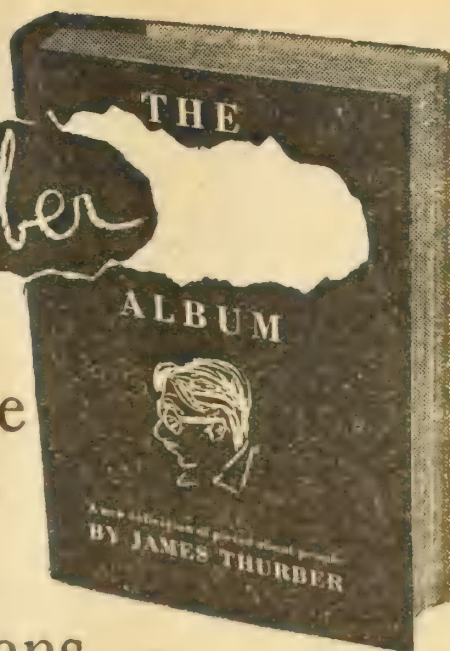
The pattern of the attack on American education today is quite different from that directed against American schools, teachers, and students twenty-five or fifty years ago. The present assault is national in scope, uniform in procedure, and apparently initiated by a few powerful groups. Earlier in the century the attacks



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what it means



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THE NEW YORK TIMES: "The gravely quiet prose becomes as unexpectedly conquering as a second vodka martini or maybe a third. Somewhere, some time, some person is sure to say of this book 'Thurber has done it again.' So, let's say it now and get it over with."

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE: "A picture gallery of American characters that will fill those of us who are as old as the century with nostalgic happiness and

will charm the very young as tales of some far off, fantastic, utterly delightful world. Everything he mentions I recognize instantly, not by its contours or its setting, but by the touch of the uncanny, the blatant impossibility, and the wild humor that informs it all."

CHICAGO SUN TIMES: "What a joy it is to greet this new collection by wonderful James Thurber, to savor mellow memories of his boyhood and young manhood. All is told in Thurber's individual way, with tender wit. Thurber at his nostalgic best is one of the delights of our time, and this is Thurber at his nostalgic best."

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH: "What gives his subjects the appearance of uniqueness is not the result of imaginative retouching but of his ability to detect the freshness and uniqueness of personality in everybody he meets."

THE SATURDAY REVIEW: "Mr. Thurber, more than any writer I know of, living or dead, is able to pass within a single sentence from reality to unreality, from nonsense to the sublime. He does it by a combination of osmosis and lateral passes. A straight line through this *Album* is about the pleasantest journey I have made in a long, long time."

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were isolated, unorganized, and directed against individuals rather than the educational system.

In another area of the war against education community pressures have affected the teaching of current affairs in a large number of American communities. A survey of the nation's schools during the 1948-49 school year by three New York City school teachers under fellowships established by the *New York Times* and the Board of Education showed that community pressures made teachers of current events tend to deal only with "safe" subjects, prevented students from getting varied sources of information, and discouraged pupils from participating in community affairs.

The abridgment of student editorial freedom by colleges and non-academic authorities has grown in recent years, with a corresponding increase in instances of political censorship. The Harvard *Crimson* survey of 1951 gave eleven examples of censure of college editors in the 1950-51 school year alone. In the school year ending this month the *Crimson* found fifty-three cases of violation of academic freedom in twenty-five of the nation's colleges. Another recent development has been the extension of control over what can be heard and read outside the classroom; almost every college campus has had its case of a banned visiting speaker. As Matthew Josephson points out in his article on page 619, the self-appointed pressure groups have also stepped up their drive against alleged subversive material in textbooks.

The end is not yet in sight. But a growing awareness of the danger is now manifest, and protests coupled with pleas for rededication to the ideals of free discussion are gaining in volume and intensity. The admirable statement of the Board of Trustees of Sarah Lawrence College in rejecting the demands of certain pressure groups is a case in point. Another is the action of students on the campus of the University of Buffalo who organized, managed, and financed an all-day conference on civil liberties. Many similar instances might be cited. Prominent members of the educational community have spoken out boldly against attempts at repression, even if not all have been able to match their words with deeds.

American education will lose the vigor and independence that have distinguished it from most foreign educational systems if the present trend to conformity is not halted. Judge Learned Hand's warning makes sense today: "Our dangers, as it seems to me, are not from the outrageous but from the conforming; not from those who rarely and under the lurid glare of obloquy upset our moral complaisance or shock us with their unaccustomed conduct, but from those, the mass of us, who take their virtues and their tastes, like their shirts and their furniture, from the limited patterns which the market offers."

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MOST observers in Washington believe that confirmation [for appointive public office] can be achieved by paying attention to a few simple rules. Among these are the following:

1. Be sure you are for the things that are going to be popular six or seven years from now.
2. Don't join anything, ever.
3. Don't let your wife join anything, either.
4. Don't get involved in foreign-affairs questions at all if you can help it. If you can't help it, back the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door Policy and be against communism.

5. If you must have political convictions about foreign-policy questions—which is not recommended—make very sure that the President sends your nomination to Capitol Hill at a time when your convictions are popular.

6. Be suspicious of the British. And if you know what they're up to today in northern Rhodesia, all the better.

7. Don't write books.

8. Master various clichés that are popular on Capitol Hill, including the following:

- a. I am for adequate defense, but we must not spend ourselves into bankruptcy.
- b. I am for helping other countries, but they must first prove that they are helping themselves.
- c. America cannot defend the whole world.
- d. Communism is merely socialism in a hurry, and I hate both from the depths of my soul.
- e. I am not and have never been a Communist or a member of any Communist front organization.

9. If possible, be Irish. This pleases Senator Pat McCarran, Democrat, of Nevada.

10. Keep up with the Senate's favorites. A word of praise on your behalf by Bernard M. Baruch, for example, is worth maybe forty votes. Similarly, if you have any friends who are unpopular on Capitol Hill, abandon them, or, better, denounce them publicly.

11. Glorify the days when we had no entangling alliances. This proves you are a "sound fellow," longing for the happy sunlit past.

12. Stay out of the Far East. If you go there, you will be expected to have views on it, and somebody is bound to disagree with any views you have. Ignorance about it, however, is no disqualification.

13. If possible have at least one reformed Communist testify on your behalf, preferably Louis Budenz, former editor of the *Daily Worker*.

14. Never accept any invitation to any off-the-record meeting at the State Department without finding out first whether Harold Stassen is to be there.—*From a story by James Reston, New York Times, October 19, 1951.*

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— BY CORLISS LAMONT —

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Civil Liberties Reading List

A Check-List of Books Published Since January, 1950

THE TENNEY COMMITTEE. Legislative Investigation of Subversive Activities in California. Cornell University Press. \$5.

THE LOYALTY OF FREE MEN. By Alan Barth. Viking. \$3.

THE FEAR OF FREEDOM. By Francis Biddle. Doubleday. \$3.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN AMERICA. Edited by Robert K. Carr. The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia.

DOCUMENTS ON FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS. Edited by Zechariah Chafee, Jr. Harvard. Pamphlet 1, \$3. Pamphlet 2, \$4.

LOYALTY AND LEGISLATIVE ACTION. A survey of Activity by the New York State Legislature, 1919-1949. By Lawrence H. Chamberlain. Cornell. \$4.

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER ATTACK. By Henry Steele Commager, Robert K. Carr, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Walter Gellhorn, Curtis Bok, and James P. Baxter III. Pennsylvania. \$3.50.

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON. The Work of the Canwell Committee. By Vern Countryman. Cornell. \$5.

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION. By Jerome Davis. Philosophical Library. \$3.

THE TROUBLE-MAKERS. An Anti-Defamation League Report. By Arnold Forster and Benjamin H. Epstein. Doubleday. \$3.50.

SECURITY, LOYALTY, AND SCIENCE. By Walter Gellhorn. Cornell. \$3.

THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY. Papers and Addresses of Learned Hand. Collected, and with an Introduction and Notes, by Irving Dilliard. Knopf. \$3.50.

THE INVESTIGATING POWERS OF CONGRESS. Compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. The Reference Shelf. Vol. 22, No. 6. H. W. Wilson. \$1.75.

THE LEGACY OF SACCO AND VANZETTI. By G. Louis Joughlin and Edmund M. Morgan. Harcourt, Brace. \$6.

CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES. Edited by R. M. MacIver. Published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies. Distributed by Harper. \$2.

WITCH HUNT: THE REVIVAL OF HERESY. By Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown. \$3.50.

CRISIS IN FREEDOM: THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS. By John C. Miller. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. \$3.50.

THE JUDGES AND THE JUDGED. By Merle Miller. Foreword by Robert E. Sherwood. Doubleday. \$2.50.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Alison Reppy. Central Book Company. \$4.50.

FREEDOM AND CULTURE. Compiled by UNESCO. Introduction by Julian Huxley. Columbia University. \$3.75.

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HOW FREE IS YOUR TOWN?

[With the cooperation of the national office of the American Civil Liberties Union, The Nation asked the various state and local correspondents of that organization to send in short reports on the state of civil liberties in their communities. We have selected the following replies for publication here, and shall hope to print others later.—THE EDITORS.]

Pittsburgh

THE present-day search for security against subversion has resulted in the loss of "bread and butter" security for many American citizens in the Pittsburgh area. Alleged Communists have been dismissed from their positions without regard for actual security interests. From day laborers in government service to violinists in the Pittsburgh Symphony, suspected Communists have felt the economic repercussions of the spirit of the times.

This attitude extends to non-Communist individuals with liberal or non-conformist political beliefs. Personnel managers of large industrial concerns, for the most part politically unsophisticated and unable or unwilling to distinguish between Communists and liberals, tend to avoid trouble by denying employment to all whose ideas do not fall into the prevailing political pattern—particularly in the field of scientific research. Especially suspect are members of minority groups, including Negroes, Jews, and persons of Russian or Southern European background.

Only occasionally is it possible to protect the jobs of those who are attacked for their liberal beliefs. Last year a successful fight was made to reinstate in her position as an Assistant District Attorney Mrs. Marjorie Matson, the local representative of the non-Communist American Civil Liberties Union, who had been forced to take a leave of absence as a result of a charge of "Communist tendencies" brought against her by the then Attorney General of Pennsylvania, Charles J. Margiotti.

The economic pressure for political orthodoxy has further expressed itself in the almost universal acceptance, by school teachers and government employees, of the loyalty oath required un-

der a 1951 statute. Not one case of refusal to take the oath has occurred in the Pittsburgh District.

As the spirit of conformity has spread, liberal organizations have, for the most part, lost their backbone. Nowadays, even when a clear-cut issue arises, it is almost impossible to get united community action. Organizations are afraid to work with others for a common objective lest at some later date a cooperating group might be "labeled." A minimum of collective action in the field of civil rights has been preserved through the Allegheny County Council on Civil Rights, which includes more than forty non-Communist civic groups.

Surprisingly enough, the pervasive fear which casts a shadow over liberal activity has not prevented progress from being made in the field of race relations. Under the leadership of the Mayor's Civic Unity Council, increased employment and recreational opportunities have been made available to Negroes. The summer of 1948 saw riots at a city swimming pool when interracial swimming was attempted. A firm stand on the part of the city administration, plus intensive but quiet activity on the part of church groups and others, is opening public facilities to all comers on an equal basis, and we no longer anticipate serious trouble. A local F. E. P. C. ordinance may be passed this year.

In the field of political activity, suspicion and caution are the watchwords. Only in the most intimate groups are politically divergent ideas freely advanced. Public discussion is circumscribed by the fear that an inadvertent statement may result in a listing as a "subversive" by such local guardians of conformity as Americans Battling Communism or the Minute Women.

At the University of Pittsburgh recently, all campus political organizations were banned. Protests brought sufficient relaxation of the rule to permit establishment of Republican and Democratic clubs.

On the other hand, when the Minute Women attempted by a smear campaign to prevent Dr. George S. Counts from speaking at Carnegie Tech, Chancellor Warner spoke up in defense

of academic freedom and Dr. Counts delivered an address in defense of democratic freedom of inquiry as opposed to totalitarian (including Communist) conformity.

Despite discouraging aspects, it seems possible that things are looking up a little for civil liberties in the Pittsburgh area. Liberal Democrats in local political offices have minimized rather than contributed to the hysteria of the times. Mayor David L. Lawrence has spoken out courageously in the Matson case and on other civil-rights issues. A number of office holders in the area are members of Americans for Democratic Action.

The most serious damage to civil liberties has come from the Congressional investigations, the federal loyalty program, and the state loyalty act. The last, not content with exacting an oath, provides in addition a procedure for dismissal of government employees on loyalty charges. These influences still predominate and will continue so long as international tension remains unabated.

May 21

Chicago

WHAT has the current witch hunt done to civil liberties in Chicago? In the first place, it has made it much more difficult to answer that question. The Communist Party is underground. The other parties of the left are but a whisper.

We find ourselves in a political nightmare. The times call for thoughtful and creative citizenship. The two major parties deal in invective instead of issues. The only other party visible is the Progressive Party, which seems to be a figment in the imaginations of a few die-hard members.

The citizenry knows nothing of the federal loyalty program beyond the fact of its existence. How many it has affected in Illinois is unknown. In the early phases only government workers were under its jurisdiction. Now the program has moved out into private industry. Of the many cases that have come to our attention, all have been "cleared." "Cleared" after months of misery. "Cleared" after the neighbors have been interrogated by "agents."

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"Cleared" to about the same degree as the person who returns home from the mental hospital with a statement attesting his sanity. Nothing has appeared in the press to substantiate the claim that we are gaining "security."

The result is the frightening abandonment by the accused of participation in anything that might be considered to be, or likely to be, controversial. Those who know of the fate of their fellow-employees follow suit. In the end there is the silence of fear and compliance. What can we know of the ultimate results?

In the Chicago area particularly organizations are springing up which aim at providing the "Pasadena treatment" for the schools. The diatribes of Allen Zoll and Lucille Crain are circulating in quantity, along with local productions similar to *How Red Is the Little Red School House?* To date, there have been no overt restrictions of primary- and secondary-school teachers, but the cloud of accusation lowers. Colleges and universities are noticeably sensitive to charges of unorthodoxy.

The 1951 record of the numerous "anti-subversive" bills in the legislature is perhaps the most revealing index of the state of civil liberties in Illinois, and has implications of national significance. In January of 1951 we were told by those presumably in the know that there wasn't a chance of stopping passage of at least several of these bills. It was said that no politician would dare vote against them.

The American Civil Liberties Union developed the first state-wide, all-out campaign against this kind of legislation. Members of the legislature were sensitive to our problem but feared the political consequences of opposition. They were willing to vote against the bills if "a few substantial constituents" asked them to do so; we were able to obtain the requests.

Only one bill, a revised version of Maryland's Ober law, passed the legislature. The measure had a comfortable margin, but when Governor Stevenson vetoed it he was supported by about forty reputable organizations and seventeen of the nineteen newspapers in Illinois that had taken an editorial position on the legislation. Those who hoped the veto would injure the Governor were disgusted to learn that the Executive

Mansion had more mail on this veto than on any other matter during the session; twenty-five letters favored the veto for every one that opposed it.

In spite of the serious interracial problems in Chicago, where the Negro population is growing at the rate of 20,000 a year, the record of late indicates progress. Certainly there is better organization of effort in the minority-rights field than ever before.

We have in varying degrees all the symptoms of the anti-Communist hysteria that the rest of the country knows. We have the rash of organizations and publications that spring up to flay public opinion with violent predictions of socialist doom—characterized by an appallingly short memory of the state of the nation in the thirties. We have our share of bellowing patriots who pronounce such people as Gypsy Rose Lee unfit for radio and television because they have been "cited" by the Un-American Activities Committee. We have not had much of the organized industry censorship typified by the Jean Muir case in New York.

May 27

Baltimore

MARYLAND'S contribution to the national witch hunt is the notorious Ober law, which was finally accepted by the state in a referendum held on November 7, 1950. The law has three prongs: it requires a loyalty oath of public employees; it requires a loyalty affidavit of candidates for public office; it provides fines and imprisonment for individuals convicted of acting with intent to alter the constitutional government by unlawful means, and for membership in or contributions to a domestic or foreign subversive organization.

To date no one has been accused or prosecuted under the third provision. The loyalty-oath requirement has resulted in the dismissal of five persons, four of whom are members of the Society of Friends and are as conscientiously opposed to force and violence as they are to loyalty oaths. The individuals are Dr. Miriam Brailey, former director of the bureau of tuberculosis of the city Health Department; Miss Doris Shamleffer, formerly a personnel examiner in the State Department of Employment and Registration; Miss

Elizabeth Haas, formerly with the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore; Miss Vera Shank and Mrs. Helen Baker, who were teachers in the Baltimore public-school system. The loyalty and integrity of these women have not been questioned. They were released from their jobs only because they could not in conscience sign an oath which in itself impugns their integrity.

The second requirement, the affidavit of loyalty for candidates for public office, kept the names of two Progressive Party candidates off the ballot in 1950. Louis Shub and Miss Thelma Gerende, running for governor and member of the City Council, respectively, refused to submit the affidavit.

Marylanders are not convinced that the Ober law offers them sufficient protection from subversives. To make doubly sure, the legislature enacted this year a measure requiring the disbarment of any lawyer found to be a member of an organization which is branded subversive under the Ober law. The bill carried the indorsement of the Baltimore bar, which passed a resolution asking for its passage without a dissenting vote. After the meeting some of the lawyers confessed shamefacedly that the overwhelming shouts of "Aye" made it impossible for them to vote their own convictions.

The University of Maryland felt the force of anti-Communist feeling in August, 1950, when, at the request of Governor Lane, the administration canceled a scheduled debate between Philip Frankfeld, then chairman of the Communist Party in Maryland, and an Australian, Mr. S. C. Schwartz. The debate was on the subject Is Communism a Friend of America?

Maryland's best-known controversial personality is Professor Owen Lattimore of the Johns Hopkins University. In March, 1951, following his clearing by the Tydings subcommittee in the Senate, he was asked to speak to the United Nations Youth Club at City College, one of the Baltimore high schools. At the request of the American Legion, the City Council passed a resolution by a vote of thirteen to six requesting the Board of School Commissioners to cancel the speech. Because Professor Lattimore had never been "found guilty of disloyalty by any responsible agency" the School Commis-

sioners refused to comply. Attendance at the lecture was voluntary, but about 2,000 students were present.

More recent hearings by Congressional committees, with Professor Lattimore as target, have increased the feeling against him. Some pressure has been brought on the Johns Hopkins Board of Trustees to dismiss him. The board has declared that it will not condemn him before his disloyalty has been established by a responsible group.

Six confessed Communists, including Philip Frankfeld, were recently convicted in Baltimore under the Smith act. The Maryland Civil Liberties Committee filed an *amicus curiae* brief with the trial court, and will file another on the appeal, questioning the law's power to inflict punishment for advocating or conspiring to advocate overthrow of the government.

Picketing to enforce blacklisting has just appeared on the Baltimore scene. The following item was printed in the *Baltimore Sun* of May 20, 1952:

The American Legion last night began picketing the Stanley Theater because José Ferrer, star of the current film "Anything Can Happen," is on the American Legion's blacklist.

Daniel Burkhardt, State Adjutant of the Maryland Department of the Legion, said Mr. Ferrer is one of twenty-five actors or entertainers blacklisted by the Legion on grounds of "questioned loyalty. . . ."

During a conference with Rodney Collier, manager of the theater, Mr. Burkhardt suggested that Mr. Collier buy the book "Red Channels."

May 21

Los Angeles

THE dangerous drift toward repression is nowhere more evident than in Southern California. It takes its line from the procedures of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Prostituting the purposes of legislative investigation, the committee has created and sustained a nation-wide hysteria, intensified in California by the Tenney committee's imitation of its worst practices. In the movie industry, particularly, the committee has been an efficient wrecker of morale and production as well as of constitutional principles. Its first major victims were the "Hollywood Ten," whom future generations may recognize as protectors of our Bill of



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Rights. More recently it has heightened tension by inducing "friendly witnesses" to brand as Communists friends and associates of long standing. A spokesman for the committee is reported to have boasted that when the twice postponed second meeting of the committee is held in Los Angeles there will be "the greatest parade of witnesses in the committee's history." To a long list of movie people on whom subpoenas were served have been added nearly fifty lawyers and doctors identified with liberal causes.

Forced to resign from the California Senate committee, through which he discredited the state, Jack B. Tenney is reported to have acted as consultant in drafting loyalty-oath legislation for the Los Angeles Board of Education, the County Board of Supervisors, and

the City Council. The loyalty oath imposed by its regents on the University of California, and found unconstitutional by the Appellate Court, was the direct result of years of sniping at university teachers by the Tenney committee.

An attempt was also made to enact legislation requiring an "oath of renunciation" from the thousands of men and women, including doctors and lawyers, whose livelihood depends on a state license. The sudden awakening of professional groups blocked the scheme. However, the Levering act, requiring a test oath before a check can be issued in payment for services in any branch of government, was passed. Recently a mother was compelled to sign an oath on behalf of a three-year-old child who had posed for a junior-college art class for a total of four hours.

To the considerable army of government workers subjected to this cloud of suspicion must be added the much larger number of workers in industry. Being in defense production, employees of airplane plants and the many smaller factories which furnish parts have to undergo federal "loyalty" procedure. Private racketeers make a good living not only by keeping gullible business men "informed" on the Communist menace but by negotiating private contracts to "screen" employees. An American Legion post is supplying movie employers with its own private list of more

than 300 employees whom the Legion thinks should be fired, although not one of them has been proved guilty of any offense against the government.

Civil liberties are being stifled in this atmosphere of repression. "Patriots" in government and industry are, in the words of President Truman, "chipping away at our basic freedoms just as insidiously and far more effectively than Communists have ever been able to do." Minority rights—political, racial, and economic—suffer increasingly; anti-Semitism finds fertile soil; Negro homes are bombed; expressions of concern for democratic brotherhood are denounced as communistic; social-welfare projects are labeled "creeping socialism." Even in the churches attempts are made to bar fully accredited ministers and life-long lay Bible teachers because their names "appear in the Tenney reports."

Caution, silence, and subservience are getting to be a habit with the citizens of Southern California.

June 2

Detroit

LAST year the principal attacks on civil liberties in this area were as follows:

1. The one-man grand jury recreated by the legislature denied counsel to witnesses inside the jury chamber, thus confirming the fears of the American Civil Liberties Union, which had urged Governor Williams to veto the measure on the ground that the Circuit Court judges could not be trusted to enforce civil-liberties safeguards.

2. An act was passed authorizing the Secret State Police to open the supposedly secret records of the State Bar Association for the purpose of disciplining allegedly subversive lawyers.

3. The so-called Trucks bill outlawing the Communist Party was applied by the Secretary of State to all "socialistic political parties." The ballot was thereby cleared of all minority parties.

4. An attack by the House Un-American Activities Committee on Local 600 of the United Automobile Workers succeeded in replacing its militant officials with persons more in harmony with the international administration.

5. A teacher in the public schools was suspended for refusal to answer questions of the committee as to her alleged Communist affiliations.

June 5

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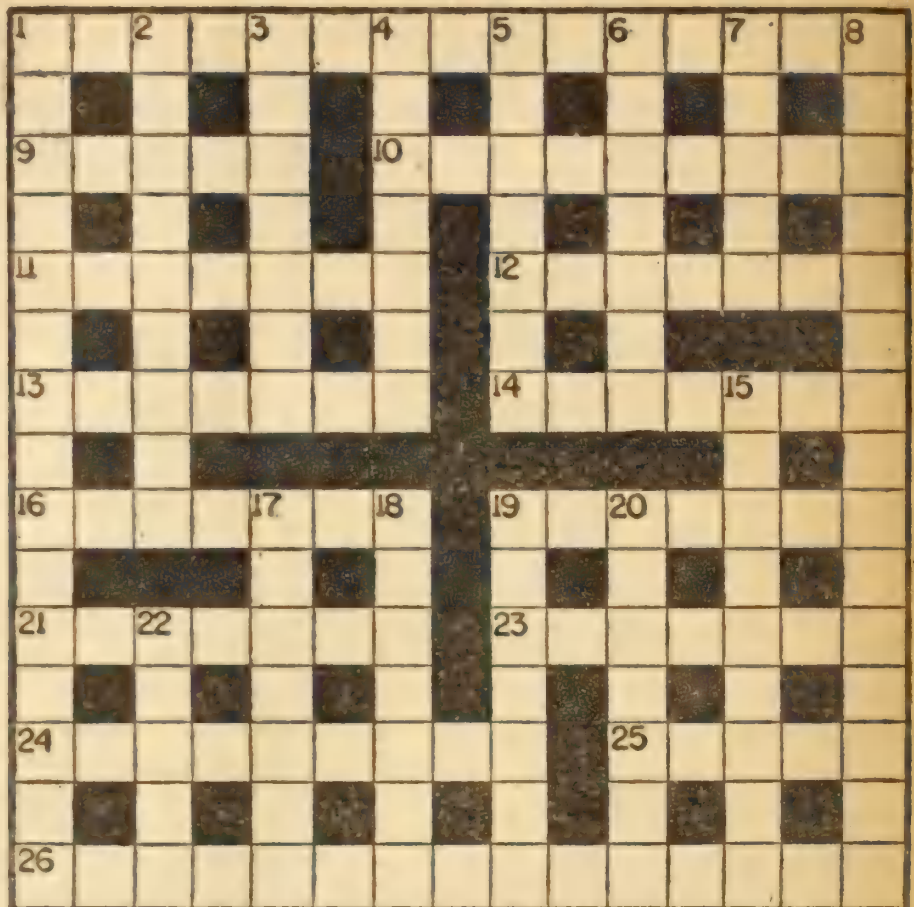
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Crossword Puzzle No. 471

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Sounds like the capacity of a list, but it means someone has to act "unselfishly"? (5, 2, 8)
- 9 One's opinion of postcards? (5)
- 10 The sort of herald that follows Tom into church? (9)
- 11 Gains strength from conventions, perhaps. (7)
- 12 Franklin kidded the English by referring to the grand leap of the whale up this. (7)
- 13 Hoped to return home to the animals after a time? (7)
- 14 This indicates you should get beat fast. (7)
- 16 See 19 across.
- 19 and 16. Your standing in it might determine your chances of getting into hot water! (5, 2, 3, 4)
- 21 Suggested a statement an oar could make. (7)
- 23 Rumbles like death, according to Shelley. (7)
- 24 General cook-and-bottle-washer? (9)
- 25 Does this girl measure about 45-1/12 inches? (5)
- 26 Several rooms for the opener of Brazil, for example? (10, 5)

DOWN

- 1 Is a tricky stop never very poor? (7-8)
- 2 Headquarters of the Bicycle Brigade? (Your parking difficulties might increase in proportion to it.) (9)

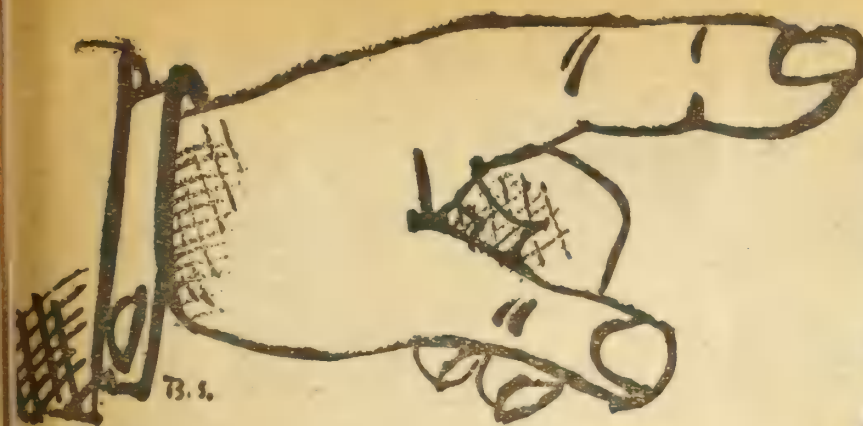
- 3 Shakespeare referred to this bear as rugged. (7)
- 4 Concentrated. (7)
- 5 "Bottomless love" would certainly not be descriptive of her temporary state. (7)
- 6 Is it singular for workman's clothes to go from one extreme to the other? (9)
- 7 Bellini's opera is little less than ordinary. (5)
- 8 With such a notary fee, cancel a meeting to agree upon voting procedure. (5, 10)
- 15 This patriot is rather vulgar at heart. (9)
- 17 Entrance her, but get excited if all this. (7)
- 18 This could be very pleasurable. (7)
- 19 Verbose remark. (7)
- 20 They might put the polish on your shoes. (7)
- 22 Is this sort of jury mean? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 470

ACROSS:—1 FOLLOW-THROUGH; 9 RUMOR; 10 ANGELFISH; 11 ICEBOAT; 12 TROPICS; 13 DRINK; 14 DESPERATE; 16 NEGATIVES; 18 TUTTI; 19 REPEALS; 21 BACKLOG; 22 INTESATE; 23 IMAGO; 24 IN THE MEANTIME.

DOWN:—1 FORBIDDEN FRUIT; 2 LUMBERING; 3 OARLOCK; 4 TOAST; 5 RIGHTISTS; 6 UNLOOSE; 7 HAITI; 8 WHISPERING HOPE; 14 DEVASTATE; 15 ANTALKALI; 17 TRANSIT; 18 TACTION; 20 PATTI; 21 BREVE.

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